

Third Day : 10. 21 / Wednesday

Keynote Speech V·VI

**Place : Auditorium at the National Folk
Museum of Korea**

9: 30 - 10: 10

Chairperson : Yang Jongsung (Senior Curator, the National Folk Museum of Korea)

No.	Topic	Presenter	Nationality / Institution	Remark
1	The Role of the Museum for Reconciliation and Peace: Examples of Shamanic Rituals (<i>Gut</i>) in Seoul	Klm In-Whoe	Korea /Emeritus President of the Korean Association of Museum Education Yonsei University	
2	Safeguarding Intangible Heritage: The Role of Folklore Scholarship in the Republic of Korea	Roger Janelli	USA / Emeritus Professor of Indiana University	

Session VII

**Place : Auditorium at the National Folk
Museum of Korea**

10: 30 - 12: 00

Topic : National Museums

Chairperson : Chang In Kyung (Director, the Iron Museum)

No.	Research Topic	Presenter	Nationality	Remark
1	Visiting the Kaesong Koryo Museum – on the way for reconciliation on the Korean peninsula	Ruth Scheidhauer	France	
2	Urban Phenomena – Museum Prospects	Tanja Roženberger Šega	Slovenia	
3	THE MUSEUM OF BEDOUIN CULTURE ADDRESSES COEXISTANCE IN ISRAEL	Chavi Feingold	Israel	
4	MUSEUM EXHIBITIONS DEVOTED TO ROMA /GYPSIES AND THEIR PUBLIC DIMENSIONS	Elena Marushiakova &Vessekin Popov	Bulgaria	
5	<i>AS YOU LIKE IT –</i> THE ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTION OF VODNJAN MUSEUM / MUSEO DELLA CITTÀ DI DIGANANO AS A MIRROR OF OLD AND NEW MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITY	Tajana Ujcic	Croatia	
Open Discussion				

Session VIII

Place : The National Children's Museum of Korea

10: 30 - 12: 00

Topic : National Museums and Education

Chairperson : Cho Seung Yeon (Senior Curator, the National Folk Museum of Korea)

No.	Research Topic	Presenter	Nationality	Remark
1	From nation to land and cultures. The example of Estonian National Museum	Agnes Aljas	Estonia	
2	Educational Program at the Museum for Jewish and Arab Children	Galia Gavish	Israel	
3	A Dream of Everlasting Peace	Shoshi Feuerlicht	Israel	
4	ROLE OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CULTURES IN MEXICO	Silvia Seligson	Mexico	
5	New Public Management and a New Role for the Museum – From education to edutainment	Ulf Johansson Dahre	Denmark	
Open Discussion				

Session IX

**Place : Auditorium at the National Folk Museum
of Korea**

13: 30 - 15: 00

Topic : General

Chairperson : Choe Jong Ho (Professor, the Korean National University of Cultural Heritage)

No.	Research Topic	Presenter	Nationality	Remark
1	Observations of Museum and Exhibitions in Community Engagement	John Starkie	UK	
2	Ethnographic / folklore Museums of the 21st century. Their presentation between historical lesson and cultural event	Lydia Icke-Schwalbe	Germany	
3	One Object – Many Stories : The Museum is no "Neutral" place	Anette Rein	Germany	
4	Crafting A New Ethno-Ecological Landscape for Peace, Justice and Reconciliation : Memorialising the Natural and Cultural Heritage of Conflict through Ethnographic Museums	Anna Grichting & Rama Mani	Switzerland	
5	"Intercultural understanding and misunderstandings – experiences from public discussion on museum education in Helinä Rautavaara Museum"	Maria Koskijoki	Finland	
Open Discussion				

Session X

Place : The National Children's Museum of Korea

13: 30 - 15: 30

Topic : General

Chairperson : Zvjedana Antos (Curator, Croatia Ethnographic Museum)

No.	Research Topic	Presenter	Nationality	Remark
1	A Holy Place	Patricia H.J.Huang	Taiwan	
2	Two Ethnographic Museums in Rome as Historic Artifacts	Laurie Kalb	Italy	
3	Concepts of Remembrance and Commemoration. Comments on Musealisation of German History and the Perception of transaxial Korean Parallels.	Bärbel Kerkhoff -Hader	Germany	
4	"War and coming to terms with the past. The fate of a German soldier in the Waffen-SS"	Rainer Hofmann	Germany	
5	Dissemination and sharing of the collective memory of the Congo : The case of the "audiovisual memory of the Congo"	Joel Ipara MOTEMA	Congo	
6	Building Bridges: Linking Museums and Pacific Communities-a New Zealand Experience	Tarisi Vunidilo	New Zealand	
7	No Space For peace makers - Museums as places for Glorifying War and the Victors. The case of Livingstone Museum in Zambia	Victoria Phiri	Zambia	
Open Discussion				

The role of the Museum
for Reconciliation and Peace
: Examples of shamanic rituals (*Kut*) in Seoul

In Whoe KIM

Final version ICOM-ICME 2009 Seoul Conference Keynote Speech

The role of the Museum for Reconciliation and Peace:

Examples of shamanic rituals (*Kut*) in Seoul

Professor Dr. In Whoe KIM

Emeritus President of the Korean Association of Museum Education

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I. Methodological approaches to reconciliation and peace

The meaning of peace, when it is discussed together with reconciliation, implies harmony in real-life dynamics accompanied by disharmony, conflicts and disputes. The base of Korean

culture can be found in *Kut* and the major function of *Kut* is a reconciliation between the living and the dead. Accordingly, I expect that a reconciliation among the living human beings may be easily induced by adapting the *Kut* mechanism. Thus, I will analyse and discuss the ways in which *Kut* induces a reconciliation between the human and the

non-human, between the living and the dead, and among the living human beings. I will then

explore the possibilities of applying the reconciliatory ritual process in *Kut* to the museum exhibition programs. The premise of my subject, reconciliation and peace which has cultural transcendental character can be only meaningful when the value oriented concept of reconciliation and peace lays upon "the condition of living together to recognise the coexistence of difference and sameness ".

II. Tasks of the museums of ethnology in the world

We can plan a program for reconciliation and peace for the museums of ethnology in the world, only if we suppose "the world living together with difference and the sameness".

If reconciliation and peace are a phenomenon that can be achieved by the adjustment, mitigation and disappearance of differences among diverse groups, the foremost matter to settle down conflict is a clear and accurate finding, confirming and understanding of the reality, the reality difference among us and other. Actually these works were the main tasks that the museums of ethnology undertook.

Traditionally museums have tried to communicate with the visitors by displaying the tangible artefacts. So, if the museums of ethnology in the world are planning exhibitions for

reconciliation and peace by their own perspectives and philosophies that are related to the different realities among us and others, we can assume that the museums will display the tangible artefacts which consist of tangible cultural heritages. Usually, most of exhibition plans are displaying tangible artefacts, which is more a matter of custom. Museums became aware of the existing values and importance of the intangible heritage through the ICOM 2004 Conference in Seoul - the main subjects of which was 'Intangible Heritage and Museum'.

It is a surprise that finally we have recognized the intangible assets in the 200 years of the western history of the museum. (Cf. Korea has just 100 years of the history of the museum.) Who can deny that tangible artefacts can reveal their original cultural meanings, life and functions fully when they are understood as entwined with their embedded intangible heritage? Nevertheless, museums have exhibited (more accurately, agreed or conspired) that the diversity of cultures or similarities could be confirmed objectively by comparing exhibitions of tangible artefacts.

For the purpose of reconciliation and peace, museums should also reconsider and reflect on how to relate the tangible heritage to the intangible heritage. If the traditional museums want to keep their original educational identities and positions and keep their pride and dignity against the challenge from capitalism in the 21st century cyber era, "a living peace through reconciliation" should be imbedded in the inside of museum culture. But the reconciliation

between tangible and intangible heritage, and tangible artefacts and intangible artefacts is not a simple and easy task. It is an important task that requires a revolutionary change.

Then, let us consider the *Kut* culture where discordance, disputes and conflicts between the human and the gods, the living and the dead, or between us and others are overcome to reach out reconciliation and peace.

In this reconciliation process, let me explain how the tangible and intangible cultures contribute to their realistic functions and life by coexisting and complementing each other in harmony.

III. Dynamics of reconciliation in *Kut* (the Korean shamanic ritual)

1. The meaning of reconciliation and peace in the structures and contents of *Kut*

Kut is a religious ritual which has the longest history in the Korean culture. It can be said that by studying the structure and contents of *Kut*, one can access the deep character, origins or the basis of Korean culture. Generally speaking, *Kut* can be said as a shamanic ritual, which a priest, *Mudang*, makes reconciliation by mediating between living humans and the gods/spirits, and helps to recover the status quo. We can catch the meaning of the Korean shamanic culture by understanding *Kut*.

It is believed that in the shamanic culture, the ideal status quo -peaceful conditions - is the life with kin and close humans without any disturbance from outside. In the status quo, the gods/spirits as well as *Mudang* cannot be mixed with ordinary living humans. The peace is that these three components – living humans, *Mudang* and the gods/spirits - co-exist indifferently and stay where they belong separately.

(1) The Types, Objectives and Scales of *Kut*

There are different types of *Kut* according to their purposes, scales and participants. In terms of the purpose, there are ① *Kut* to pray for living that they may overcome disaster and to pray for blessings upon them; ② *Kut* to comfort the soul of dead and to pray that the soul may find a good place in the next life; and ③ *Kut* to anoint a *Mudang* or *Kut* to commemorate a god/spirit which *Mudang* serves.

(2) The procedure of *Kut* and its meaning of reconciliation and peace

The overall procedures and content of *Kut* are very similar to a feast where guests are invited. The host or hostess of a feast would clean and arrange in and out of the house where the feast is held. VIPs or influential guests are to be invited and served foods with entertainment. After that the host or hostess would ask a favour to these guests at an appropriate time. When everything is settled, they would drink a toast, sing and dance. At the end of feast, the host and guests would have improved relationship more than before. After the feast is over and the guests leave, the house would be cleaned and arranged once again. *Kut* reminds this type of a festival. The only difference is that the scale is broadened from a family event to a village and the length of the procedure is not 1 to 3 days but lasts for 5 to 6 days. Generally speaking, the procedure of all types of *Kut* is as follows: ① *Bu Jeong*(Purification), ② *Cheong Bae*(Invocation), ③ *Go Chuk* and *Shin Tak* (Supplication and Divination), ④ *Oh Shin* (Entertaining gods), ⑤ *Song Shin* (Sending off gods).

① *Bu Jeong* (Purification)

This procedure is the opening rite, that is a starting point of *Kut*. It is the procedure of purifying and cleansing of the place for *Kut* by fire and water, and with singing and dancing of *Mudang*. It is a preparation to clean the home before guests arrive.

② *Cheong Bae* (Invocation)

This is the process by which the gods/spirits are invited and welcomed to come to the site of *Kut*. It becomes a sacred place. It is the procedure that welcoming the guests to the prepared feast. The methods to invite gods/spirits vary. Generally, the gods/spirits are welcomed with a chant and dance entitled '*Cheng Bae Mu Ga*(Song of invocation), and occasionally a *Shin Mok* (Sacred tree) is also brought to the site.

③ *Go Chuk* and *Shin Tak* (Supplication and Divination)

After the *Cheong Bae* process is complete, the shaman proceeds by forwarding the human's wishes to the gods/spirits and praying for blessings of the gods. *Mudang* leads this process by singing, or chanting, and dancing, with the words of blessings and the rubbing of hands. This is analogous to the situation where the host asks guests a favour when introducing or giving presents. The only difference is that in *Kut* the host is not involved, but the shaman acts on behalf of the host to deal with the gods and exchange interests.

④ *Oh Shin*(Entertaining gods)

After the conversation or transaction with the gods/spirits is finished, it is the next step in *Kut* that the living human try to make the gods/spirits enjoy themselves. During the process, the human must also entertain and enjoy to please the gods. Just as guests enjoy dance, music and entertainment with the host family, the gods and the living human together share drinks and foods and enjoy dance, music and pleasant chats together.

In this process, *Mudang* acts assuming the role of the gods/spirits and the human who are gathered for *Kut*. *Mudang* plays the two roles simultaneously in various contents like enjoyment, transactions, bargaining, arguing, reconciliation, laughter and tears. This reconciliation dynamics are done as a role-play.

⑤ *Song Shin* (Sending off gods)

As the last part of *Kut*, it is the process of farewell sending off the gods/spirits. Not only are the gods/spirits who were invited to *Kut* sent off, but also other little following gods/spirits and all miscellaneous gods and spirits must be sent off. It is equivalent to the process of ending the feast by sending off not only the formally invited guests, but their security guards and chauffeurs and also the uninvited onlookers and beggars who may have walked into the

feast. Therefore, to comfort, appease and farewell of the gods and spirits, various types of play, drama, song, dance and food are provided.

It is a tradition of the Seoul *Kut* that the host family and *Mudang* depart without any greetings as if they have fought each other. However, this is because they have recovered the peace. Once again the gods/spirits, *Mudang* and the living human return to the status quo, where they live indifferently.

2. The reality of difference and sameness and the condition of reconciliation in *Kut*

(1) Difference and sameness of the three main characters in *Kut*

The relationship of three main characters, the gods, *Mudang* and the human is extreme and heterogeneous in regard to their identities. Usually they locate themselves indifferently and make a balance as if the locations were similar to each corner of the triangle. Meanwhile, the three characters are same in regard that they can become characters that break the peace and cause disharmony and conflict in the real life. When we interpret this in the shamanic cultural logic, there are no differences between the real life and the site of *Kut*.

As if the three characters can become the cause of discordance and conflict, they can become the characters of reconciliation to solve the cause. We can see such dual possibilities in *Kut*. This open space is the logic of shamanic culture.

(2) The condition of reconciliation and the methodological commonality in *Kut*

All the stories of *Kut* place are summarized as below. In every *Kut* place the three heterogeneous characters of the gods, *Mudang* and the human recover their feelings and reconcile and enjoy by exposing, giving off, sympathizing, approving, exchanging, consolation of the malcontent, regret, false accusation, anger, rage, jealousy, desire, etc. in many different ways. After this melting pot of emotions, they return to their own place.

The important points that we should focus on is that every *Kut* has commonalities in terms of the ways in which they reconcile. The common conditions and methods of reconciliation are illustrated as below.

① A demonstration and giving off

The gods/spirits as well as humans openly demonstrate and give off the story of mal-adaptations, the emotions of love and hatred, rage, anger. Most of these emotions would

never have been revealed before. Mostly they express it by story telling but sometimes they express it by dancing and singing, and some dramatic actions along with a shamanic music. The expressions could be direct or indirect. Sometimes this can be a role play to pretend religious rituals or symbolic imitations.

② A consolation and sympathy

The gods/spirits as well as humans must talk or express the sympathy or compassion related to the opponent's words or expression. Sometimes they express unsaid words that have not revealed yet by the opponents. They role-play emotions like reconciliation, empathy, and compliment.

③ The multi-dimensional characters of the methods of expression

Most of the words and behaviours for reconciliation are accompanied by music and dances.

④ A function of group purification

The form of reconciliations process seems to recovery discordance and conflict between the gods and humans. However as *Kut* in progress, the procedure function of group purification, purification for disharmony among human, becomes more important.

⑤ The many aspects of scales, the commonness of conditions and methods

The scales of *Kut* differ in terms of the direction of time, the amount of offerings and bribes for the gods and spirits. However, the conditions and the method of reconciliation would be similar in general.

(3) Examples of reconciliatory moments in *Kut*

In the case of the *Dae Gam Shin* or *Chang Bu Shin*, the most friendly gods that are invited to the Kut place. They express their joy, blessing and consolation for humans by song and dance performed by *Mudang*. That is a sort of *Ta Ryeung*(a type of Korean traditional songs). The gods/spirits that appear in Kut have dual personalities, which can be divided into good or bad.

Especially the *Dae Gam Shin* is the god showing a sordid, but simple and cute character who can make a threat and promise good fortunes at the same time. Thus the living humans would manipulate *Dae Gam Shin* as he is susceptible to bribes and flattery. In other words, *Dae Gam Shin* is treated to be a main character in the *Jae Su Kut* (*Kut* asking for blessings for the living humans and asking for protection against disasters and hardships). Also, it is the god who provides fortunes. In comparison with the *Dae Gam Shin*, the *Chang Bu Shin* is the god that promises a protection of all the misfortunes in the future. Among the gods that appear in *Kut*, the '*Hong Su Maek Ii*' *Ta Ryeong* of *Chang Bu Shin* which is to promise future protection is the climax of blessings and reconciliation from these gods. It can be said that the closing of *Kut*, the drama of reconciliation of gods and humans is decorated by '*Hong Su Maek Ii*' (which means blocking up the bad fortune) *Ta Ryeong* of *Chang Bu Shin*.

IV. Possibilities of applying the reconciliatory moments in *Kut* to museum events and the

21st Century

In the beginning of the 21st century, it is hoped to establish and realize peace upon reconciliations and co-existences by resolving wisely the discordance and conflict in the

world. I believe the endeavour of museums of ethnology in the world to realize reconciliation and peace will bring out a positive change. In that sense, I am assured that it is not a coincidence that the theme of the ICOM-ICME 2009 Conference in Seoul is “museums for reconciliation and peace”.

As mentioned earlier in this paper, ① the concepts of reconciliation and peace are intangible given the abstract characters. ② It is important to discuss reconciliation and peace together. Peace becomes a living peace only through reconciliation amid the dynamic life full of conflicts, discordance, disputes. ③ Reconciliation and peace has a value-oriented meaning

only when difference, sameness, we and the others coexist in harmony. Accordingly, there should be a prior commitment to develop an honest and precise disclosure, confirmation and understanding of difference and sameness. ④ Traditionally museums have been tried out to communicate with the visitors by displaying tangible artefacts. It is an urgent task of museums to make peace by the reconciliation of tangible and intangible heritages. Accordingly, I have been thinking about the possibilities of applying the functionary methods

of *Kut* ritual to induce reconciliation and peace to the sources of museum events. In the process of *Kut* ritual, I appreciate the cultural value of *Chang Bu Geoli* (a scene which invites and plays with gods) to bring out reconciliation between the gods and humans by promising future protection.

1. The values of cultural heritage in ‘*Hong Su Maek Ii*’ and the multi dimensional traits of reconciliatory moments

Overall, *Kut* can be understood as a drama of reconciliation between the three very heterogeneous parties - i.e. gods/spirits, *Mudang* and humans. The scripts, acting, music,

dance, drunken dancing, shamanic costumes and many sorts of decorations including the paper flowers appear abundantly or simply in this drama of reconciliation. It can be said that

it is a dramatic place, the reconciliations scenes of *Kut*, with vivid and multi-dimensional

manners. In my opinions, *Chang Bu Geoli* is the best scene in the *Kut* drama. *Chang Bu Shin* is the god of performers, clowns and singers, and is very close to humans as well as *Dae Gan Shin* among many gods of *Kut*. *Chang Bu Shin* appears in the last part of *Kut* ritual, dancing and singing a song, promising the protection of fortunes that are mentioned by other gods, in a gentle manner than any other gods. In *Chang Bu Geoli*, the scenes of *Hong Su Maek Ii Ta Ryeung* reveal the contents of reconciliation. The appearance of *Chang Bu Shin* is very splendid and beautiful. The song of promise is *Hong Su Maek Ii Ta Ryeung*, during which *Chang Bu Shin* dances and offers the song to humans. The story of this song is a promise of protection against bad fortunes (*Hong Su*) which may happen during the year. The meaning of songs is important as well as sing, dancing and music itself. The *Hong Su Maek Ii Ta Ryeung* fully shows the meaning and function of *Kut* when it is played out multi-dimensionally with the combination of song, dance and music.

2. The *Hong Su Maek Ii Ta Ryeung*

Hong Su Maek Ii Ta Ryeung introduces the folk events of each month and the meanings and the functions of such events. It is said that the traditional folk events of the Seoul culture for

each season and its cultural historical meanings are summarized systematically in the *Hong Su Maek Ii Ta Ryeung*.

3. Possible applications of '*Chang Bu Geo Li*' to museum events in the 21st Century.

Chang Bu Geo Li integrates the characteristics of *Kut* which carries the function of a

reconciliation-oriented festival in its contents and forms. The site of *Kut* becomes a place of

reconciliation and joy, whenever the splendid costumes of *Mudang*, and the simple and easy

dancing by a group drinking wine, and when the beat of shamanic music matches the

atmosphere - not to mention the contents of the song. This *Kut* has all the elements of a

festival which can be adapted, especially in the multi-cultural surroundings of contemporary

Korean society. Considering the facilities and conditions of museums, it can be said that *Chang Bu Geo Li* has a plentiful source of cultural heritage combining both tangible and intangible artefacts, which can be applied in the following areas: by the display of videos to document the *Kut ritual* accompanied by exhibitions; by many different types of role-playing dramas; by impromptu group performances. These transform the site, and create diversified contents and hands-on educational programs.

The number of Koreans visiting, living and working abroad has been increasing rapidly. Also, the number of foreign nationalities in Korea has been dramatically increased, either through tourism or residence and work here. Therefore, there is an urgent need to provide opportunities for inter-cultural encounters and educational experiences through museum events for reconciliation and peace among different people – as realised in the site of *Kut*

ritual. I suppose it is a national task of urgency and importance to meet the contemporaneous social expectations and needs of multi-cultural education in Korean society.

I believe that for these reasons, the main theme of ICOM-ICME 2009 Seoul Conference,

'Museums for reconciliation and peace' provides an important opportunity for Korean museums to reflect on the status quo and prepare for the emerging future of multicultural

Korean society. I am disappointed that the multi-cultural adaptations inside the Korean

society have not been sufficient to meet the rapid increase of intercultural experiences among the Koreans travelling abroad. We need to look back to the cultural wisdoms embedded in the intangible heritage of folk rituals, e.g. *Kut*, through which discordance, disputes and conflicts

in our present time can be overcome. I believe that we need to discover, re-create, and

re-apply the (new) meanings of that as forms of intercultural relations and understanding

which are very relevant to the 21st century.

화해와 평화를 위한 박물관의 역할—서울 곳의 예—

김 인 회(전 연세대학교수/ 박물관교육학회 명예회장)

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I. 화해와 평화에 접근하기 위한 방법론

화해없이 평화만을 거론할 수도 물론 있다. 하지만, 화해와 무관한 평화, 그것은 죽음과도 같은 정적(靜寂)의 상태일 뿐 살아있는 사람들의 평화는 아니다. 화해와 평화를 함께 거론할 때의 평화는 불화와 갈등·분쟁을 수반하는 역동적 삶의 상황에서의 평화일 것이다. 애초부터 불화도 갈등·분쟁도 없는 무균상태의 평화, 화해를 필요로 하지 않는 평화라면 세계 여러 곳에 있는 수많은 거대 박물관들의 무덤과 미라 전시실에서 흔히 만나볼 수 있다. 우리가 오늘 화해와 함께하는 평화를 논의하는 것이 21 세기 상황에서 색다른 의미를 지닐 수 있으려면, 그러한 과거의 죽음이 지닌 평화조차도 지금 여기에서 함께 살아가고 있는 오늘의 사람들과 만나 새로운 의미의 평화로 우리들과 교감할 수 있어야 될 것이다. 그럴 때 진정한 화해에 의한, 화해로 말미암은 평화가 될 수 있을 것이라는 희망이 생긴다. 산자와 죽은 자의 관계야말로 절대로 서로 같을 수 없는 양극적 관계, 또는 절대적 불화관계의 극치라고 정의할 수 있겠기 때문이다. 곧 수 천 년 수 백 년 전에, 또는 최근 우리 시대에 죽은 사람들과 지금 살아가고 있는, 또는 죽어가고 있으면서도 서로 화해 못한 채로 살고 있는 사람들이 만나 화해하는 과정(박물관 전시를 통해서이건 민속적 또는 종교적 제의를 통해서이건)이 지니는 문화적 의미가 중요하고, 그러한

화해의 결과 사람들의 마음속에 평화가 자리 잡고 확산되는 교육적 의미가 중요하다고 믿기 때문에 우리는 오늘 세계 민족박물관 총회에서 화해와 평화라고 하는 추상적이면서도 무형적인 개념을 주제로 삼아 담론하고 화해하고 또 평화를 만들어 확산시키길 바라는 것일 것이다. 현실 속에 살아있는 인간들과 현실에 속해있지 않는 사람이 아닌 존재들, 또는 산 자와 죽은 자가 화해할 수 있는 자리에서라면 살아있는 사람들끼리의 화해는 더욱 쉽게 이루어질 수 있을 것을 기대하기에 오늘 나는 “한국문화의 기저를 이루고 있는 ‘굿 문화’의 현장에서는 사람과 사람 아닌 존재들, 또는 산자와 죽은 자들이, 그리고 살아있으면서 서로 불화한 자들이 어떻게 화해하는지, 그리고 이 화해의 과정이 박물관의 전시 프로그램을 위해서는 어떤 응용 가능성들이 있겠는지”를 분석하고 논의 해 보려한다. 논의의 전개를 위해서 나는 먼저 두 가지 전제를 설정해야만했다.

첫째; 만약에 우리가 생각하는 화해와 평화가 불화와 분쟁·갈등을 전제로 하는 개념이라고 합의한다면, 화해와 평화의 문화 초월적 원칙 하나를 찾아낼 수 있을 것 같기도 하다. 그것은 바로 다자의 원칙이다. 단독이나 단일이 아닌 공존하고 있는 다자의 존재를 인정 할 때에만 불화나 갈등·분쟁 상황은 성립될 수 있기 때문이다. 모든 불화와 분쟁·갈등 상황에 적용될 수 있는 보편적 원칙이 있다면 그것은 양자 또는 다자가 함께 존재한다는 사실이다. 마치 모든 이혼의 보편적 원인이 결혼인 것처럼. “화해와 평화, 그것은 양자 또는 다자의 공존을 전제 한다.”

둘째; 우리가 자유로운 정신의 소유자가 되어 마음의 눈(서양철학에서 ‘현상학적 직관, 또는 관조’라고 부르는)으로 바라보려 하고 있는 화해와 평화라는 이 다자적 상황의 (추상적)본질과 (무형적)구성 원리는 과연 무엇일까. 서로 같거나 같지 않다는 사실이 본질이고, 함께 존재하고 있다는 사실이 구성 원리이다. “화해와 평화, 그것은 함께 존재하는(또는 존재 한) 양자 또는 다자가 서로 같거나 같지 않은 상황을 전제한다.”

이로써 화해와 평화라고 하는 우리 주제의 문화 초월적 성격의 전제는 정리된 셈이다. “서로 같거나 같지 않은 양자, 또는 다자가 함께 존재하는 상황” 위에서만 화해와 평화라는 가치 지향적 개념은 의미를 갖게 된다.

II. 세계민족박물관들의 과제

“서로 같거나 같지 않은 개인들과 집단들이 함께 존재하고 있는 세계”를 전제로 하고서만 세계민족박물관들은 화해와 평화를 주제로 하여 어떤 기획을 구상할 수 있을 것이다. 그것이 전시기획인가 체험활동 기획인가 교육 프로그램 기획인가는 상관없다. 박물관의 기획 주제가 화해와 평화인 한 서로 같거나 같지 않은 개인들과 집단들이 함께 있는 세계를 전제로 하고서 무엇인가를 구상하지 않을 수 없다.

서로 같거나 같지 않은 개인들이나 집단들, 즉 ‘서로 같거나 다른 양자 또는 다자들’ 사이에 존재하는 불화와 분쟁·갈등의 조정, 완화, 해소를 전제로 하고서만 화해와 평화는 구현될 수 있는 현상이라면, 무엇보다 먼저 양자 또는 다자 사이에 존재하는 불화와 분쟁·갈등의 원인이 되는 다름과 같음의 실상에 대한 정직하고 정확한 적발, 확인, 이해가 선행되어야만 할 것이다. 사실상 이런 작업은 오늘날까지 세계민족박물관들이 담당해 온 주요 과제이었다고도 말할 수 있다.

전통적으로 박물관들은 거의 모든 전시활동을 유형유물 위주로 전개하면서 사람들과의 의사소통을 시도해왔다. 최근에 등장하기 시작한 사이버 박물관의 경우를 제외한다면, 유형유물의 전시야말로 박물관들의 주요 업무영역일 뿐 아니라 어쩌면 가장 중요한 존재이유라고까지 말해도 과언이 아닐 성싶다. 발굴, 수집, 연구, 보존, 수리 등등의 유물관련 박물관 업무들은 어떻게든 전시와 관련될 수밖에 없는, 이를테면 전시를 위한 기초적 작업들이라고까지 말할 수 있다. 교육, 토론, 출판, 공연, 체험, 여행 등 박물관의 다양한 프로그램들 역시 유물의 전시기획과 관련됨으로써만 생명력을 발휘할 수 있다. 때로는 전시의 규모에 비해서 관련 프로그램들의 외형이나 범위, 비중이 훨씬 클 경우도 있을 수 있겠지만, 그런 경우에조차도 유물의 전시가 전체 기획의 핵심일 수밖에 없는 것은 바로 박물관의 정체성이 그러하기 때문이다. 그러니 만약에, 공존하고 있는 양자 또는 다자들 사이에 존재하는 다름과 같음의 실상에 관련해 세계의 수많은 민족박물관들이 각각 나름대로의 관점과 철학과 조건 위에서 화해와 평화를 위한 전시를 기획한다고 가정 한다면 아마도 심중팔구는 유형적 문화유산인 유물중심의 전시를 구상하게 될 것이라고 추리할 수 있다. 박물관의 전시라고 하면 거의가 유형적 유물을 중심으로 구상하고 기획하는 것이 관례이기때문이다.

박물관에서 무형적 문화유산의 존재 가치와 중요성에 대한 자각이 본격적으로 나타난 것은 2004 년 ICOM 서울총회의 대회주제를 ‘무형적 문화유산과 박물관’으로 택하면서부터가 아닐까 싶다. 한국의 경우에는 1 세기, 서구의 경우에는 2 세기가 훨씬 넘는 근대박물관의 짧은 역사의 견주어 볼 때 놀라운 일이 아닐 수 없다. 거의 모든 유형유물들은 무형적 문화유산과 어우러짐으로써만 그 본래의 문화적 의미와 생명력, 기능 등을 들어낸다는 사실을 누가 부정할 수 있겠는가? 그럼에도 불구하고 박물관들에서는 마치 인류의 문화가 다양한 것을, 또는 서로 유사한 것을 유형유물들의 비교 전시를 통해서 객관적으로 확인 할 수 있는 것처럼 간주해(정확하게는 합의 내지 결탁)왔던 것이다.

오늘의 주제, <화해와 평화>와 관련해서도 박물관들이 먼저 반성하고 성찰해야만 할 과제가 있을 것이다. 미래의 박물관들에서는 바로 유형적 문화유산과 무형적 문화유산간의 화해가 우선적 과제일 수밖에 없을 것이기 때문이다. 21 세기 사이버 시대에 무섭게 발달 변천하고 확산되고 있는 자본주의적 상업문화의 창궐과 도전에 맞서서 전통적 박물관들이 본래의 문화적 교육적 정체성과 위치를 지키면서 긍지와 자부심을 잃지 않으려면 박물관 문화자체 안에서의 “화해를

통한 살아있는 평화”가 먼저 자리 잡아야만 할 것이다. 하지만, 유형적 문화유산과 무형적 문화유산, 유형유물과 무형유물간의 화해라는 것이 결코 간단하거나 손쉬운 과제가 아닐 것이라는 것쯤은 짐작하기 어렵지 않은 일이다. 아마도 가히 혁명적인 변화를 요구하는 막중한 일 일수 밖에 없을 듯싶다.

그렇다면 한국의 굿 문화에서는 어떻게 서로 다른 존재들이, 이룰테면 현실 속에서 살고 있는 사람들과 현실에 속하지 않는 사람 아닌 존재들이, 산자와 죽은 자가, 또는 서로 같거나 같지 않은 살아있는 사람들끼리가 불화와 분쟁·갈등을 극복하여 화해를 이루면서 평화에 도달 하는가, 그 과정에서 유형문화와 무형문화가 어떻게 함께 어우러지면서(화해 공존하면서) 현실적 기능과 생명력을 발휘 하는가에 대해 분석해 보기로 하자.

III. 굿 속에 자리 잡고 있는 화해 지향적 역동성

1. 굿의 구조와 내용에서 화해와 평화의 의미

한국의 굿은 한국 문화 중 가장 연원이 오랜 기층문화의 종교적 의례이다. 한국의 기층문화에 대한 학계의 논의가 아직 통일정비 되었다고는 말할 수 없겠지만, 굿의 구조와 내용을 연구함으로써 한국문화의 심층적 성격 내지는 원형, 또는 기저에 접근 할 가능성을 엿 볼 수 있다고 말해도 잘못은 아닐 것이다. 하지만, 지역에 따라서는 물론이고 상황과 조건에 따라서 굿의 외형과 내용이 다양한 차이를 보일 뿐만 아니라, 무당의 종류와 능력의 개인적 편차 또한 크기 때문에 무속문화를 일반화 하는 것은 매우 조심스런 일이 아닐 수 없다고 말할 수 있다. 그럼에도 불구하고, 지난 수십 년에 걸친 나 자신의 현장연구 경험과 1930 년대 이후 축적된 학계의 조사와 연구업적들을 토대로 전통적 ‘서울 굿’을 표본삼아 한국 굿의 종류, 구조, 내용 등을 일단 요약하고 그 의미를 살펴보기로 한다.

대체로, 무당이라고 부르는 사제가 살아있는 인간들과 인간이 아닌 신령적 존재들(조상을 비롯한 죽은 사람들의 영령과 그 밖의 신적 또는 영적 존재들) 간의 중재자 역할을 하면서 화해를 주선하여 평상의 상태의 회복을 도모하는 종교적 의례 절차를 「굿」이라고 규정할 수 있는데 무속문화는 이 굿을 중심으로 이해할 수 있다. 무속문화에서는 현실적 삶의 공간 안에서 외부로부터의 아무런 간섭을 받지 않은 채 가깝고 친숙한 사람들끼리만 오순도순 살아가는 것을 가장 이상적인 평상의 상태, 곧 평화스러운 상태라고 믿는다. 일상의 상태에서는 신령들은 물론, 무당도 보통사람들 속에 섞여 있을 수 없다. 사람들과 무당과 신령들, 삼자가 서로 무관하게 각자의 위치에 머물고 있는 상태야말로 평화이다.

(1) 굿의 종류와 목적, 규모

굿을 종류와 목적, 규모, 참여 범위 등에 따라 극히 소략하게나마 정리하기로 한다면, 한국의 굿은;

첫째, 종류와 목적에 따라 ㉠살아있는 사람들이 재난과 불행을 면하고 번영과 길복을 기원하는 굿, ㉡죽은 이의 영령을 위로하고 좋은 곳으로 천도하기를 기원하는 굿, ㉢무당이 되기 위한, 또는 무당이 모시는 무신들을 위한 굿 등으로 대별할 수 있다.

둘째, 참여자들의 범위에 따라 ㉣마을 굿과 ㉤집 굿으로 나눌 수 있다. ㉣마을 굿; 한 마을, 또는 인접해 있는 여러 마을 원주민들이 모여 공동체의 번영과 안녕을 기원하는 마을 단위의 ‘도당 굿’ ‘부군 굿’, ㉤집 굿; 개인가정 단위의 굿으로 ㉡마을 굿과 같은 목적의 ‘재수 굿’ ㉡앞의 ㉢에 속하는 죽은 이를 위한 ‘오구굿’ ㉡앞의 ㉢에 속하는 무당을 위한 ‘신 굿’ 등으로 요약할 수 있다.

셋째, 의례의 규모에 따라 ㉦큰 굿, ㉧푸닥거리, ㉨고사, ㉩비손 등으로 구분할 수 있다. ㉦큰 굿; 보통 1~3 일, 때로는 5~6 일 쯤 걸리는 가장 큰 규모의 굿으로 무속 의례를 대표한다. 앞의 ㉠㉡㉢에 모두 해당 된다. ㉧푸닥거리; 3~4 시간 정도 소요되는 작은 규모의 굿으로 앞의 ㉠에 해당 된다. ㉨고사; 푸닥거리와 목적은 같으나 보다 더 간단한 형식의 제의이다. ㉩비손; 고사보다도 더 간단한 형식이다. 앞의 ㉠에 속하는 재난을 물리고 재수와 길복을 바라는 제의를 가정이나 마을에서 아주 소략하게 하는 형식이다. ‘손 비빔’ ‘빌어 모심’ 이라고도 부른다.

(2) 굿의 절차와 화해·평화의 의미

모든 굿의 전체적인 절차와 내용은 살아있는 사람들의 생활에서 흔히 볼 수 있는 손님들을 초대하여 베푸는 큰 잔치와 아주 비슷하다. 잔치를 하는 집에서는 손님들이 도착하기 전에 집안을 깨끗이 청소하고 정리, 정돈한다. 또한 중요한 이해관계가 있거나 영향력이 큰 손님들을 영접하여 향응을 베풀면서 적절한 기회를 잡아 청탁 또는 거래를 마친 다음에는 축배를 들고 노래 부르고 춤추는 등의 행위로 주인과 손님간의 관계를 돈독하게 다지고 확인한다. 잔치가 끝나면 모든 손님들을 전송하고 난 뒷자리를 청소하고 정리, 정돈한다. 굿은 바로 이러한 잔치를 연상케 한다. 단지 그 규모의 크기가 가족단위에서부터 마을단위로, 절차 진행시간의 길이가 1~3 일에서부터 5~6 일까지 등으로 다양한 것이 다를 뿐이다. 일반적으로 모든 굿의 절차는 ㉠부정(不淨) ㉡청배(請拜) ㉢고축(告祝)과 신탁(神託) ㉣오신(娛神) ㉤송신(送神)의 순서로 진행된다.

㉠부정: 무속에서의 제의, 곧 굿의 시작 과정이다. 신들을 불러들이기 위해 굿판을 정화하여 모든 부정한 것을 물리는 절차다. 손님들이 도착하기 전에 청소하고 정리 정돈 하는 등 손님 맞이 준비과정에 해당된다. 물과 불로 부정을 물려 굿판을 정화한 다음에 무당은 모든 부정한 것들을 쫓아내기 위한 노래를 부른다. ‘부정친다’ 라고 하는 이 절차에서는 무당이 혼자 장구를 치면서 노래 부르는 것이 보통이다.

②**청배**: 성역으로 변환 곳판에 신들을 청배 들이는 절차다. 준비된 잔치자리에 손님들을 맞아들이는 절차에 해당 된다. 신을 초청하는 방법은 다양하다. 청배 무가를 부르는 경우가 일반적이지만 신목을 모셔오는 경우도 있다. 신들을 불러들이는 청배 절차는 곳 전체의 맨 앞부분에서 제일 길게 진행 되지만 곳의 거리가 바뀔 때마다 해당 거리의 주인공으로 등장하는 신들을 맞아들이는 대목에서도 청배 무가를 부른다. 단 몇 분 동안 부르는 경우도 있고 때로는 한 시간 이상 길게 부르는 경우도 있다. 신을 불러들이는 청배 무가는 신에 대한 설명과 신통의 나열, 무조전설, 천지자연의 생성과정과 이 터전의 역사에 대한 서술 같은 것들을 내용으로 하는 주술성이 강한 무가들이다. 신을 초청하는 청배 절차에서 노래만이 유일한 방법은 아니다. 무당이 춤을 추어서 신을 부르기도 한다.

③**고축과 신탁**: 청배 과정이 끝나면 찾아온 신에게 이 터전의 주인공인 인간들을 소개하고 저들의 소원을 고하면서 신의 축복을 기원하는 고축절차를 노래, 춤, 축원의 말, 손 비빔 등의 방법으로 무당이 진행한다. 마치 잔치에 초대된 손님에게, 또는 찾아온 손님에게 주인 가족을 소개하면서 청탁을 하고 선물을 전하는 등의 방법으로 교제하는 것과 비슷하다. 단지 곳에서는 주인이 직접 나서지 않고 무당이 주인을 대신하여 손님과 거래하는 것이 다를 뿐이다. 그런 다음에 무당에게 신이 내리는데, 이때에 무당은 강신을 위하여 무악의 박자에 따라 박차를 더해가며 아래위로 뛰는 춤을 통해 흥분상태에 빠져 들어감으로써 영계와 교통하는 영력을 발휘하는 것으로 간주된다. 그러다가 “위이이” 소리를 내면서 왼쪽으로 한 바퀴 돈 다음 무당은 자신이 신격화하여 신의 말을 하는데 이것을 “공수 준 다” 또는 “공수 내린다” 고 한다. 주인집 사람들은 이때에 신에게 사죄, 감사, 청탁하면서 신을 달랜다. 이것을 “공수 받는다” 고 한다. 공수는 곧 손님으로 초대 받은 신이 자신의 위세를 과시하고 인간들의 기원에 대해 대답하고 시복의 약속을 전달하는 신탁이다.

④**오신**: 신과의 대화 내지는 거래과정이 끝나면 신이 즐거워하도록 인간들이 노력하는 오신순서가 뒤따른다. 이 절차에서 신이 즐거워하도록 하기 위해서는 인간들이 신과 함께 즐겨야만 한다. 잔치에 초대되어 온 손님들과 잔치를 준비한 주인집 식구들이 함께 어울려 춤·음악·여흥 등을 즐기는 장면과 마찬가지로 곳에서도 신과 인간들이 술과 음식을 함께 나누면서 춤과 음악, 재담, 여흥 등을 즐긴다. 이 과정에서 신 역할을 하는 무당과 곳판에 모인 사람들 사이에 연극·놀이·거래·하소연·다툼·투정·웃음·울음 등 다양한 방법과 내용으로 화해의 역동적 관계가 역할극처럼 진행된다.

⑤**송신**: 잔치가 끝나고 모든 손님들이 돌아가는 장면이다. 곳의 끝부분으로, 신들을 돌려보내는 절차다. 이 경우 곳에 정식으로 초대받은 큰 신들 만이 아니라 큰 신들을 따라다니는 작은 신들은 물론, 신의 반열에 들지 못한 온갖 잡귀들과 원령들 까지 빠짐없이 돌려보내야만 하는 것으로 되어있다. 마치 정식으로 잔치에 초대받은 중요한 손님들을 따라다니는 경호원이나 운전사들, 또는 잔치를 구경하려고 제 발로 찾아 온 떠돌이 거지들 같은 불청객들 까지 빠짐없이

섭섭하지 않게 대접하고 진송해 보내야 하는 잔치의 뒷정리 과정과도 같다. 따라서 굿판에 모인 인간이 아닌 모든 신·령·귀들을 위로하고 달래어 돌려보내기 위한 다양한 내용과 종류의 놀이·연극·노래·음악·음식 등을 제공하는 질편한 화해의 절차가 있게 마련이다. 굿의 맨 끝은 굿에서 사용했던 신과 관련 되는 장식과 도구들 일체를 불태워버리거나, 잡귀 잡신들을 먹을 것과 함께 밖으로 멀리 배송하는 절차다.

서울 굿에서는 뒷전이라고 부르는 송신과정의 끝나면 기주집 사람들과 무당은 마치 싸운 사람들처럼 인사도 없이 헤어져 뒤도 돌아보지 않은 채 각자가 저 갈 곳으로 가버리는 것이 전통이다. 신령들과 무당과 사람들이 서로 무관한 채로 각각 제자리에 가있는 평상의 상태, 곧 평화를 회복했기 때문이다.

2. 굿에서의 다름과 같음의 실상과 화해의 조건

(1) 굿에 등장하는 세 주역들 간의 다름과 같음의 실상

굿에 등장하는 세 주역들, 신령·무당·사람들 간의 관계는 정체성에 있어 철저하게 극단적이고 이질적이다. 평소에는 세 주역들의 위치가 마치 삼각형의 세 꼭지 점에 해당 한다고 할 정도로 개별적 위치에 처해 있으면서 전체적인 균형을 이룬다고 할 수 있다. 그러면서도 세 주역들 간의 균형은 언제라도 흔들릴 수 있는 긴장 상태에 있다고 말할 수 있다. 언제라도 균형이 깨어질 위험을 안고 있는 긴장 상태의 평화, 어쩌면 이런 평화야말로 살아있는 참 평화일 런지도 모른다. 그러나 다른 한 편으로 굿에 등장하는 세 이질적 주역들 모두는 제각각 삶의 현장에 평화를 깨트리고 불화와 갈등을 유발하는 나쁜대로의 원인 제공자가 될 가능성을 지닌 존재들이라는 점에서 같다고 말할 수 있다. 무속문화의 논리로 해석 할 때에는 현실세계의 정상적인 삶의 현장도 본질적으로는 굿판과 다를 것이 없다.

첫째로, 굿판을 찾아오는, 또는 초대되는 신령들의 경우다. 신령들은 이 세상 삶의 현장에 속하는 주인공이 결코 아니다. 신들은 물론, 죽은 이들의 혼령들 역시 마찬가지이다. 이들은 신들의 세계, 영계에 속해 있는 존재들이다. 그러면서도 항상 인간들의 삶의 현실을 엿보고 부러워하면서 개입하고 싶어서 기회를 엿보는 불청객, 손님, 타자들이라고 말할 수 있다. 실제의 삶의 세계에도 신령에 해당하는 타자들, 반갑지 않은 낯 선 손님들은 늘 존재한다. 관권, 불법적 폭력, 자연재해, 송사, 사고, 질병, 낯설고 먼 나라들로부터의 물적 인적 문화적 유입으로 인한 각종 혼란 등등의 형태로 불화·갈등·재난이 삶의 현장을 위협할 때 그 모든 불운과불행의 원인은 밖으로부터 찾아오는 유형무형의 다양한 힘들, 곧 손님들인 것이다.

둘째로, 굿판에서 신령들과 인간 사이를 중재하는 무당들의 경우다. 무당 역시 정상인들의 삶의 현장에 속한 주인공이 아닌 이질적 존재라는 점에서는 신령들과 비슷한 처지라고 할 수 있다. 전통적으로 무당의 사회적 신분은 이른 바 천민 계급에 속했었다. 일반인들과는 거주지는 물론,

평등한 대화나 교제조차도 공유할 수 없었다. 일반인들은 신령과 관계되는 특별한 경우가 아니면 결코 당을 찾아 가거나 만나려 들지 않는 것이 오늘날까지도 전통 서울 문화의 인심이다. 실제의 삶의 세계에서 무당 역할에 해당하는 전문가들은 존재한다. 이른바 해결사라고 부를 수 있을 전문 직종들이 늘어가고 있는 것이 사람들의 삶의 현장이다. 일반인들의 생활 현장에서 불화·갈등에 해당하는 사건들이 있음으로써 존재이유와 역할이 확인되고 중요시되는 다양한 종류의 전문가, 해결사들의 생업이 번창하면 할수록 사회적 갈등과 분쟁은 증폭되어가는 것이 삶의 현장이고 현실이다.

셋째로, 고향에서 무당을 시켜 신령들을 조종하고 이용하는 사람들, 기주들의 경우다. 무속문화에서는 살아있는 사람들에게 무엇보다 중요한 것은 전생이나 내세가 아니라 현재 이 세상에서의 안정된 평화스런 삶이다. 그러나 온갖 이유들로 말미암은 불화·갈등·재난의 위험들이 상존하면서 안정과 평화를 위협받고 있는 곳이 또한 사람들의 삶의 현실이다. 삶의 세계에서 일어나는 온갖 불행의 원인들이 예외 없이 외래적인 힘 때문이라고 단정하는 것이 건강한 판단은 물론 아닐 것이다. 삶의 현장에서 일어나는 대부분의 불화·갈등은 거의가 살아있는 사람들끼리의 관계로부터 발생하는 법이다. 하지만, 많은 사람들은 자기 자신이 원인 제공자일 수 있음에도 불구하고 불화·갈등, 부적응의 원인을 외부에 투사함으로써 죄의식 내지는 귀책사유로부터 자유로워지려고 범무사, 변호사, 의사, 금융상담사, 교수, 카운슬러 등등의 각종 해결사를 찾아 그들의 중재를 통해, 타자를 빙자하는 화해를 도모하고 있는 것인지도 모른다.

세 주역들 모두가 불화·갈등의 원인 제공자일 수 있는 것처럼 그 원인을 해결하는 화해의 주인공 역할을 할 가능성 또한 고향에서 볼 수 있는 것처럼 항상 열려있다고 보는 것이 무속문화의 논리가 아닐까 생각한다.

(2) 고향에서의 화해의 조건과 방법의 공통성

모든 고향은 한 자리에 모인 신령·무당·기주, 세 종류의 이질적 존재들이 불화와 갈등의 원인이 되는 온갖 불만, 유감, 어긋남, 분노, 증오, 질투, 열망 등의 억눌려 있던 심중을 다양한 방법으로 토로·발산·공감·인정·교환·위로함으로써 결국 모든 감정을 해소하고 함께 화해·열락한 후 각자의 자리로 제각기 복귀한다는 줄거리의 한 토막 이야기라고 요약할 수 있다. 기본 줄거리는 간단하지만 등장하는 여러 주인공들의 처지와 위상, 경험 내용, 개성, 능력, 참여 관중의 규모, 고향 현장의 위치 등에 따라서 이야기의 내용은 얼마든지 복잡하고 다양하게 윤색될 수 있고 많은 결가지들을 따라 길게 뻗어나갈 수도 있는 것이 고향이다. 그렇기 때문에 바로 앞

III. 1. 의 내용에서 본 것 과 같이 모든 고향의 구조, 내용, 줄거리 등이 기본적으로 같음에도 불구하고 어떤 고향은 만나질 만에 끝나버리는가 하면 또 어떤 고향은 며칠씩 계속되기도 하는 것이다.

신령들·무당·인간들, 이 세 종류의 이질적 존재들 사이에서 전개되는 화해의 드라마는 사용되는 소통의 방법과 내용에서 공통성을 지닌다. 인간들에게 대한 신령들의 소통 내용과 방법은 자기과시, 위협과 공갈, 공감과 위로, 감정이입, 즐거움과 감사, 인정, 칭찬, 시복, 보호의 약속 등의 의사를 무당의 입을 통한 말(신탁, 공수), 신탁 등의 차림, 춤, 연극적 행위, 가무음주 등으로 다양하다. 굿판에서 이렇게 다양한 소통방법을 동원하는 것은 무당이나 인간들의 경우에도 마찬가지이다. 우리가 관심 가져야 할 중요한 점은 모든 굿이 화해의 조건과 방법에서는 공통적이라는 사실이다. 화해의 공통적 조건과 방법은 ㉠**표출과 발산**: 신령들도 인간들도 그동안 들어내지 못 한 채 지녀온 부적응사연, 애·증의 감정, 분노, 열망 등을 공개적으로 표출, 발산한다. 대개는 말로 하지만 무악 장단에 맞춘 춤과 노래, 연극적 행위 등으로도 표현한다. 표현 방법은 직접적일 수도 있고, 종교적 제의절차를 빙자한 역할극, 또는 상징모방의 형식을 빌은 간접적 방법일 수도 있다. ㉡**위로와 공감**: 신령도 인간도 반드시 상대방의 토로 내용과 관련해서 위로와 공감, 동정의 말이나 표현을 한다. 때로는 상대방이 미처 표현하지 못한 내용에 대해서까지도 대신 표현하고 위로, 공감, 인정, 칭찬하는 감정이입연기를 한다. ㉢**표현방법의 입체성**: 대부분의 화해를 위한 연극적 언행은 무악의 반주와 춤을 동반한다. ㉣**집단적 정화기능**: 화해 과정의 외형은 신령과 인간들 간의 불화와 갈등의 해소를 형식으로 삼고 있지만 실제로는 굿의 뒷부분으로 갈수록 인간들 사이에 쌓여있는 불화 요소들을 해소하기 위한 집단적 정화의례의 기능을 갖는 절차가 비중을 더해간다. ㉤**규모 다양, 조건과 방법 공통**: 시간의 길고 짧음, 제물의 풍성하고 소략함, 신에게 제공하는 뇌물의 많고 적음 등에서 굿마다 규모의 차이가 다양하게 있을 수는 있지만 화해의 조건과 방법은 공통적이다.

(3) 굿에서 실현되는 화해 현장의 예

굿에 초대되는 신들 중 인간들이 가장 친근하게 여기는 대감신이나 창부신의 경우에는 자신들의 즐거움과 인간을 위한 축복·위로의 뜻을 ‘타령’형태의 노래로 춤과 함께 표현한다. 굿에 등장하는 여러 신령들이 선신과 악신으로 구분될 수 없는 이중성을 지니고 있지만, 특히 대감신은 인간의 삶의 현장에 위협을 가할 수도 있고 복락을 약속할 수도 있는 이중적 성격을 노골적으로 드러내기를 서슴지 않는 약간 천박하면서도 귀여운 점이 있는 단순한 성격의 신이다. 그래서 사람들은 대감 신을 비교적 쉽게 다룰 수 있는 신으로 생각한다. 뇌물과 아침에 잘 넘어가기 때문이다. 대감신은 이른바 재수굿의 주인공 대접을 받는 신이다. 특히 재복을 가져다주는 신이기 때문이다. 대감에 비해서 창부 신은 미래에 있을 지도 모를 온갖 재난에 대한 예방을 약속하는 신이다. 굿에 등장하는 많은 신들 중 현재가 아닌 미래를 확실하게 지켜 주마고 담보해주는 창부신의 ‘홍수맥이 타령’은 신이 인간들에게 전하는 축복과 화해의 메시지들 중에서도 절정에 속한다고 할 수 있다. 신들과 인간 사이에 전개 되는 화해의 드라마인 굿의 대미를 창부신이 홍수맥이 타령으로 장식한다고도 말할 수 있다.

IV. 박물관 행사를 위한 곳의 화해 현장의 응용 가능성과 21 세기

우리는 21 세기, 새로운 시대를 맞아 지구상 인류의 삶의 현실을 지배해 온 헤아릴 수 없이 많고 다양한 종류의 불화와 갈등 상황을 새로운 인류문명에 어울리는 지혜로운 방법으로 해소하여 화해와 공존이라는 희망의 터전 위에 평화를 구축하고 실현할 수 있기를 바란다. 화해와 평화를 실현하기 위한 세계민족박물관들의 노력이 긍정적인 결과를 향한 변화의 시작을 보여줄 수 있으리라는 공통의 믿음을 지니고 있다고 나는 확신한다. 이 모임, 「ICOM-ICME 2009 서울대회」의 주제를 “화해와 평화를 위한 박물관”으로 정했다는 사실이 결코 우연 이 아닐 것이라는 확신이 있기 때문이다.

이 글 앞부분에서도 언급 했듯이 ①화해와 평화는 추상적 성질의 무형적 개념이다. ②화해와 평화를 함께 거론 할 때의 평화는 불화와 갈등·분쟁을 수반하는 역동적 삶의 상황에서의 화해를 통한 살아있는 평화일 것이다. ③화해와 평화는 서로 같거나 같지 않은 양자, 또는 다자가 공존하는 상황 위에서만 가치 지향적 의미를 갖는 개념이다. 따라서, ‘서로 같거나 다른 존재들’ 사이에 불화와 분쟁·갈등의 원인이 되는 다름과 같음의 실상에 대한 정직하고 정확한 적발, 확인, 이해가 선행되어야 한다. ④전통적으로, 박물관들은 유형유물의 전시를 통해서 사람들과 의사소통을 시도해 왔다. 앞으로의 박물관들에서는 유형적 문화유산과 무형적 문화유산간의 화해를 통한 박물관 자체의 살아있는 평화를 구현하는 일이 시급하다. 그런 의미에서 나는 곳의 현장이 지니는 화해와 평화를 향한 의지를 박물관의 행사를 위한 자료로 활용할 가능성에 대해 생각해 본 것이다. 곳의 내용 중에서도 신과 인간의 화해 내용을 미래지향적 보호의 약속으로 마감하는 장면인 창부거리가 지닌 문화유산 가치를 긍정적으로 평가하고 싶다.

1. ‘홍수맥이’와 화해 현장의 입체성이 지니는 문화유산 가치

곳은 신령·무당·인간 이라고 하는 이질적 삼자들 사이에 전개되는 화해의 드라마라고 요약할 수 있다. 그 화해의 드라마에는 대사, 연기, 음악, 춤, 음주가무, 신복, 무신도, 지화를 비롯한 다양한 장식과 소도구들이 풍성하게, 또는 형편에 따라서는 소략하게도 등장한다. 이 모든 것들이 함께 어울려 생동하면서 입체적으로 진행되는 드라마 현장이 바로 곳의 화해 장면이라고 말할 수 있겠다. 내 판단으로는 이 드라마의 여러 장면들 중에서도 창부거리야말로 백미라고 부를만한 거리이다. 창부신은 광대와 창부, 곧 춤추고 노래하는 예인들의 신령으로 무속의 많은 신령들 중에서도 대감신과 함께 사람들과 가장 친근한 편에 속한다. 창부신은 곳의 절차가 거의 끝나갈 무렵에 등장하면서 어떤 신보다도 자상하게 인간들에게 많은 신들이 언급한 시복의 내용들을 지키고 보호해 주겠노라고 미래지향적으로 다짐하는 약속의 노래와 춤을 공연한다. 창부거리 가운데 화해의 내용이 가장 잘 드러나는 것은 ‘홍수맥이타령’ 대목이다. 창부신의 차림은 화려하고 아름답다. 그 창부신이 춤을 추면서 인간들에게 주는 약속의 노래가 바로

‘홍수맥이타령’이다. 일 년 동안 매 달마다 일어날 수 있는 불상사, 곧 횡액이 찾아올 나쁜 운수(홍수)를 차례차례 막아 준다고 약속하는 내용의 노래이다. 그러나 가사 내용의 의미도 중요하지만 ‘홍수맥이타령’은 노래와 춤과 음악이 함께 어우러져서 입체적으로 공연됨으로써만 그 본래의 의미와 기능을 발휘하는 법이다. 인쇄된 가사내용만을 읽을 때의 느낌과 그 내용을 노래로 부르는 것을 들을 때의 느낌과 같은 노래를 춤을 추면서 부르는 현장을 보고 들으면서 체험할 때의 느낌이나 문화적 의미가 결코 같을 수 없을 것은 불문가지의 일인 것이다.

2. 홍수맥이 타령

1977년 2월 9일 이화여자대학교 연구실에서 서울 박수 이지산(1928년생)이 부르고 내가 녹음했던 내용을 풀어서 기록한 내용을 2009년 8월 1일 평창동에 있는 곳 당 보현산신각에서 이지산을 다시 만나 교정 받은 서울 곳 홍수맥이 타령의 가사내용은 다음과 같다.

정월이라고 드는 홍수 열나흔날 오곡메 짓구 갖채목채를 볶아 농구 백지 석장에 명태 세 마리요 겨란 세 개에 으런걸구 청보홍보에 싸설랑은 의—주 월강에 막어주라, 이—위월달 드는 홍수 두귀 바알 쪽 송편을 빗어 한식 청명에 막어볼까, 삼월달이라 드는 홍수—ㄴ 장장명산 노오피 올라 녹음에 진수 바쳐 농구 산맛이 덕담에 막어볼까, 사월달 드는 홍수—ㄴ 둥굴—두옹굴 수바악동 알쌍달쌍은 토시등 달구우 굶틀어졌구나 용등달구 펼럭였다 범등을 달구우 아가리 병긋 잉어등에 안팎이 없구나 복등을 달구 세모가 졌구나 제령벌파에 마늘등에 파일이라구 관드웅 놀이루 막어를 주라, 오—월—달 드는 홍수 높다랗게두 그네를 매구—녹의홍상 미인들은 오락—가락 춤을 추며 역사 불러 힘겨—누니 창פות에다 머리를 감구—동자 새겨서 조개꽃구 단오마지루 막어를 주라, 유월달에 드는 홍수 밀천신에는 햇과줄에 년출번어 수박천신 차미천시—ㄴ 막어 주라, 칠월달 드는 홍수 새알심이 굴렸느냐 수단으루만 굴렸느냐 칠석마지루 막어주마, 팔월달 드는—홍수—ㄴ 두귀발쪽은 외래 송편을 빗어 농구 성묘를 간다구 막어—주라, 구월달에 드는 홍수 장장산 깊이 올라아가 물깊숙이 등둥이 떠서 녹음에 지인수를 받쳐 농구 구일 마아지 막어—주라, 시월 허구 드는 홍수 무시루떡을 두겹게 써서—무망일날을 골라내서 고사덕담 막어어 주라 토사덕담 막어주라, 동짓달 드는홍수 애동지 중동지 노동지에 새알심지 굴려서 동지푸—리 막어주라, 선달이라구 드는 홍수—회동작일랑을 골라내서 열두홍수를 막어를 낼 때...

홍수맥이 타령은 일 년 열두 달 달마다의 민속 행사의 내용과 그 행사 속에 감춰져있는 역사의 의미와 기능을 소개하고 있다. 서울문화의 전통적 세시풍속 자료와 그 문화사적 의미가 홍수맥이 타령 속에 체계적으로 정리되어 있는 셈이다.

3. 박물관 행사를 위한 창부거리의 응용 가능성과 21 세기적 의미

창부거리는 내용과 형식에서 곳의 화해 지향적 축제의 성격이 집약되어 있는 부분이다. 노래 내용은 물론이지만, 무당의 화려한 복색과 특별한 차림새, 집단이 함께 음주 가무할 수 있는 쉽고 간단한 춤사위, 분위기와 잘 어울리는 무악장단 등등 특히 요즘의 한국사회와 같은 다문화 공존의 환경 속에서라면 축제의 마지막 장면으로서 손색없을 정도로 여러 조건들을 골고루

갖추고 있는 화해와 즐거움의 광장이라고 말할 수 있다. 박물관의 시설과 조건을 고려한다면, 창부거리는 관련 유형유물들의 전시와 병행하여 현장을 기록한 동영상의 상영, 현장을 모방·응용·변형한 다양한 형태의 역할극 창작과 즉흥적 집단 공연, 현장을 구성하는 유형무형의 문화유물들과 관련해서 계획한 다양한 내용과 종류의 체험학습 프로그램 등등으로 응용 가능성이 풍부한 문화유산이라고 말할 수 있겠다.

특히 세계 여러 나라와 지역들에서의 거주, 취업, 활동, 여행하고 있는 한국인들이 급속도로 많아지고 있을 뿐만 아니라, 한국에 와서 거주, 취업, 활동, 여행하고 있는 다인종·다국적 외국인 내지는 귀화인 인구의 증가도 빨라지고 있는 오늘의 한국 현실에서는 곳의 현장에서처럼 낯설었던 이질적 존재들이 공존하면서 어울리고 화해하는 문화 적응 내지 학습경험의 기회가 절실히 필요할 뿐 아니라 시급하고 중요한 사회적 국가적 과제라고 말하지 않을 수 없다. 앞으로 한국 박물관들의 다문화교육관련 기획에 대한 사회적 기대와 요구는 계속 점증해 갈 수 밖에 없을 것으로 예상된다. 이번 ICOM-ICME 2009 서울대회의 주제 ‘화해와 평화를 위한 박물관’은 이런 각도에서 생각할 때에 한국 사회와 박물관들에게는 스스로를 돌이켜보고 미래를 위해 준비 노력하기위한 중요한 계기가 될 것이라고 믿어 의심치 않는다. 그러나, 나라 밖을 생각할 때에는 한국과 친밀한 관계를 다져온 친구와 이웃들의 범위가 이미 지구촌을 덮을 정도로 넓고 깊게 형성되고 있는 것이 부정할 수 없는 사실임에도 불구하고 우리 사회와 문화의 다문화 적응력 수준은 아직 만족스럽지 못한 것 또한 부정하기 힘든 안타까운 현실이다. 우리의 전통적 기층문화의 민속의례 속에 잠재해 온 무형적 문화유산, 곧 현재를 함께 살고 있는 누구나가 다름과 같음을 넘어서서 불화·갈등을 극복하고 서로 화해하고 화목한 미래까지를 다짐할 줄 알았던 문화적 지혜를 돌이켜 살펴봄으로써 21 세기 상황에 적합한 새로운 의미를 그 속에서 발굴 발견하여 재창조 재활용할 필요가 있다고 믿는다.

**Safeguarding Intangible Heritage
: The Role of Folklore Scholarship
in the Republic of Korea**

Roger L. Janelli / Dawnhee Yim

Safeguarding Intangible Heritage: The Role of Folklore Scholarship in the Republic of Korea

Roger L. Janelli (Professor Emeritus, Indiana University)

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The system for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the Republic of Korea has been recognized as one of the world's most effective systems. The Executive Board of UNESCO, for example, formally decided in 1993 that its system of training successive performers was a valuable method of conserving intangible cultural heritage and recommended that the system be adopted by all member states (Yim 2004: 10). A variety of expressive forms that would likely otherwise have disappeared have been preserved (e.g., rituals, songs, masked dance-dramas).

The origins of this system in the early 1960s have received some attention in the academic literature, a number of scholars attributing its initial institution largely to the Park Chung Hee administration's desire to bolster its legitimacy. Not only did Park come to power through a coup d'état, but his nationalist credentials were somewhat suspect in his early years of rule (Lee 2007:29). Anthropologist Kim Kwang-ok (1998: 81) has already pointed to the administration's early initiation of commemorating traditional elite Korean culture as a way of co-opting elite support, especially in the conservative southeast portion of the peninsula. Although a cultural preservation system for tangible objects had been in place since the Japanese colonial era (Pai 1998), the new system called for the protection of intangible heritage.

We do not wish to challenge the claim that political motivations underlay the initiation of the intangible preservation system. The politics of culture, or the recognition that "the cultural is the political," has been a staple of folkloristic and anthropological writings in Korea and elsewhere for the past few decades. But such interpretations have bypassed the contributions of folkloristic concepts and methods of scholarship that influenced the establishment of the system from its outset until today. The

goal of our presentation is to shed light on how the ideas of folklorists powerfully shaped the creation and continue to affect the implementation of the intangible safeguarding system.

To achieve this goal, we focus on folkloristic scholarship in South Korea. Though Korean scholars have been well aware of folklore research elsewhere (Song 1934a; and see the quotation of Son Jintae, below), folkloristics usually assumes a different shape and emphases in each era and each nation, depending on variations in local histories, political circumstances, and intellectual resources (cf. Wilson 1976; Cocchiara 1981; Herzfeld 1982). Moreover, the system was initially established for domestic consumption.

When creating the intangible heritage safeguarding system in the Republic of Korea, the government enlisted the cooperation of a variety of Korean folklorists and other cultural specialists, forming them into a committee charged with devising specific measures to make the system operate effectively. Over the nearly fifty years that the system has been in operation, a number of prominent folklorists have been highly influential in that committee and the various subcommittees that were later formed as the system expanded. In the interest of full disclosure we should note that Yim Suk-jay, Dawnhee Yim's father, was the first chair of the intangible committee, and Dawnhee Yim herself served as a member of the performance subcommittee for eight years, as a founding member of the International Jury for Unesco's *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity*, and now holds the post of Chair of the Intangible Committee of the Korean Cultural Heritage Administration.

Origins

Folklore scholarship emerged in Korea during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945). Folklorist In Kweonhwan (1978) has pointed to earlier interest in vernacular culture by the Practical Learning Scholars of Korea in the 18th century, noting that at least one of the Korea's influential scholars (Choe Namseon) of the early 20th century was familiar with their writings, but the emergence of full-

blown modern folklore scholarship can be found during the Japanese colonial period, largely in reaction of the cultural policies that the colonial administration's sought to employ (Janelli 1987).

Unlike colonial rule in most other places of the world, Japanese cultural policies in Korea were aimed at integrating the Korean peninsula into the empire of Japan, alleging that Koreans and Japanese were originally the same people, an ideology known as “*內鮮一體*”; K: Naeseon ilche; J: Naisen ittai.” This allegation was used not only as a legitimating weapon for absorbing the Korean peninsula but also for converting the population of Korea into loyal subjects of Japan. Unsurprisingly, the Japanese government officials did not designate Korea as a “colony,” preferring to call it either by its name (朝鮮; J: Chosen) or as “outer lands,” the Japanese islands themselves being designated “inner lands.” In support of these aims, various colonial policies were intended to eradicate a uniquely Korean language and other Korean cultural practices, substituting in their place Japanese counterparts. For example, the Korean population was encouraged, and later coerced, into using the Japanese language, adopting Japanese surnames, and worshipping at Shinto shrines.

The four most influential Korean scholars of folklore during the colonial period and its immediate aftermath were Ch'oe Namseon, Yi Nunghwa, Song Seokha, and Son Jintae.

Korea's Most Influential Scholars on Folklore Scholarship during the Colonial Era

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Choe Namseon2. Yi Neunghwa3. Song Seokha4. Son Jintae |
|---|

Choe Namseon was a prominent intellectual who wrote on a wide variety of topics, but his foremost contribution to folklore scholarship was his positing that a cultural complex based on shamanism (i.e., not Shinto) had developed in Korea and spread from Korea to elsewhere in East Asia, including Japan. His thesis thus reversed the direction of cultural influences claimed by the colonial administration (Choe 1927; Allen 1990). The 1927 edition of *Kyemeong* (*Enlightenment*), an influential

intellectual magazine that carried Choe primary thesis on shamanism, also carried an essay by Yi Neunghwa (1927) which pointed to shamanism as the fundamental religion of Korea, to which such imported religions as Buddhism and Taoism had adapted over the centuries. Their finding that this vernacular religion was a major symbol of Korean identity sparked interest in other forms of vernacular culture and elevated shamanism to one of the primary subjects of Korean folklore scholarship.

Choe and Yi were library scholars who did not conduct fieldwork. That methodological contribution to the formation of Korean folklore scholarship would be made in the following decades by Song Seokha and Son Jintae. Song was primarily a collector, editor, and promoter of public folklore performances. He photographed and collected various vernacular cultural items and practices, ultimately opening a museum. He also edited all three issues of *Joseon Minsokhak (Korean Folklore)*, Korea's only folklore journal of the colonial period, and organized various public performances of folklore.

Song's interests in vernacular culture seem to lie primarily in romantic nostalgia. In the first issue of *Joseon Minsokhak*, Song penned the following in his editorial statement:

The materials of our unique folk culture are disappearing one by one. Unaffected folksongs, sung to the accompaniment of cocks' crowing in the daytime or the sound of running water in a brook, are gradually disappearing because of the automobile. And the Sanyeonghwa of the grass [gathering] boys is being replaced by the pop song "Arirang" and the sound of dynamite blasting for new roads [Song 1934b: Editorial Statement 1].

But Song's idea of organizing and supporting public performances of intangible Korean heritage would later become one the cornerstones of folklore preservation in the Korean system.

Contrasted with Song's apparent romantic nostalgia, Son Jintae, the last of the four most influential folklorists of the Japanese colonial period, evidenced a keener sensitivity to the political dimensions of vernacular culture. A passage from his writings points to the importance of the culture of

the common people for understanding Korea's cultural identity. A few short years after the Japanese colonial period ended, he wrote:

Folkloristics is the science which studies national culture. Here the term "nation" is not used in its broad sense to include the class of ruling aristocrats but refers to the peasants, merchants, craftsman, fisherman, slaves, and other such ruled classes who comprise the majority of a nation. . . . Since anthropological research began at the end of the nineteenth century, scholars became very interested in primitive culture and therefore recognized the importance of this national culture. One cannot deny that folkloristic research is still in its infancy; but thanks to the efforts of Western Europeans, it is now clearly evident that folkloristics is fundamental to history, literary studies, art, sociology, religious studies, philosophy, economics, law, and all the other humanities. (Son Jintae 1981 [orig. 1948] II:23-24)

The folklorists, ethnomusicologists, and scholars of other disciplines who contributed to the formation and implementation of the South Korean system were informed by more than the work of their Korean predecessors. In addition to their familiarity with the work of a few Japanese scholars who had also researched Korean shamanism during the colonial period (e.f., Murayama Chijun, Akamatsu Chijo, Akiba Takashi), they became familiar with contemporary Japanese laws for the preservation of intangible heritage through a translation of the Japanese legislation.

But several differences between the implementations of the Japanese and Korean systems demonstrate that the latter was not simply a copy of the former (Yang 1994). Perhaps most significantly, whereas the Japanese system put more emphasis on professional, elite, and mass culture, such as Noh dramas and Kabuki plays, the Korean system since its inception granted far greater importance to vernacular culture. Yim Suk-jay, the first chair of the Intangible Heritage committee, told us of how he sought to make a local masked-dance drama performed in Yangju, a town just north of Seoul, the first item to be designated. Since he was unable to persuade the other committee members, however, the first designation went to the music accompanying the rituals carried out by the Jeonju Yi kin group for their ancestors who had been kings during the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910). But the Yangju masked dance drama became the second item to be designated (http://search.cha.go.kr/srch/jsp/search_top.jsp

retrieved August 29, 2009). In later years, pansori, folk games, shamanistic rituals, and many other forms of vernacular performances and objects were added to the designation list

Another significant difference between the Korean and Japanese systems was the designation of “original forms” (*weonhyeong*) and efforts to perpetuate them. That term that does not appear in the Japanese regulations (Kwon 2009: 56). These “original forms” are unlike the *urforms* of philologists or Western folklorists who pursued the historic-geographic method. Instead, the term is interpreted rather flexibly and implicitly designates the form of a performance before it was affected by Japanese or other foreign influences. In preparing for designation of the text, masks, and antics of the Hahoe masked dance drama, for example, the folklorist Yi Tu-hyŏn reconstructed a performance that had been performed only about once every ten years and most recently in the 1930s. To accomplish this goal, he interviewed individuals who had witnessed or even participated in the dance-drama in the past.ⁱ

In addition to incorporating the concept of “original form” into the cultural designation system, the committee also thought about how these forms could best be perpetuated. To attain this, they designed an entire system of designating the best performers of each item as “Living Human Treasures” (lit. “holders”) and having them perform periodically for the public and train successors in the proper form of performance. In return for these duties, the best performers or Living Human Treasures receive a stipend from the government and a significant enhancement of their prestige, a particularly important boon in a society that seldom held public performers in high regard. They are also able to attract more private students and enjoy the income that private tutoring provides. In addition, the official students who are enrolled at various levels in the successor-training system also receive various amounts of financial support.

Current Challenges

In recent years, folklore scholarship has shifted, both in South Korea and beyond its borders, and these changes in scholarship present challenges to the South Korean system, particularly with its

orientation toward preserving “original forms.” Today, most folklorists recognize that intangible heritage is dynamic and constantly changing. The very notion of “tradition” has been challenged (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983), and heritage has been reconceptualized. In the felicitous phrasing of Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998),

Despite a discourse of conservation, preservation, restoration, reclamation, recovery, recreation, recuperation, revitalization, and regeneration, heritage produces something new in the present that has no recourse to the past.... By production, I do not mean that the result is not “authentic” or that it is wholly invented. Rather, I wish to underscore that heritage is not lost and found, stolen and reclaimed. It is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse in the past.

And Keith Howard (1989), for example, has been critical of the South Korean system’s effectiveness in “preserving” the rice-transplanting songs of Jindo Island, maintaining that the designation actually transformed many of the songs’ features, such as their rhythms and the opportunity for spontaneous creation of texts.

As a result of this newer thinking, and its influence on Unesco’s Intangible Heritage System, which grants international recognition, the system in the Republic of Korea is confronted by additional challenges. “Soft power” accrues to the cultural prestige (Joseph Nye 2004) that results from Unesco recognition, not to mention the promotion of international tourism and the foreign exchange earnings that result. As of August of 2005, the Republic of Korea successfully gained Unesco’s designations for three of its already domestically recognized performance forms, but its continued success is now threatened. In its recent Proclamation (see Kurin 2007: 12-13), Unesco has turned away from notions of “preserving” in favor of “safeguarding.” Its 2003 Convention, for example, states: “intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them

with a sense of identity and continuity” (Unesco, 2003). Will Unesco continue to look as favorably upon Korean nominations as it did in the past?

The current members of the national government’s Intangible Heritage designation committees are by no means unaware of these challenges and include discussions of how to deal with them in their deliberations (Yim 2004). The practice of designating “original forms” is confronted by questions about whether it is necessary to artificially preserve culture, especially intangible culture. Change is only natural, folklorists and many others have long maintained. It ought to be recognized that the disappearance of a culture is natural when it no longer performs a function. The past culture is replaced by a new culture. Hence, many people are dubious of the necessity of artificially preserving a culture that is vanishing.

Those who advocate the admittedly artificial protection and preservation of intangible cultural heritage, however, put forward a different logic. Their position is that in general much of the traditional culture that is disappearing from societies symbolically represents a people, their ethnic identity, and their mode of government. Many take the view that in the rapidly changing Republic of Korea, traditional forms should be preserved or else they will disappear and they decline to designate newer versions and forms. What is the purpose of preservation, they ask, if new forms are designated while older forms disappear?

Non-Western societies emphasize this point most strongly. In Korea, one of the older forms of music is *pansori*, a kind of epic singing. In the 1960s, many people looked to the West and began to like Western music, such as opera and pop songs. As there were few occasions when pansori singers were asked to perform and this specialty affected their livelihood. Their number had been rapidly surpassed by Korean singers of Western music, whose audiences also quickly increased in number. Without the intangible cultural heritage policies of the government of the Republic of Korea, perhaps pansori would have disappeared altogether. Today, even though many citizens still enjoy Western music more than

pansori, they continue to regard the latter as Korean music, and such genres as opera and pop song as Western music. Therefore, it is arguable that intangible cultural heritage has played an important role in preserving a group's unique cultural identity. Cho [Han] Hae Joang (2002), for example, has pointed to how Seopyeonje, a very popular film about pansori generated a sense of national identification with this form of performance among her undergraduate students in the Republic of Korea. And Roald Maliangkay (2007: 177-178) has recently pointed the system's preservation of older work songs provided a means of recovering some of the Korean culture that was destroyed by the Japanese during the colonial period

Yet another argument put forward to defend the preservation of older forms is that they can serve as a resource for new creations. On university campuses during the 1970s and 1980s, old forms of masked dance dramas became models for the dramas of the pro-democracy movement. Similarly, older forms of farmer's band music (*pungmul*) became models for the development of *samulnori* percussion ensembles, very popular among younger people today. Many take the view that in the rapidly changing Republic of Korea, traditional forms should be preserved or else they will vanish. What is the purpose of preservation, they ask, if new forms are designated while older forms disappear?

As a result, opinions vary among scholars, performers (Kwon 2009), and the general population as to whether the old forms of intangible cultural heritage should be maintained and performed without allowing changes or whether and to what degree changes should be permitted. The original political motivations for the system have evaporated as the Republic of Korea has become a democracy, but new political motivations emerge as the nation increases its efforts to garner the prestige that would make its voice better heard in international discourse. Yet, the influence of contemporary folkloristic thinking today seems no less important than when the system originated.

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ⁱ For an English-language synopsis of the drama, see Yi Tu-hyŏn (1975: 38-40).

visiting the Kaesŏng Kor ŏ useu
on the a for reconciliation
on the Korean peninsula

R h hei ha er

ICME/2009/Seoul: "Museums for Reconciliation and Peace-Roles of Ethnographic Museums in the World"

Visiting the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum – on the way for reconciliation on the Korean peninsula (1)

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Generally ethnographic museums represent the geographic, cultural or national *other*. Discussing reconciliation or peace as addressed in these museums can therefore be seen as an attempt to overcome dividing difference, to enhance congruence between *different* groups of people. The question is, however, a congruence on what and between who? Is it deliberation between conflict groups about the past and present, assimilation, nation-building processes or multi-culture the museum strives for?

This paper aims to emphasize the very sensitive relationship of state, nation and cultural narratives, narratives of difference and commonness, and its possible deliberation in a museum. The manifold understandings will be explored on the basis of the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum, located just over the inter-Korean border in the ancient capital town Kaesŏng in North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea, DPRK) that had been open for South Korean tourists from December 2007- December 2008.

Along with other scenic and historical spots, the itinerary of a tour of Kaesŏng included a visit to the Koryŏ Museum. For most visitors, the trip was necessarily charged with hopes of national unification and the excitement to experience the "fraternal north" (World Research 2008: 23) (2). Based on common history and pride in Korean nationhood, these hopes lead to common interpretations as well as to the deliberation of competing ones. Just a two-hours bus drive away from central Seoul, the museum underlies various complex readings of the Koreaness it represents, from a negotiation of state identity to a cultural and ethnic identity. The one-day tours for South Korean citizens to Kaesŏng provided a rare opportunity to examine their

self-identification with the Korean nation, where common, but also demarcating interpretations of the shared Korean past are joined and mediated. These interpretations act as an identifier with the cultural nation that is not necessarily confined to the boundaries of the modern nation states and thus can be an important tool in regional reconciliation politics.

Reconciliation?

Yet for reconciliation to happen, there is a need for communication between the conflicting parties. So it had only been during the open access of the North Korean museum for South Korean visitors that competing or shared ideas could be mitigated. These visits were only possible as part of the organised Kaesong tours by the Hyundai Group. These initiatives in North Korea could start after the initial inter-state cooperation agreements like the socio-cultural exchange promotion act of 1990. The interruption of the tourism programmes proved the strong dependency of these inter-Korean cooperation activities on political developments. So-called bottom-up efforts by common people to gain insight and discuss new experiences with their fraternal neighbours can only advance under the umbrella of the overpowering consent of the two Korean states.

Interesting is also the question how a Korean reconciliation should look like. Both Koreas have strong stakes in proving their state legitimacy and have different ideas how and in what form reconciliation or even unification should be achieved. The cultural theme of the Kōryo period is a seemingly neutral and innocent ground to promote reconciliation. Yet the focus of interpretation and display also reflects an ideological historiography. Life-long educated in South Korean historical interpretations and political ideology, how did the South Korean tourists confront the North Korean ideological interpretations of the shared history in the museum they visit?

In September 2008 I joined the one-day tour starting from Seoul, which allowed me not only to observe the behaviour of visitors and tour guides at first hand, but also gave me the chance to speak to some of the travellers about their experience. Unfortunately, I was restricted to this informal research method, as a questionnaire was not permitted by the South Korean tourism organisation. However, the organisation kindly allowed me to use their subsequent customer

satisfaction questionnaire of the tour (3).

The role of the Koryŏ Museum for Reconciliation

Koryŏ period and its unification symbolism

This museum is of particular interest for its location in the medieval Korean capital Kaesŏng during the Koryŏ period, the first period of a unified peninsula. The unifying ideology of Koryŏ has been co-opted in North as South Korea for its evident parallels with North-South unification rhetoric. In general, both Korean states look favourably to the Kŏryŏ dynasty as a period when true unification was achieved (Vermeersch 2008: 1516). Thus, the Koryŏ period remains exhibited in the Koryŏ Museum are carrier of meaningful associations for Korean reconciliation and even unification transmitted from the past into the present.

The case study of the Koryŏ Museum is a particular example. Although it is not an ethnographic museum in the traditional sense with representation of diverse cultural groups, it borrows the rhetoric of an ethnic nation and only one cultural group, the Koreans. The Korean nation is seen by most Korean scholars, regardless of their ideological views, as a continuation of long standing patterns of ethnicity, built on preexisting geographic or cultural foundations (Connor 1994, Smith 1986, 1991 and 2008). This Korean nation seems to be conceived of as a community with a deeply shared cultural and historical identity regardless of, and overpowering, the actual ideological differences across the 38th parallel. In 1947s the prominent South Korean historian Son Chint'ae wrote, "Since the beginning of history, we [Koreans] have been a single race that has had a common historic life, living in a single territory [...], sharing a common destiny". Similarly, the well-known Marxist historian Paek Namun noted in 1946, "The Korean nation is a unitary nation with a common blood, territory, language, culture, and historical destiny for thousands of years". These historians argue that the Korean nation has been united since the dawn of historical time if not necessarily as a state, then at the very least by culture, blood and language. Though they may stand in direct opposition over claims of national legitimacy and

representation, political leaders in South and North Korea share the same view on the ethnic homogeneity of the Korean nation (Shin 2006: 5).

Unconsciously this rhetoric is used in the Koryŏ Museum to emphasise the shared ancestry of the Korean people and the culture they have in common against their dividing state ideologies. I do say unconsciously, as the museum theme and name was not purposefully chosen to propagate Korean unification, but just a logical consequence of the town's cultural legacy and unique location. The museum practices and the historical interpretation in the Koryŏ Museum are not the product of a joint Korean effort or cooperation of the museum interpretations and display. However the foundation history of the Koryŏ Museum and the concurrent cultural-political developments in Korea reveal this close relationship and contextualize the interest and historical connection of both Korean states to Kaesŏng and the Koryŏ period.

The museum's history

The official historiographies of both Koreas culturally identify with the golden period of the first Korean unified dynasty, the Koryŏ period. In addition to the shared cultural identifications with the Koryŏ period, the history of the Koryŏ Museum collection also reveals how it has been a pawn in the context of changing political scene. For nearly five hundred years Kaesŏng served as the capital of the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), its kingdom covering the territory of today's South Korea (Republic of Korea, ROK) and most of North Korea. Nearly the same territorial lines were kept in the succeeding Chosŏn period (1392-1910) and the Japanese Occupation period (1910-1945). During the latter period, the Koryŏ Museum's predecessor, the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum, was founded on November 1, 1931 (4). With the end of the Japanese Occupation, the Korean peninsula was divided under the trusteeship of the Soviet Union and the USA in September 1945. Kaesŏng was part of the South Korean provisional division and the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum became a branch of the National Museum in Seoul in March 1946 (Chin 1970: 167). One year before the official outbreak of the Korean War on June 25 1950, Kaesŏng, located close to the dividing 38th parallel, was caught between the North and South Korean armies as they continuously attacked each other. Koryŏ ceramics and other important

cultural relics were hastily sent to Seoul and the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum closed its doors. The museum director Jin Hong-sŏb guarded the empty museum even after the outbreak of the Korean War. After the Chinese Army entered the Korean War, the return of the battle frontier made the stay in Kaesŏng life-threatening. Director Jin left for Pusan, the southern port city to which the National Museum was evacuated in December 1951, though not before burying a part of the remaining museum collection underground ('Hanguk pakmulgwan 100 nyŏn-ŭi saram-dŭl' 2009). Immediately following this, and as the war continued, in January 1952 the Kaesŏng was re-opened in its previous buildings by North Korean authorities, but under the name Kaesŏng History Museum (5). In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the museum, the North Korean News Agency (KCNA 2002) described the importance of the timing of its foundation and the resulting political symbolism.

50 years have passed since the Koryŏ Museum was established in January J'uche 41 (1952). Koryŏ is the first unified state in Korea. The museum is situated in Kaesŏng, which was the capital city of Koryŏ. It was founded in the period of war decisive of the destiny of the country and the nation in Korea.

(‘Koryŏ Museum’ 2002)

In 1988 the museum was moved into the buildings of the famed Koryŏ period academy Sŏnggyun'gwan and given its current name Koryŏ Museum. In both Koreas it is still often referred as the Koryŏ Sŏnggyun'gwan (Institute of North Korea Study 2006: 113). Like its predecessor, it holds a collection of relics from local sites and finds mostly dated to the Koryŏ period.

The Koryŏ Museum exhibition

A museum is more than a place of memory, it is the place where, by *narrative reconstruction*, individual and collective identity can be shaped by presenting the multiple traditions with which it is crossed. The museum contributes to the construction

of a community rooted in history. (Pierron 1996, my italics)

For the purposes of this paper, I will introduce single examples of the collection to illustrate the articulation of multiple national narrative constructions that shape collective identity, in terms of the ethno-cultural and the ideological.

The cultural narrative

The museum display is organized in five exhibition areas divided by the single buildings of the historical Sönggyun'gwan compound and its outdoor space. As the architecture is not that of a purpose-built museum, the exhibition space follows the spatial layout of the buildings. The museum tour, conducted by a museum guide and detailed in the scant literature on the museum, also follow the architectural structure. However, the ancient building complex is more than an exhibition shell, it is an exhibit in its own right and, as indicated on the signpost at its entrance, designated historical remain no 50. Interestingly, part of the common cultural nation narrative is the memory of foreign aggression that the Korean person was subjected to throughout its history. The signpost not only informs visitors about the building's foundation as an educational institution in 992, it also explains its destruction during the Japanese Invasion in 1592 and its subsequent Chosön period repairs between 1602 and 1610.

Perhaps due to this constant struggle against foreign domination, another common nation narrative is the proud comparison of Korea with the international community. The North Korean art historian, Chön Ryöng-ch'öl, stresses the importance of the Sönggyun'gwan complex in Korean and world history. According to him, Koryö scientists and historians that had been working in the Sönggyun'gwan were responsible for the great achievements and discoveries of their time (Chön 2002: 176-8).

On display at the Koryö Museum are the world-renowned Koryö celadon wares. A couple of glass cabinets display the various shapes and decorative patterns of Koryö celadon wares, a ceramic recognized for its fine jade-green glaze and elegant shape. To this day craftsmen try to evoke their beauty in contemporary productions in what is named Kaesöng porcelain, examples of which can be purchased in the museum shop. The ceramics are exhibited together with some

iron and bronze artefacts, the most prominent being the metal movable print letter.

As in South Korean museums, the Kaesŏng Museum proudly highlights the use of movable print in Korea dating from the early thirteenth century. The dissemination of this fact is fiercely promoted through the display of material evidence. It demonstrates that Koreans used this printing technique two hundred years prior to Gutenberg. On a panel (literally translated: Kim Il-sung teaching) overlooking the exhibition room, Kim Il-sung's citation affirms the glorious achievements of the Korean people and the important role that metal type printing played for Koreans and the world.

The ideological narrative

The state-defined display of cultural relics therefore acts as a form of people's educational engagement with the past and their acts of remembering. It is supposed to set an example by stressing the importance of *glorious* past achievements. People are only taught and encouraged to engage with this particularly chosen understanding of their cultural history. The North Korean leading authority Kim Jong-il openly prescribed this form of historiography: "There is no need to rehabilitate all the historical sites and relics indiscriminately. Only representative ones which have educational significance and are capable of showing the excellence of our national culture should be rehabilitated." ('On improving party guidance relating to the preservation of historical sites and relics' 1964)

The above instruction continues to be observed in contemporary North Korea and the Koryŏ Museum, where the state-controlled national museum acts as a cultural tool for public education and remembrance. Compatible with the political ideology, Koryŏ's historical past is explained explicitly to serve the state. This creates a paradox. The history of Koryŏ serves as a symbol of Korean unification sentiments, yet concurrently used to consolidate demarcating state ideological narratives.

Understanding the capacity of history and culture as nation-building tools, Kim Il-sung criticized the lack of books on the *precious* cultural heritage and the history of the national

liberation struggle. As a result, from the end of the 1950s, Kim Il-sung's *Juch'e* theory took over historical scholarship, the empowerment of the working masses of the people, the subject of the revolution. Accordingly, the themes of revolution and national independence are highlighted in the Koryŏ Museum. A poster of peasant rebellions between the end of the twelfth and beginning thirteenth centuries refers to the manifold local uprisings. Just as suggested 'On the proper evaluation and treatment of cultural heritage of our nation with correct viewpoint and attitude' in 1970 the ideological nation narrative of the museum "deal[s] with the national cultural heritage on a class basis and appraise[s] it according to the interests of our revolution. [...] We must revive those parts that are beneficial to our revolution and discard those that are detrimental." The exhibition also illuminates the historical struggle and advancement of the Korean people to defend their independence. The visitor can, for instance, look at drawings of Koryŏ engineering inventions for warfare or an iron helmet of a Koryŏ general. The North Korean authoritative ideological narrative is solidified by the North Korean museum guide who equipped with a megaphone leads the visitors through the museum.

The South Korean visitor

Interestingly, the South Korean visitor seems to take this ideological confrontation lightly. Comments in press articles do not mention any ideological problems with the exhibition, however its shameful backwardness or poverty. Whereas backwardness is romanticized with some things like food, attitude and such (6), backwardness and poor facilities to exhibit pride Korean history and its relics are regarded negatively and a with a hint of superiority.

Compared to our [South Korean] museums, the state of the exhibition is shamefully appalling. As electricity was saved it was dark, and one light was not enough to illuminate the Koryŏ celadons sufficiently, the stone sarcophagus and bronze censer are exposed unprotected to the hands of tourists that are passing by. Despite the exhibition's lack of refinement, the over one thousand artefacts are a stupendous treasure of great value. ('Koryŏ-ga sara itta' 2008).

Like the focus on Koryŏ's past, a curiosity to engage with the North Korean guides and to find commonalities predominate. It appears that in the end the memories of these symbolic interactions had a significant impact on visitors. Indeed, most visitors (52,1%) who took part in a survey state that their most salient memory of their trip was to see the life of people in North Korea, followed by scenic spots (24,9%). The cultural properties of Kaesŏng had a lasting impression on 7,5% of the respondents (World Research, 2008: 23).

Conclusion

Both Korean states have promoted cultural interpretations based at both the state and the nation. So there is consensus over the cultural and historical significance of the Koryŏ period based on a shared concept of nationhood and two somewhat opposing state interpretations in relation to the same historical period. Thus, we have a case where the state-sanctioned ideologies challenge and redefine the stasis of encompassing Korean cultural meanings. Accordingly, Korean national culture underlies two layers of dominant ideology that are valid for North and South Korea alike; one that focuses on common national interpretation, and another that stresses the significance of the state.

It appears as if the Koryŏ theme is an ideal(ized) continuation of a cultural nation, because it allows for one-Korean-nation identification on the basis of a shared cultural history. The historical significance of Kaesŏng and its numerous relics is a source of pride and interest for all Koreans. Access to the cultural heritage in Kaesŏng soothed the longing for the right to walk the ground of the country, expressed in the patriotic idea of *uri nara*, our land.

The Koryŏ Museum exhibition's display and interpretation had not been mitigated between North and South Korean curators and historians so that it provides a platform for multiple national narratives comparable to the problematic issue of Korean unification. Due to the "shared cultural knowledge" of the golden unification period of Koryŏ in North and South Korea, the Koryŏ Museum is a contemporary mediator of Korean national and state identities. It clearly shows that the concept of the Korean nation is not necessarily confined to the boundaries of the modern nation states and thus can be an important tool in regional reconciliation politics.

The diverse narratives in the Koryŏ Museum offered the opportunity to come and realize, and possibly deliberate national historical memory, state ideology and individual identity. So for a limited time, the Kaesŏng tours afforded some wider insights into the role of tourism for nation-building purposes.

Unfortunately, the recent termination of the Kaesŏng tours interrupts this inter-Korean cultural dialogue before it became well known by more South Korean citizens. This premature closure of the tour is particularly regrettable as it was as it helped easing the increase of inter-Korean political tensions.

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Endnotes

(1) A similar discussion in extended version of this paper is currently under review for print in the forthcoming NaMu book, *National Museums*.

(2) At the inter-Korean border controls on the North Korean side, North Korean-style music with unification lyrics can be heard. South Korean unification organisations came in groups to visit Kaesŏng, posing on pictures with unification-slogan boards. Also visitors with family ties in the Kaesŏng region represented a significant proportion of the tourists.

(3) I am very grateful for the support I received from Mr. Kim Sunghun, deputy director in the KTO (Korea Tourism Organisation) Frankfurt office who not only forwarded and coordinated my requests to the KTO head office, but also provided me with a free Kaesŏng tour ticket and the KTO questionnaire results.

(4) Prior to the opening of the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum, a collection of local Koryŏ period relics were placed in a small gallery in front of Kaesŏng's royal palace site Manwŏldae (Chin 1970: 167). This gallery had long been inaccessible, but in 1912 the Kaesŏng provincial office took an initiative to protect its old monuments and relics and founded the Kaesŏng Safeguarding Committee. Its efforts to provide a space for these artefacts resulted in the establishment of the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum.

(5) But only since the establishment of the Demilitarized Zone along the slightly shifted 38th parallel which was established as a Korean War ceasefire line in 1953, Kaesŏng became officially North Korean.

(6) Some South Korean tourists told me that North Korean dress, food, liquor, cigarettes and sweets reminded them of a Korea in the past that evokes nostalgic and romantic feelings in them.

Urban phenomena / museum prospects

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o o le ega

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How do museums communicate with a city?

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Urban ethnology/anthropology museums and contemporary society

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 r a i o n m e r a m e r l i n .

n i h e o r e h n o l o g h a a e h e o i
 m e n i o n e l o n g e o r e a l l o h e r m e m
 i i l i n e . o e r n o n m e r o i e a n
 m a i n l r a n l r e l i n e w i h i a n a a h e
 o h e e m o a i h e r e e n a i l l i e a n
 m o e r n l r a l h e n o m e n a o i i e h a e
 e o m e o i o e h n o l o g i a l a n a l e a n
 r e e a r h . i r i n e h e h n o l o g i a l i e o
 i i e i n r o e w e r e a r r i e o a l r e a a h e
 e n o h e i n h e a n i e r e n
 r a n r o e a n e h n o l o g i e a n h o o l w e r e
 o r m e w i h i e r e n m e h o m e h o o l o g i e
 a n r e e a r h o n e . h e w e r e
 h a r a e r i e r e e a r h i e o l o w e r o i a l
 l a e w o r l r e a a e i a l e a r e o
 a n i n a i a n e h n o l o g a n r a n
 e n i r o n m e n w h e r e i a l o r m o r a n
 h m a n r e l a i o n a r e e e l o e h a i
 a r e r a i l w a a n a i o n e m e e r i e .
 h e o r e i a l a n m e h o o l o g i a l l r a l i m
 h a r a e r i i o i r e e a r h h e r e o r e e n a l e
 r e e a r h i n o r a n l i e a n o n m e r o i e
 r o m i e r e n a e h e i e e a l w i h
 i i e a a r e a o e h n i a n o i a l h e e r o g e n e i
 r a n i e n i a n r a n l r a l r o e e
 e r a i n r o e i o n a l g r o a n h e o m m n i
 a a w h o l e .

r i i i m o h i e r i o r e r o a h e h e m m a n
 i m e o r n e o r o m a n i a r i n g o i n h a i i
 m e r e l a e a r h o r a i l l a g e i n h e i
 a l r e a i n h e h e i e a m e a n
 i n e e n e n e h n o l o g i a l o n e a n r a n
 a n h r o o l o g e a m e i n i i o n a l i e .

logi al e ion wo l e ha along wi h
e a li hing new ren in m eolog a new
an wi e iel o a i i ha een o ene or
r an e hnolog in he here o m e m wor
howe er he e o i were are o e
inno a i el re ear he o men e an
re en e e er in o her iel .
hnologi al m e m re on mainl in he
iel o o i al ear h ori en i ie wi hin he
one o ommon ro e an o e ion o
he ro ean hara er o e hnologi al
olle ion . he re ogni e he e hallenge an
in l e hem in heir rogramme a o i an
on en no elie o re ear h o men a ion
an e hi i ion.

hni al e ion are e oming in rea ingl
em ha i e hi o i i e e iall o in ere in
m e m whi h are lo a e near or er . al o
in l e he e ion o new omer minori ie
an oreigner . Di eren ro ean in egra ion
on he o her han rigger re er e ro e e
ee reng hening o na ional a egorie an
nowle ge a o na ional originali an
i er i . eo le are in rea ingl more aware o
he e i en e o i eren ro ean i en i ie
an he eeling o erri orial a ilia ion. hi
i a ion i re le e al o in m e m a i i .
i h he e elo men o more mo ern i ew on
heri age m e m are e oming ho e
in i ion whi h ho l eal wi h he e ion
an ro e o a ommon ro ean i en i
an new e ermina ion o na ional i en i ie
he hel wi h i ing i hing l ral gro
wi hin glo ali a ion ro e e an h heri h
i er i . e m a la e o omm ni a ion
an re en i eren l re an h ma e
hem amiliar o eo le i i or rai e i eren
e ion in orm an hel i eren l ral
gro o learn a o an n er an ea h o her.
n oing o m e m on ri e o he
n er an ing o hi ori al imen ion o h man
en ironmen an o i ali el e a li hmen .

h re en a ion al o on ri e o oleran e
re ogni a ili an en or emen o n amen al
righ o he i i en whi h e e an e
he rin i le o non i rimina ion. la e in
m e m re en a ion ho l e gi en o all
e hni al minori ie e e iall in m e m lo e
o or er r a ing eno ho ia igma i m

non in l ion an non on i era ion o er ain
gro or e en o la ion are he em ha i e
e hnologi al o i . new o i i he rea men
an re en a ion o ma migra ion ren o h
re en a ion o non ro ean na ion li ing in
ro e an ro ean migra ion o wor er .

Situation in Slovenia

he eginning o e hnologi al ie o r an
i e in lo enia go a o he an are
lin e wi h he De armen o e hnolog an
l ral an hro olog a he a l o r in
L l ana an ro e or la o remen e .
re ing he im or an e o e hnologi al
re ear h a e ing hi iel an en o raging
en o n er a e mall ale re ear h al o
in own an i ie wi h em ha i on mo ern
henomena wa e en on i ere one o he
hara eri i o ing e hnolog in
L l ana. he me ho olog o he ir re ear h
ie o i ie ol e mar e a gene i
r ral mo o he wor rea ing i ie an
i o la ion were hi ori all orien e .
Li el i ion a o e hnolog an mo ern
lo ene o ie e gan in he re ing
ha on em orar e hnolog i o e o e
he re l o ing ail li e o rai e el
awarene an el nowle ge an on re e
o ial a ion . Re ear h on l re an wa o
li ing in er ain ro e ional an o ial gro
wa arrie o mo e en i el on he
wor ing la along wi h er ain rea men o
o her r an area . i hin he re ear h
rogramme he Li e le o lo ene in he^h
en r a ro e alle hnologi al
o ogra h o lo ene e hni al erri or wa
arrie o in he an earl whi h
re en e a er ain em al o or e hnologi al
ie o mo ern li e le in e e ial re
wa lai on he i ol ion o ra i ional l re
an he hange in i . he e re ear h ie
mo l rea r an area a on i en ar o
wi er erri orie in e wi h regar o he
i i ion o he re ear he region in o in i i al
omm ni ie r an e lemen are in he en re
o he e amine area.

i a a ha e hnolog in m e m i no go
han in han wi h heore i al mo emen in

e hnolog in e e hnolog i no orm i
 mo elo m e m a i i an h wa an ill
 i lagging ehin he heore i al rin i le o
 he i i line. i r e ha ir rare re ear h
 ie in i a ing i eren i ew go a o he
 or e am le an e hi i ion on ra h
 he remaine a he le elo in i i al ro e .
 o o en m e m re en a ion a well a
 re ear h in general on ern he iel o wor
 l re mainl mining an iron in r .
 lo ene e hnologi al olle ion an i en i
 e hi i ion an e la i ie in o wo a egorie
 a or ing o he ime o orma ion ho e rea e
 alrea when ir new m e m were o n e a
 he rn o he en r en. an ho e
 rea e ring he e on wa e o o n a ion
 o regional m e m in he an .
 mero olle ion oge her wi h a ro ria e
 o men a ion re re en he ri hne o
 olle e an ore mo a le l ral heri age
 o e hnologi al hara er wi ho
 re ogni ing rren o en ial o or ni ie an
 wi ho a ing he alrea re en e o i .
 olle ing oli remain almo n hange
 he ma ori o ma erial i ill a re en a ion o
 ra i onal l re o lo ene o n r i e a he
 m o he en r wi h a eeling o
 n hangea ili . ermanen e hi i ion
 re en ing r an o i an on mer o ie
 are rare. a e an re i ew o he alrea
 re en e o i are rare i e a ew e hi i ion
 a e more or le n hange al o in he
 en r . ore no el ie a he le el o on en
 orm an a roa h an e no i e wi h
 ermanen e hi i ion wi h in er i i linar
 a roa h o onne ing i eren m e m
 i i line . n lo enia we ill ha e no
 e a li he a on in o an ema i all
 more wi el organi e wor in he iel o
 o men ing an re en ing r an li e an
 mo erni in m e m . lo ene e hnologi al
 olle ion a regional m e m la a holi i
 on e a oin ra eg an harmoni e an
 en i le olle ing an e hi i ing oli a he
 le el o he en ire area o ere m e m .

ri i al i ew i in la e when on i ering
 m e m olle ing ra egie whi h wi h ome
 rare e e ion ha e remaine n hange or

e a e . on e en l on i era le an
 irre ara le ga o r in m e m ma erial
 whi h wo l o men an in er re he ario
 orm an o ial gro o o ren ironmen .
 De i e ome ali re en a ion we anno
 ea o a wi er a i e an im re i e a ion
 an r i o new orien a ion in lo ene
 e hnolog in m e m . on em orar
 anal i al i ew on e hnologi al m e m
 ma erial rai e a ew ri i al e ion rela e o
 i a ili o on e a me age in he on e o
 he re en ime.

here are e eral rea on or hi i a ion an
 he re le one a i ro lem whi h i la o
 a e a e e a ion an on e en l la o
 nowle ge. lo enia ill ha no ni er i
 ie rogramme in he iel o m eolog
 an r an e hnolog /an hro olog whi h i a
 e in he De armen o e hnolog an
 l ral an hro olog i no o lar eno gh
 here are no rela e in i ion in i e an
 o her in r men whi h wo l e a i e in
 rea ing h o i in he on e o
 on em orar o ie .

i re i el e a e o hi i a ion ha he
 em ha i on o or ni ie ha mo ern ime
 o er o r an e hnolog wi hin m eolog i all
 he more im or an . or lo enia in egra ion
 in o ro ean a e re re en a ig
 hallenge an a han e whi h i o ening new
 i ew on alrea rea e o i an a he ame
 ime al o highligh man new o or ni ie or
 a i i ie . he re en e o on em orar
 migra ion wa e o re gee mem er o
 na ion an na ionali ie o ormer Y go la
 e era ion an migran rom non ro ean
 o n rie an he ri e o e hni l rali are onl
 ome o hem in line wi h ro ean o i .

he in errela ion among re ear h o i
 e amine r an e hnolog an i ion
 r e he on e o mo ern m e m all
 or in era ion an o en man o or ni ie or
 he e elo men o r an e hnolog wi hin
 m e m . oreo er he la er i e oming one
 o he lea ing orien a ion o mo ern
 m eologi al ren .

Urban phenomena-museum perspectives CE:
CE1 City market – the heart of the city / CE2
Celje yards – marginal centre / CE3 Taxi
drivers' stories – urban tales

i h regar o he e o e orien a ion he
De ar men o r an e hnolog an
an hro olog a he e m o Re en i or
in ele are a m li ann al ro e en ile
r an henomena / m e m e r e i e in
. he re ear h on irm he ra egi
orien a ion o he r an e hnolog e ar men
an i a ar o he long erm ie o he e
o i . he aim o he ro e are wi e an
on in o rea men an re ear h in o i eren
r an henomena in he i o ele an he
a in a region in l ion in he ne wor o
in erna ional m e m re ear h in o h o i
a i e omm ni a ion wi h he rren
e elo men in he i an o men a ion o
he ele e egmen olle ion o i a le
ma erial i re en a ion an o lari a ion.
he re ear h eal wi h mo ern on mer
o ie an mainl r an l re lin e wi h i
an a a he o he mo ern ail li e in he i .
he i o ele inha i an i rea e
a an area o e hni an o ial he erogenei
r an i en i e an r an l ral ro e e he
la e o re i en e an wor or er ain
ro e ional an o ial gro an he
omm ni a a whole.

he wor on hi ro e i me ho ologi all
an organi a ionall i e r e a e ial egmen
i e o e o en re ear h wor an
a i ional raining an e a ion o en o
e hnolog an l ral an hro olog . i hin he
re ear h we organi e an e hnologi al m e m
wor ho e er ear whi h i onne e o he
in i i al re ear h o i .

he ir re ear h wa arrie o in an i
i ie he ele mar e . he ele ion o hi
o i wa a e on wo rieria lanne r an
reno a ion o he mar e area an he
im or an e o he o ial h or he i o ele .
Yo ng re ear her amiliari e hem el e wi h
he ele mar e rom i eren a e h he
wor wa arrie o in hree gro . he gro
or ra i ion o he ele mar e re ear he in o
he meaning o he mar e in he a an a

h n re ear o ra i ion o he area where he
i an he on r i e me . he re l
ga here were an e ellen aring oin or
om ari on wi h he re en a i a ion an
he meaning o he mar e in he i .
wor ing a o a en or who ha een elling a
he ele mar e or a n mer o ear wa
o mene . he en or wa i ie a her
home in mar no Ro ni olini an her wor
wa moni ore ing he o er a ion me ho
an o rown ari i a ion. ing he me ho o
e en e in er i ew we wro e own her or
o mene i i all an la e i in o he
one o he mar e a a e ial o en a e.
he i al re or i here ore e ellen ma erial
or r her m e m rea men an a re i le
o men a o he rea e o i . n
on er a ion wi h en or a he mar e we
highligh e he o ial an e onomi a o he
ro e ion e amine heir o er rela ion wi h
omer an rela ion among en or
hem el e olle e o inion a o he
gge e reno a ion lan ali mar e
reg la ion an o ial i e . he hir gro
arrie o a r e o re ear h he a a hmen
o he ele mar e o he li e o he ele
i i en an learn a o he meaning o he
mar e area or he o h amilie or el erl
i i or an om are he mar e area o
ho ing in large ho ing en re .

r re ear h onirme he h o he i ha he
i mar e i a re ogni a le r an i en i o
he i an a o ial h wi h a e ial meaning
wi h ho ing an o ial n ion an ha i i
in a wa he hear o he i . he re l o
he r e ro e a well ha he mar e ha a
e ial la e in he li e o he i i en .

he re ear h r an henomena/ m e m
ro e arrie o in eal wi h he
ele ar a e ial r an la e o re i en e
an la e o li ri a e hara er.
o ogra hi al o men a ion o he ele ar
an heir om onen wa arrie o h i al
a earan e an n ionali were o mene
wi h he re l howing ha ar are in mo
a e a an one area in en e or gar ening
o ergrown an ne loi e an a a r le
on ere in o ar ar whi h i how he
re i en o he ol i en re ol e he ro lem

o ar ing. e imonie a o he lie o he
 ele i i en an in he ar were ga here
 ing he me ho o e en e in er i ew. a
 a i we oo he rren i a ion an
 on i ere he a a ar a a he
 in orman o l remem er. e a e ago he
 ar were o ial la e wi h i eren mee ing
 oin in he oin la n r he well in he
 lower or ege a le gar en hi igni i an e i
 om le el lo o a . Yar are no longer
 o ial la e he ir image are now ho e o
 m ing gro n an ar ar . n he a
 ar e o ha e in i i al orie now
 he ir orie are ine re i e an orgo en.
 or ing o he in orman he rea on or
 h i a ion are i eren ol er re i en ial
 o la ion oll ion o he en ironmen
 ragmen e owner hi non im la ing lo al
 go ernmen oli nega i e a i e owar
 a ar men in he ol i en re an he general
 ren o ol i en re lo ing im or an e. h
 he i en re i ran orme in o i marginal
 area an i a i i e o he a now a e
 la e in he ormer margin in new glo al an
 ni er al orm
 omewha more en o raging i he a e o he
 ar er ing a li n ion. i in ere ing
 how ome o hem are ille wi h ar al ho gh
 er ain ar wall o ere in gra i i gi e he
 im re ion o marginal area ra her han he
 o her wa aro n . ele a well i ring o
 orm a o alle ari i ar er where ari i
 rea i i wol enri h he le o he i .
 here are more han eno gh e l
 e am le or ha roa he in ro e an we
 an ho e ha ele will ollow hem. e an
 no i e an ar hi e ral ren o o ering ar
 mainl li l ral in i ion in e ha
 la e ena le e an ion o a i i e .
 l ho gh onl a e awa rom he ea en
 a h ar are hi en rom he e e an
 ho gh an he en r in i i al loo
 owar e hno oli e an mall h er
 ho ing en re an glo al im er onal mill o
 a i he nee o on mer o ie . he
 i en i i a ion o en ial o i ie lie el ewhere
 al o in ar a green oa e in he mi le o a
 i a o ial h an mee ing oin a la e
 o rela a ion an la .

hi ear re ear h ie r an
 henomena/m e m ro e a i ri er
 orie i a ing la e. he re ear h ha me
 rom ele e r an area he ele mar e
 ele ar owar a e i i ro e ional
 gro whi h in a e ial wa on ri e o he
 i en i o e er i . olle ing a i ri er
 orie we re eal he le o he i e ween
 he i i le an he in i i le ole e ween
 ni er ali an in ima we moni or o ial
 hange an lin hem wi h roa er on e .
 he orie an e i i e in o wo gro li e
 orie o in i i al a i ri er whi h al o
 re eal he ir a an role in o ie an orie
 rea e hro gh he rela ion hi wi h he ir
 lien . n i eem ha here are a man
 orie a lien . a i ri er ro e o e
 e ellen or eller wi h man e erien e
 e o omm ni a ing wi h eo le whi h he
 ee a an e en ial elemen o he ir wor .
 mong he ir er onal hara eri i he al o
 oin o in ne non in r i ene i ine
 an e i ili o lien .

re le ion o he rren o io oli i al
 i a ion lie in he in orma ion ha or he
 ma ori o a i ri er he ir o i onl a wa
 o o a i i l i a ion mainl e a e he
 ha e lo ermanen em lo men or a wa o
 ma ing e ra in ome. on e enl he a
 o he o hange an iall . n he a he
 o o a a i ri er wa one o he elie
 ro e ion wi h learl e ine r le oo o
 r le or a men rom a re o e an
 o e o eha io r wherea o a an one an
 e a a i ri er. here i al o a i eren e in
 he ir lien in he a a i er i e were
 onne e wi h a a m ol an re ige
 wherea o a he are a e i le o an one.
 he rren i a ion i hara eri e al o
 he general i or er a ime e en anar hi
 a e an ormal in on i en in oing hi o .
 on e enl we in er ha a i ri er in ele
 o no on ri e o i i en i are an
 nre ogni a le an non homogeno
 ro e ional gro .
 he re ear h r an henomena/m e m
 ro e will e on in e in he oming
 ear al o wi h a goal in min o e he re l

o o r ie o romo e el awarene el
nowle ge an on re e o ial a ion .

Re eren e

. www.rana.i.org www.a.i
. an ell Ri har o ial in l ion he
m e man he nami o e oral hange.
n e man o ie
. en h an e er nno a ing he
en ironmen eri age an new e hnologie .
or i eologi
. r men or ro e r ane i e
re rmi o r ano i. n nolog .
L l ana lo ene hnogra hi e m

. remen e la o lo en a
e nologi a in me a. n nolog . L l ana
lo ene hnogra hi e m

THE MUSEUM E UI CU TURE
A RESSES C E ISTA CE I ISRAE

ha i eingol

THE MUSEUM OF BEDOUIN CULTURE ADDRESSES COEXISTANCE IN ISRAEL

The Museum of Bedouin Culture, at the Joe Alon Center for Regional Studies, Israel. The name itself has a hint of Peace and Reconciliation and that is what drew me to talk at this conference. The Museum of Bedouin Culture is in the north of the Negev. In this area there are about 185,000 Bedouin and 510,000 Jews. The largest city is Be'er-Sheva. In addition there are a number of towns and many villages and kibbutzim. There is one small Bedouin city, six towns and many villages. The Bedouin are nomads no more. They use all the modern facilities Be'er-Sheva and other places have to offer. But there are differences between the Bedouin and the Jews: outward differences in dress, language and speech; basic differences such as origin, religion and traditions. There is hardly any contact between individuals. There are Bedouin who live in Be'er-Sheva, but these are few, and their children have Jewish friends. Others may meet at the university and colleges. But even though one sees many Bedouin in the mall, at the hospital, on the bus, etc. most Jews have never spoken to a Bedouin, until they come to the museum. All our guides are Bedouin and there are several prominent Bedouin on the Board.

This unique museum is one of its kind in Israel, one of a few in the world. Its aim is to preserve, conserve and safeguard the heritage of a culture that is disappearing, quite rapidly, one can say. The Bedouin tribes, scattered throughout the Negev and the Sinai deserts, have undergone radical changes in recent years, as they move from a nomadic to a modern lifestyle. These changes are expressed in the material culture, such as sources of income, types of housing, style of dress, and more.

As a result, many traditional Bedouin ways of life are disappearing, creating the urgent need to collect, preserve and document this unique culture before it vanishes.

The collection was amassed simultaneously in two separate places: the members of kibbutz Lahav had started collecting Bedouin artifacts which they received as gifts, or bought from their Bedouin

neighbours. Orna, and Avner Goren had set up a Bedouin museum in southern Sinai. When they left Sinai in 1979, the two collections were united by Orna Goren and Uzi Halamish, creating the Museum of Bedouin Culture, with Orna as curator. Since then we have acquired Bedouin artifacts from Jordan and Syria. We hope some day to be able to enlarge the collection to encompass many more Bedouin tribes, from all over the Middle East. Staff members photograph and document the Bedouin way of life in different parts of the Negev and Sinai. In the museum itself a rich collection of Bedouin artifacts which recapture an almost-extinct way of life, is displayed.

All over the world, the Bedouin nomadic culture is being eroded due to modern life styles and food shortage. Vast areas where sheep, goats and camels used to roam have been taken over by farmers. Small villages have grown into cities, either pushing the nomads out or turning them into city dwellers. Modern people want a modern life, they want a permanent house, a fast car instead of a horse or a camel, proper education for their children.

Some Bedouin are wealthy enough to live in both worlds. They have nice homes, cars, university degrees, but also herds of sheep or camels, or both. Owning a camel is expensive and is a status symbol. Camel races take place annually in Saudi Arabia and the winning camels are worth a fortune. The whole event is really only for the very rich.

Most Bedouin are not that rich. Most of them live like many average citizens in any country in the world. And the famous Bedouin traditions are slowly turning into stories, fables of heroic times. Many children are not familiar with their forefathers' heritage. The situation in Israel is no different. The Bedouin children, even high school kids, were born in towns and villages. Many are very surprised with what they see when they come to the museum. It can be objects they have never seen, or customs they didn't know existed.

Here is a very short history of the Bedouin in Israel, mainly in the Negev.

The Bedouin came from the Arabian peninsula, Jazirat al Arb. Not all Arabs are Bedouin. The word Bedouin comes from the word Badaya – desert, prairie. The real Bedouin used to roam the deserts and the edge of the arable lands. They grew camels and sheep. The Bedouin are known by their tribe, and the family in the tribe, and to them they owe affiliation. A Bedouin defined himself by living in the desert, being a nomad and offering hospitality to

anyone who desires it. He owned no land. There have been Bedouin in (today's) Saudi-Arabia, Iraq and Syria since ancient times. They became great followers of Muhamad and accepted Islam. Many more came to our region when Islam spread over the Middle East.

The Bedouin were herders. When bad times came: No rain, no food for the animals, they resorted to highway robbery. The Bedouin were mighty fighters, against others and between themselves. To this very day they are a very proud people and the slightest slight or affront can cause a small war.

Over the centuries, some tribes became only partly nomadic. Some owned land, and had workers that grew basic crops but they themselves continued to roam. Others roamed only part time. The famous Nabatean merchants were, probably, Bedouin originally.

The area the Bedouin roamed varied in size. Slowly, with the forming of modern nations, movement was restricted and customs changed. So habits, clothes, even dialect are different from country to country.

This is what happened in Israel. The Bedouin used to roam from the Negev up north to Syria and back, sometimes passing through what is the kingdom of Jordan today, a cycle that took three to five years. When borders were drawn, the Bedouin stayed where they were at that time. Today the Bedouin of Israel have relatives in the neighbouring countries, but there are notable differences.

The transformation from nomadic life to sedentary life was very, very slow at first, it took centuries. In Israel it accelerated slightly 60 years ago and in the last 15-20 years it's at the speed of light!

There are no real nomadic Bedouin any more. Maybe 2% are nomads. The Bedouin in the north of Israel live in towns together with other Arabs. They live totally modern lives. In the south, in the Negev, the Bedouin are more traditional and more religious.

They all live a sedentary life. Many live in towns, in stone houses. Some live in huts and very few live in tents, but with concrete floors and fixed poles. When they will be able to afford it, they will move to better homes. Some still own sheep. The sheep are taken care of by herders, young men (rarely girls, today), outside the towns. Rich families own camels, for show. Any carrying or moving is done by trucks and pickups. All children go to school, many go on to university. There are doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants, etc. The men wear modern western clothes. Traditional clothes are kept for special occasions. Women and girls usually wear the religious Arab dress, or western clothes with their hair covered.

Bedouin women in the Negev mostly lead a rather restricted life, even if they have a profession.

And now I come to the Jewish part of the equation. The term Jew was coined only in the Roman era. Before that one spoke of the Tribes of Israel, then Hebrews and later Jews.

I'll begin with Abraham. He lived in the Be'er-Sheva area. It was his peace treaty with Avimelech, the local chief, that gave the town its name: seven wells! Abraham was also a nomad, and he and his family roamed the area 4000 years ago.

This land, once Can'an, then the kingdom of Judea (and the kingdom of Israel for a short while), Palestine and now the State of Israel, was a battle ground for many empires. The Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Greeks and Romans were here. In between there were decades of Jewish independence. There were Jewish settlements in the Negev from 5th century B.C. and as late as the 8th century C.E.

It was during the Roman rule, in what is called "The Big Rebellion", that the population in the southern part of the land was decimated. Many, many villages were destroyed and the inhabitants killed or sold as slaves. The remaining people moved to the larger towns in the center of the country. Few remained. During the Byzantine time new settlements were built, Jewish and Christian. One can visit ruins of ancient synagogues near ruins of ancient churches.

During the Ottoman-Turkish rule there were hardly any Jews in the Negev. There were hardly any settlements. There were nomads – Bedouin tribes and others. Jewish merchants lived in Ghaza, then in Be'er-Sheva. Be'er-Sheva was actually built by the Turks in 1900 as the provincial center of the area, on the ruins of Roman and Byzantine Be'er-Sheva. It was a center mainly for the three big Bedouin tribes, with a mosque, government houses, a school for the sons of Bedouin sheiks and fancy houses for anyone who wanted a Town House.

For many centuries the Jews lived mainly in Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias and Ghaza, where they were the majority, and in Acre, Jaffa and small towns close to those cities, together with Christians and Moslems. They were mostly very poor. Towards the end of the 19th century the Jews started rebuilding the country. In those days Arabs lived in the cities and in small, poor villages actually owned

by rich Turks, living in Turkey, to whom the farmers paid the tithe. More and more Jewish settlements were built on land bought from those rich landowners. Tel-Aviv was built, Jerusalem was renewed and the population grew wealthier. When the British took over the country in 1917, many more people came to settle and the place became a modern country for all inhabitants, Arabs and Jews alike. But not so in the Negev, in the south.

In the Negev there were nomadic Bedouin. Travelling up north and then south again, as I mentioned before.

In the 1940's a small number of Jewish agricultural settlements were built in the Negev. The Bedouin respected the young settlers and they admired the Bedouin. The leaders of the Jewish settlements were called "Muchtar" (the chosen) and were in close contact with the Bedouin Sheiks. One of the members of kibbutz Lahav became very prominent in the Israeli Bedouin authorities and a very respected judge and mediator among the Bedouin, to this very day. He is on our Board.

After 1948, with the forming of the State of Israel, Be'er-Sheva became the capitol of the Negev and over the years many new towns were built, including the first Bedouin town Tel-Sheva in 1968. Today there are universities, hospitals, museums, industries, agriculture – you name it, in the Negev.

Bedouin and Jews live next to each other, most of the time as good neighbours.

But the Bedouin of the Negev are still very different to other societies in Israel. They are much more traditional than other groups of Arab, Druze, Bedouin, etc, in Israel. The transition to modern life is difficult and many problems have arisen while they adjust themselves. I'd like to mention a few.

One is the role of the Bedouin woman. Her life was very hard, but her role in the family was crucial. Today her tasks as homemaker are much easier but she is less important. Most Bedouin women in the Negev don't go out to work. They also don't do all the traditional things women used to do, to earn money – all tasks associated with sheep, such as making cheese and butter, spinning wool and weaving. As many of the older women are uneducated they have no means of earning a living. Bedouin families are very large and with little money coming in, many are poor. Today most girls finish high-school and many go on to further studies, but they still have to get their father's or husband's permission to go out and work

Another problem is the fact that the whole life style of working 8 a.m. - 6 p.m. is a new concept to people whose lives were determined by nature's cycles. Older men find it hard to make a living, because school was less important than tending the herds when they were young and they have no qualifications for a job. Hopefully the younger generation will be different. They are used to modern life. They speak Hebrew, are used to computers, internet, i-pod, etc. They get a proper education, including higher ones. The university and colleges in Be'er-Sheva and the area are full of Bedouin students. Some of the young men join the Israel army.

Another 'but': but the Bedouin of the Negev are still seen by most other Israelis, Jews and Arabs, as either the romantic Bedouin or the poor neighbours. We at the Museum of Bedouin Culture are trying to change that. We do show the old customs, the beautiful embroidered dresses and ornate swords, the utensils woven from palm fronds and the patched wooden bowls, patched because wood was so scarce. We serve sweet tea and bitter coffee in our traditional Bedouin tent and tell Bedouin tales of glory and life as a nomad, but we also discuss modern Bedouin life.

We have a fund for researchers, Bedouin and Jews. We have a satellite museum that goes out to schools all over the country, for those who wish to learn more about the Bedouin, including Bedouin schools, on Heritage Day. We have special activities where Bedouin and Jewish youth meet and spend time together. Last year we had a project where nineteen children, aged eleven and twelve, from a Bedouin school and a Jewish one, did a photography project. The children chose the topics of what to photograph. They studied at their separate schools with the same project leader and they visited each other a number of times to work and play together. At the end of the year we had a joint exhibition. The pictures show their homes, school and play time. It is amazing how similar, yet different, the pictures are.

Our latest activity was a conference on the role of traditional Bedouin amulets and talismans in modern life.

I am confident that the Bedouin will find a way to resolve the conflict of not living in the desert, being nomads no more and by the dictate of modern life, being less open for hospitality in their stone homes. In the desert you could come and stay in a Bedouin's tent for three days and one third of a day, without a single question being asked. Today one waits to be invited and then, I assure you, receives a royal welcome. They will live modern

lives but learn to preserve their unique heritage, their religion and their special customs.

I am confident that other societies in Israel, when they really get to know the Bedouin of the Negev, will embrace them into their lives.

October 2009

Chavi Feingold - curator

Museum of Bedouin Culture

Israel

MUSEUM E HI ITI S E TE T R MA

/ SIES A THEIR U IC IME SI S

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n hi i a ion a ional hnogra hi e m whi h i ar o hnogra hi al
n i ea in o ia oo he hallenge o re are he ir in lgaria e hi i ion e o e
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ha an e hi i ion e i a e o he ie in lgaria e organi e . he rea ion o he e m
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o reali e he i ea e a e i wo l ha e een he ir e hi i ion o hi in in lgaria ome ai
i wa i i l o in la e ori in he e i ing lan he o e ion o o her harge wi h iron
an nega i i m were ri olo he ai e e ha eno gh o ho e ie an h e a l
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nega i e a i e o he ie . en e hnologi were o m h in l en e i ha i ha i le
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ario e hni gro . De he a

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he a i e o ome olleag e . er rolonge erio o omm ni a ion e lana ion an
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n rai ing olle ing an i en i ing o m e m a r i a e in ing he e on e al em or
he re en a ion o he l re o i eren gro .

n general he e i i e hni an o ial r re an he a i e hno l ral hara eri i
o he omm ni in lgaria e ermine he on e al ro lem in he re ara ion o a
m e m e hi i ion e i a e o hi omm ni or rela e o i . he e ro lem an e i eren in
na re we will li onl he ma or one

he ir ma or ro lem i how o how ie in e en en l an i in l in he one
o ma ori in o r a e in one o lgarian ra i ional l re an al an ra i ion in general.

hi i no rel a ormal ro lem i i ra her a ro lem o on en . lgarian e hnogra hi
m e m are ra i all n amiliar wi h an o no e he e erien e o na ion wi e m li l ral
m e m e hi i ion . he all e re re en a i e or hema i all orien e e o i ion wi h

in ernal i in ion o he regional or lo al aria ion o ra i onal lgarian l re. are a o
ano her e hni l re are in l e he are mi e o he general i ea re en a ion o ra i onal
lgarian l re or one o i e i i area an are all ne er i eren ia e . hi
i eren ia ion i e e iall i i l or l re e a e o he om le e in egral na re o
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m io i wi h he ma ro o ie he lgarian in hi in an e . h he o enne o heir e hno
l ral em whi h a e ro e e an in egra e o her l ral a ern i.e. ran orm hem
in o i own nli e he lgarian e hno l ral em whi hi ra i onall he lo e le l re
o he lgarian illage re ro ing i l ral a ern an limi ing o a minim m an e ernal
on a . la ing am le o e hni l re in he one o lgarian ra i on ine ia l
all or om ari on. nle we ee in min he a ha he e are wo i eren e hni e o
l ral em he re l o om ari on an e i e mi lea ing.

he e heore i al e la ion an e ill ra e wi h a e i i e am le. i a nown a
ha mo n an re e i e e hi i ion o lgarian e hnogra hi m e m are a en wi h
am le o ra i onal lgarian o me wi h man a i onal n ion e i e rel ili arian
one in he em o ra i onal lgarian l re. am le o ra i onal ee ing in min he
ro i onal onno a ion o he erm o me were in l e we wo l imme ia el ha e
ro lem more erio han he ra i al one o in ing h am le ha how o i ing i h
he e am le rom he lgarian one an how o ma e i lear ha he are am le . he e
ro lem o no ari e rom he a en e o e hno l ral ra i ion in o me rom
heir e i i e o heir e i i l re. hile ra i onal lgarian l re i el aining

l re i alwa a ro o a i e in er hange o la o r or ro e . hile ha ing a
am le o a ra i onal lgarian o me will e ha ing he eo le who wear i ma e he ma erial
an he whole o me in l ing he ri h e ora ion he am le e e iall wi h noma or
emi noma will ha e o e o aine o gh ra e or ome hing el e e . in i om le e
orm an a a e o i own l ral en ironmen . i er i i l o how he e n amen al
i eren e mean o a m e me hi i ion in e he i al i eren e in m e m a r e a i o en
in igni i an e e iall or ama e r . he ame i more or le r e or mo a e o
l re whi h o l e e o a m e me hi i ion ha ra i onal ool an o a ion
ra i onal om an holi a e .

a rall i an e hi i ion i e i a e o one e hni omm ni onl ha ie i will
e lear in a an e whi h hing are he e ion o wha i own remain
im li i . he i in ion an an ha o e ma e on he le el o he e hno l ral em an no

a or ing o i e ara e elemen . hi i har o a hie e mean o a m e m e hi i ion an i
wo l e e en har er in he one o he om le e l ral an hi ori al a gro n o he
al an . he re en a ion o he iri o an e hni l re he worl iew o i earer he
orma i e rin i le o i organi a ion an n ioning an he ma or e i i o he omm ni
h a e hno o ial r re or in i i al orm h a in ernal el go ernmen he e are all
i e whi h wo l alwa a e he re ara ion o m e m e hi i ion rela e o ie .

no her e o ro lem i onne e o he e hi i ion re en a ion o he
omm ni along he hori on al line i.e. a or ing o he i er i an e i i o i in ernal
i i ion an gro heir i in ion an he omm ni a a whole. n hi re e lgarian
e hnogra hi m e m ha e e a li he ra i ion rom heir wor wi h ra i onal lgarian l re
where he regional o alle e hnogra hi gro an lo al arian are er lear. ha i wh
hi in ernal i in ion i alwa in l e an ma e lear in a n m er o m e m e hi i ion
wi ho amaging he ni an in egri o hi l re. i h ie howe er we an ha e
ro lem e o he a ha in ernal omm ni i in ion o no alwa igni lear erri orial or
l ral i eren e . gro mainl ormer or rren noma an e a ere o er a er wi e
erri or an ill re er e i l ral ni . imilarl howe er i eren gro an e li ing
oge her e e iall in ig own ar er alle mahalla an mo o en he i eren e among hem
are no learl e re e an are o en har o re le in a raigh orwar wa in an e hnogra hi
m e m e hi i ion.

he i in ion o l e emon ra e a or ing o he wa o li e he i ho om
noma . e le an i arian o e elo men . i o en o i le ha i eren gro
learl i eren in heir hi ori al e in iale re er e en ogam gro awarene e . are
i e imilar in heir e ernal l ral rai ha e o noma i m organi a ion o noma i li e
en lo hing ool e . he are re en e oge her in a m e m e hi i ion he i eren e will
onl e in er ain e ail h a ome ligh i eren e in lo he he wa women ie heir ar e
e . whi h are no alwa ea o no i e. he e ro lem al o e i in e le omm ni ie
where he mo e en ial i eren e an remain hi en or he o er an .

e ha e a imilar i a ion wi h ro e ional gro e ial i a ion. he i eren e in
ro e ional e ial i a ion o ea h gro are er lear i i o en he a e ha one an he ame
o a ion i ra i e gro who ha e no on a e ween hem el e . m e m re en a ion
an al o ha e ro lem in ma ing he e hno l ral e i i o he i eren gro om a i le
wi h he e hno o ial r re o he whole omm ni an i in ernal hierar hi al
i i ion an heir hi ori e in .

Ye ano her e o ro lem i rela e o he e hi i ion re en a ion o he

omm ni along he er i al line i.e. in he ro e o i e hno l ral e elo men . n hi
 re e he i a ion i ra her om li a e he re ominan mo el o e hnogra hi m e m
 re en a ion o lgarian e hni l re. lgarian ien e an lgarian m e m o en ma e e
 o he erm ra i ional ol l re e in e he lgarian Renai an e. o o en m e m
 re en am le ha are ologi all an no hronologi all re erre o ra i ional na ional
 lgarian l re i.e. he l re o lgarian illage e ore he in rial erio . he aria ion i
 mo o en along he line o lgarian r an l re ring he lgarian Renai an e mo l in a
 e i i gro o m e m rela e o ha era . n e hi i ion mo l hema i o r an l re
 rom he eginning o hi en r wo l e an e e ion. owe er ara o i al i ma o n i i a
 a ha he ma or on e o hi ori i m are almo en irel a en rom lgarian e hnogra hi
 m e m an heir e hi i ion . l ral e en i all re en e in all i regional an lo al
 arian an almo ne er in he na ral ro e o i hi ori al ran orma ion. en i hi ha een
 re en e or e am le along he i in ion own illage i i a regional an no a hi ori al
 arian i.e. i i or ina e o he ma or on e . he e i i o he ie ma e he e o h
 an a roa h e remel i i l in a m e m e hi i ion. wo l e har o in ri e ie in he
 ramewor o a om le e m l i l ral e hi i ion i i organi a ion ollow he a o e on e .
 ar hia o a o o

he i eren ia ion o ie in a e ara e e hi i ion will no alwa e he an wer o he e
 on e al ro lem . i o en er i i l o i ing i h ologi all or hi ori all he
 ra i ional elemen an he e whi h are re l o mo erni a ion an l ral in era ion wi h he
 rro n ing o la ion. en in a rel ra i ala e i i i i l o in an e hi i a ing
 a o more han hree or o r genera ion . her e ion arie ha wha e a l i ra ion
 i i he orm or he on en rom he oin o iew o on en he ha e o en o noma
 i more han ra i ional i ha no een hange or en rie an e en ho an o ear . rom a
 ormal iew oin howe er en o a are no longer ra i ional he are mo erni e in e he
 ma erial i no longer he ame. e an a e al o ano her e am le he or a le woo en la he whi h
 Ling rari oon ma er gro women e o ma e in le . r haeologi e ine i a
 eing a ew ho an ear ol . o a i i o en re la e more mo ern e hnologie
 ro ion i he ame or a lea ome o i in e e hnolog ha a grea er o en ial . ie ha e
 o on i er he in l en e o he mar e he eman an he o i ili ie o ell a n m er o
 ro i.e. he o erall o ial an e onomi i a ion whi h ine i a l re le on ra i ional
 li e le an ring ome ran orma ion an mo i i a ion in o i . e al o ha e o on i er
 he a ha he e hange are no alwa along one ire ion or e am le a o i ear ago
 when mall ale arming wa re ominan in lgaria he ro ion o he illage la mi h

in er re e on a er onal lane a an in lina ion o el e re ion. on a o ial lane i i
re re en a i e or er ain gro moo an a a whole i i al a le or he m e m wor er or he
o i ion in a e a rela ion hi wi h ho e o whom he e hi i ion ha een a re e . nli e he
me ia new an re iew he i i or oo hol ne i e imme ia an ire ne . De he a
e in re i el hi on irma ion o he orre ne o he a roa h ho en in he iew o a
n m er o o ng eo le regar ing he e hi i ion ie in ime a . o hem i re eal an
n amiliar worl whi h ha een aro n all he ime . he i i or re on e olle e in
i i or oo o he e hi i ion in i a e heir er e ion o he ie an non ie an he
a ha i hange he omm ni o inion. he ma ori o he i i or ho gh he e hi i ion wa
e l an in r i e. or in an e a amil rom o ia wro e he ollowing in he oo he i ea
o he hnogra hi e m o organi e an e hi i ion a o he li e o lgarian ie i
rai ewor h e a e we ha e nown hi e hni gro onl in a nega i e ligh . heir wa o li e
l re an al e re eal hem a in ere ing eo le. no her igne a i i or ga e
e re ion o her or hi gra i e in he oo ha we ha o he on a wa o li e whi h wa
amiliar an no o amiliar a er all . ro o o r eo le a re ia e ha he e hi i ion re eale
an n amiliar worl whi h ha een aro n all he ime . wo o her i i or e re e heir
o i i e a rai al in a ro o ing wa e in he e hi i ion er in ere ing i hel
n er an he l re o eo le we ome a ro e er a an a o whom we now er li le.
am on in e ha hi i he wa o li a e oleran e or ho e who are i eren rom an
am ille wi h a mira ion ho e here will e more e hi i ion o hi in he will hel he
on oli a ion o he lgarian na ion

wha ha een ai o ar lea e one o he im re ion o an i lli la o ro lem hen
one hol a he e ion wh i he i a ion in o ie i eren . he i i or oo rai e he e
ro lem a well. he remar h are no he ie o o a he ame a ho e o he a
arna rai e a e ion a re e o he organi er o he e hi i ion who are rea o re en
he ie o o a in a o i i e ligh i i al o a re e o he whole o ie an o i
in i ional me hani m o ial wor er hool m e m an o her in or er o o er ome he
a egori al a emen o a i i or a re le ion o a er ain o ial o inion ha e he ie

he e hi i ion in ario own wa i i e n mero re re en a i e o
omm ni ie an heir a i e o e hi i ion are re le e al o in he i i or oo . o ho a Rom
rom o ia wro e in he oo li e he e hi i ion er m h an am gla ha one o m
ream o ee an e hi i ion a o o r a ha ome r e. imilar i he mo e re ogni ion o
ano her i i or ... li e i er m h... e a e elong o he e eo le. Rom wi h name ali
ra h wro e in romane Te o en a ale o eren e romenge. e el men o Del er a

r al o roma a ho e who wor or he ie e le e . a o gi e hem man ha ear oge her wi h he Romanie .

i wor h o no e e e iall he or ha he e hi i ion re ei e rom he omm ni no onl e eral organi a ion ari i a e a i el in re ara ion o e hi i ion an l rala i i ie aro n i al o in i i al ona e m e m a r e a an in own o R e one ine men o gh all i e ore hi i ion in or er o ma e i ree o all i i or .

a re l o he wor on e hi i ion a ri h Roma heri age n wa e a li he re er e in . he e hi i ion e e he omm ni re on e ha al o o her re l . a e on he olle e ho o a ho o oo wa li he an a e on olle e o me an he ollow re ear he a oo a o he e i i an e elo men o he ra i onal re wa li he . De he a he Roma organi a ion in a o o a ire he e hi i ion e i e o ma e heir own e hnogra hi e hi i ion e i a e o he l re o heir gro an li he a oo a o heir omm ni . Dire ing he a en ion o m e m o he ie in i el wa a rea hro gh in m e m wor a e an a er ir Roma m e m e hi i ion he lgarian m e m o en heir oor o e hi i ion a o o her minori ie oo an re are e hi i ion e o e o he Jew rmenian an he ara a han .

he e o he e hi i ion ie /Roma in ime a lea o i ea o organi e an in erna ional e hi i ion i le he ie /Roma in en ral an a ern ro e ha wa reali e wi h he o o era ion o m e m an Roma organi a ion rom e en o nrie lgaria ngar raine R mania olan he e h Re li an lo a ia in a e an i e hi i ion ime wa wo ime rolonge e a e o high i i or in ere .

Re le ing he in ere in he e hi i ion an he re or e ommen o i i or learl how ha e hnogra hi m e m re en a ion o he ie are well re ei e he rro n ing o la ion an a lea o ome e en ha ro en he e i ing nega i e ereo e a o hem an manage o e rea e he in er e hni en ion . eing ll aware o he limi e o i ili ie a l ral e en li e an e hnogra hi m e m e hi i ion ha e erien e gaine how ha i hel o e elo a o i i e a i e owar he o her an orm he a i o oleran e an m al re e . on i era le im or an e or e o h in o e hi i ion i he a o ra le oor ina ion e ween he ario in i ion m e m m ni i ali ie omm ni organi a ion an . hi i he wa m e m wor er an re on o ome o ial ro lem an im or an o liga ion he ha e a ome o he i i or ha e o er e . he e ri e e am le how learl he o i ili hro gh an e hnogra hi m e m e hi i ion o ro o e he on io ne o he ma ori on erning he ie ro lem an in he a i e owar he ie a a minori in o ie an h i in i el a on i era le a hie emen whi h n erline he im or an e o e hnogra hi m e m .

ROMÁK KÖZÉP- ÉS KELET-EURÓPÁBAN **ROMA IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE** **ROMA ANDI MASHKARUTNI THAJ EASTO EUROPA**

AKHARIPO

INVITATION

MEGHÍVÓ





National Ethnographic Museum

GYPSIES IN TIMES PAST



Gypsies' puppetshow, engraving by Felix Kaniz

Sofia, 1995

Смракотни сине, жверотно
целување е да видиш как некој
с мого труд е направил нешто мило,
много, интересно и убаво.

Замени!

Не овеи бахтале, со крвни еромежи
те цел тумел овеи буг брвна туд
• ором.

от Сали - Аспарух
13.1.1996. Димитров

пуф

Иван К. Георгиев - 1^а кл. 144 СОУ - Уд
Теодора И. Георгиева -

13.01.1996. Димитров

Да разберем ургентноста буг,
Това е мезот безграничен живот
Ургентно е мило збор по речен збор
и летам нел. Ај хахаха.

Наташ си Ферово

М. 2. 2000. Димитров



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AS YOU LIKE IT –

THE ETH RA HIC C ECTI

A MUSEUM

/ MUSE E A CITT I I A A

AS A MIRR R A E

MU TICU TURA C MMU IT

a ana čić

a ana čić
o n an e m/ hnogra hi e m o ria/
a ello / rg rar og Ra o a
o n an Dignano/ a in roa ia
a ana. i . om.hr
g

AS YOU LIKE IT –

THE ETH RA HIC C ECTI A MUSEUM/ MUSE E A
CITT I I A A AS A MIRR R A E MU TICU TURA
C MMU IT

*All the world's a stage
And all the men and women merely players
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts, ()*

*As you like it a a oral ome
William ha e eare ene*

R o n an/Dignano i a mall own in o hern ria inha i e e hni alian
roa ian an on enegrin a ol e ler . ollowing orl ar when he o n an area
hange i a e a ilia ion an n il he eginning o he man e hni alian
e er e o n an. he a an one ho e were ir l inha i e eo le rom he
rro n ing area an gra all eo le rom all he erri or o he ormer Y go la ia
e e iall Romanie . owe er in he la ew ear ring an a er he roa ian ar o
n e en en e new e ler ha e mo e in. a li hing he o n an e m gi e he
o or ni ha he e m e ome he la e or ga hering he omm ni . am ee ing or
wa in whi h o e a m e m e hi i ion wi h elemen o iron an h mo r while
a oi ing an o en e an o re en he m li l ral omm ni in ha wa wi h he aim o
a hie ing m al re e re on ilia ion an ea e. am al o r ing o e in wha wa hi
manner wo l ro i e a o i ili or rea ing o he elemen o in angi le l re.

I TR UCTI

he ro e o e a li hing he e m o he own o o n an o n an ina
in i a ing he own an i rro n ing area / eo ella i i Dignano el
Dignane e re en a om le a ignmen . in ol e he en ire omm ni an a gro
o ario e er e a e o he re en e o i er e hi ori al l ral e hni na ional
ling i i religio an o her la er al o a olo r l e er a li e ha i in on an
ran orma ion.

he e hnogra hi olle ion i he a ol e a i an h o he o n an own
e m e elo men . will ro i e he e on i in o he e en e o re en an a
li e in he o n an area an he earl an more re en m li l rali m ha ha ha e an
on in e o ha e he a earan e o he own an i eo le wa o li e.

o no ee he omm ni in i eal en e ra her elie e ha he omm ni i al o
in l e e en when i i he i an o ari i a e. he mem er o he omm ni are a ing
ar e en when he ma e heir o inion nown in he orm o ommen in a ing
a i ing e .

ho l e orne in min ha a mall omm ni wi h c. inha i an ha
ario *alternative* orm o omm ni a ion ha are na aila le o large omm ni ie . Do
mall en ironmen li e o n an em o he ol a ing ha ea ing a o o her
eo le a all ea a o hem el e or he ol a i e *Don t listen to hat s being said*
but to ho s saying it o he e ion remain how long oe i a e an in e en en
o er er an re ear her o in o *ho s oing he saying* an i he *Big Brother* o o n an
ina e i le o ho e who on li e wi h him n ha e ion lea on o ano her how
an one oge her a m e m e hi i ion ha will e om rehen i le o o h ol er
inha i an an new one an o o ri an o her i i or

Doe he l re o a i ing erha he ronge lin e ween all he i eren e
in o n an e er e a la e in he m e m a o r mo i al in angi le heri age

A ACE I THE MUSEUM RHUM URA IR

n hi ari le am r ing o e he e an omm ni a i e na re o an i ea
a e on he o i ili o a om rehen i e o er iew o he om le i o a m li l ral
ommm ni . hi i re en e hro gh he er e ion o lo al eo le o en ari la e in a
h moro an ironi wa . ar rom howing he an e o he lo al omm ni hi

manner ro i e a o i ili or rea ing o he elemen o in angi le heri age. he
 o inion o lo al eo le are mo re enl manie e hro gh a ing an a age ha i
 hro gh he oral ra i ion orm o ha area. owe er h ma im an e oar e an on ain
 ereo e an er ain mem er o he omm ni o l a e hem a eing o en i e. he
 lo al rhe ori o he o n an area i ar rom eing emo ra i we ha e o in a wa or
 i re en a ion o e ha . D e o he a ha i i orien e owar all he inha i an
 an i i or i ho l e o h lo al an general. here ore hall no ro i e an
 on l ion a hi age ra her a e ion . am ee ing or wa in whi h o e a
 m e m e hi i o iron an h mo r while a oi ing an o en e an o re en he
 m li l ral omm ni in ha wa wi h he aim o a hie ing m al re e re on ilia ion
 an ea e.

THE A AREA A THE AST ITS MUSEUM

o n an/Dignano i a mall own in o hern ria inha i e e hni alian
 roa ian an on enegrin a ol e ler . ollowing orl ar when he o n an area
 hange i a e a ilia ion an n il he eginning o he man e hni alian
 e er e o n an. he a an one ho e were ir l inha i e eo le rom he
 rro n ing area an gra all eo le rom all he erri or o he ormer Y go la ia
 e e iall Romanie . owe er in he la ew ear ring an a er he roa ian ar o
 n e en en e new e ler ha e mo e in. here are ro a le o r a egorie o inha i an
 ol ho e who ha e li e here a ar a a a an one an remem er new ol e ler
 rom he area ha e o elong a mini ra i el o o n an or ria ol new e ler
 rom o her area o he ormer Y go la ia an new e ler mo e in o n an ring an
 a er he roa ian ar o n e en en e .

he ro e o e a li hing he e mo he own o o n an ha la e or more
 han one h n re ear an an e regar e a a m oli in i a or o n ro e ional or
 emi ro e ional m e m en en ie in ria ring ha erio . he main e en in
 o n an e m n er a ing ha e een he o ening o he La i ari m in an he
 re en a ion o e hnogra hi o e in .

owe er earlier on e al ho gh he o l ha e genera e on li manage o
 genera e onl he in i eren e o mo o he inha i an . n i en e on o wor o ar an
 he ari l arie o in i i al gro wi ho on e alia ion e . i no ro e i el o
 e a oli o n a ion on whi h o il o a . ho e e hi i e m ol o omm ni

on e in ommon e agri l ral ool ho ehol e i men e . were lo along he wa
an in an a e i no ha e he hari ma o ri e a hor wi h all genera ion .

ho l one rn in ea o ma erial an non ma erial m ol o omm ni ha are
ear o e er one h a he ar game o *briškula* he *mora game* la e wi h he han
e . ne an al o in mani e a ion ha are ommon o all h a he a oi an e o
em ha i ing r ral origin eri ing rom he a ho r ani a ion along he line o he
o iali i eolog o he Y go la ian mo el.

ho l e no e ha all earlier a em were a e on ol neer wor an a la o
on in i an ro e ional ari i a ion whi h o l ha e een he main rea on n erl ing
h earlier a e .

he e i a o hi ala e lanne o e ome he en re o he re m e m wa
reno a e la ear. here are rren l hree e hi i ion in ha area

- r haeologi al in e iga ion in he area o he own o o n an whi h ha
man oin o on a wi h he La i ari m o ene in i a e in e he
a he r haeologi al e m o ria in la
- he olle ion o l a er o o n an whi h i no in a reall o o n an
in e i on i o ene ian ain ing ona e o o n an in he
on ro er ial ae ano re ler an
- he a h o he e m o er Year l .

he hree e hi i ion are almo m oli in i a or o ormer en en ie
r haeologi al re ear h in he area o he own o o n an he olle ion o l a er
o o n an an a mi re o a r i an a h we wi h o a e.

he *Path to the Museum over ears ld* hi i ion i on ei e o re en
re ore e hnogra hi o e re en e in an he eo le who ona e hem.

a ing ha are onne e wi h he e hi i or wi h he li e i a ion in whi h
in i i alo e are e are hown along i e hem. ar rom he i la e o e new
i em rom he new a er ha o ere he o n an area ring he h en r are al o on
how a he e hi i ion in he orm o a ollage.

HAT STATISTICA ATA TE US?

i ial a i i al in i a or or he o n an area an e ra e rom hro gh o
. i ial en e rom he rian erio a e rom he ear
an rom he alian erio rom an rom he Y go la ian

erio rom an an rom n er o a
 Re li o roa ia. hi a er nei her anal e he hi or o en me ho olog nor he
 anal i o ho e en e i oe re er o in i a or in r ial momen emigra ion
 o a large n m er o e hni alian a er orl ar an new e lemen an he la
 en in . owe er one ho l ear in min ha e a e o i eren me ho olog
 an he ominan oli i al en ironmen a he ime o en a on i era le n m er o
 eo le e lare hem el e i eren l in i eren erio al ho gh no hing ha a all
 hange in he amil en ironmen .

on i ering he a ha eigh ear ha e a e in e he la en an ha in ha
 erio a lea one wa e o e lemen ha o rre he a a am a o o re en ho l e
 rea e wi h re er e.

i iall he area o he own o o n an om ri ing he ollowing la e
 o n an ali an ero ar ariga an riol a an ran rn alo a a ace e n an
 on ole an a ew illage ha inha i an .

he mo her ong e o he inha i an i a ollow . roa ian
 . roa o er ian . l anian . o nian . lgarian
 . e h . ngarian . a e onian . erman
 . Roman . R ian . lo a ian . lo enian
 . er ian . er o roa ian . alian . rainian
 . o her while . were n ommi e .

or ing o na ionali in ee ing wi h he on i ional Law on man Righ
 an ree om an he Righ o hni an a ional omm ni ie or inori ie in he
 Re li o roa ia i ial a e e o. / here are . roa ian
 . l anian . rian . o nia . lgarian
 . on enegrin . e h . ngarian . a e onian
 . erman . Romanie . lo a . lo ene
 . er . alian . rainian . her.
 . i no e lare heir na ional a ilia ion . e lare regional a ilia ion
 while . are n nown.

he a o e a a are gi en wi ho a ormal me ho ologi al a i are im or an or
 re re en ing he re e mo he own o o n an e a e a ome o he inha i an
 o no ha e minimal or e en an nowle ge a o he mo re en a he a a on he
 n m er in ari lar gro are o en ro ghl e ima e on he a i o in i i al
 a e men h a *see ho many there are on the s uare, ho many are not registered*

e . a large n m e r o i n h a i a n h a n o n o w l e g e o e e n a n a r o i m a e n m e r o
h e e n i r e o l a i o n a n a a r o h e r e e m h o l e e i a e o e o l e w h o
o n o l i e i n o n a n h i n o h e m e l e a e i n g a r o h e o w n h a h e
a o i a i o n o a l i a n w h o l e o n a n a e r o r l a r h e *Famiglia Dignanese*.

HAT ES THE STREET- U TE US?

we were o a e a wal along he ree o o n an an hro gh o her ar o he
o n an area he on i ion o he area wo l e ome a ere wine o he a al i a ion
an he inha i an rela ion wi h he la e an wi h he o her inha i an . he re
e m wo l nee o olle all he e i en i eren e e ween he ol an new
inha i an an o re en hem in h a w a a o m a e hem all a re i a e an re en e .

i an ol om in o n an or all he eo le o ome o o he ri a o heir
home an in o he ree on mmer e ening o wa h wha i ha ening in he own an
o wa h he o her inha i an . he own an a er hen e ome a o r e o in orma ion
or a la e ha remin hem o he no a le e en ha nee o e ommen e on rom
i em in he ail new o he re worn a neigh o r ha morning. ha om ha een
a en man o he new ol ol new an new inha i an ar l a a ing i o heir
own om an nee .

oming o in o he ree on mmer e ening he inha i an are in a ini ia ing a
ar i lar mo e o omm ni a ion whi h a e la e in he ri a o heir home ring
o her ea on o he ear.

he win ow o o n an ho are al o earer o ree omm ni a ion. n he ho
win ow o an ol inha i an al o he owner o a lan ro ing a o h hono rian
ro i o ham he i la a age mo e ham wi h he hi ori al oa o arm o he
own o o n an. n he o her han a m h more re en inha i an i la among
o her a hir ommemora ing i o o n an Da earing he in ri ion *Vodn an*
Dignano an o n an hi ori al oa o arm e . e .

we loo a he noi e oar e i e all he roa lea ing o o n an an i
rro n ing whi h ho l g i e he i i or an he inha i an hem el e in o he reali
o o n an we are rea e wi h an a n an e o ol an hi ori al elemen . here ore i i
no r ri ing i an one e e o ee eo le wearing ol o me rom o n an ali ana
ero or ol o me hara eri i o o her inha i an o he rro n ing area o a
new ol inha i an . na al a he eo le hown on he noi e oar an e een onl

ring ol lore e en an ome no e en hen. an ol elemen in ha one e een
a omm ni a i e who o he omm ni a e wi h an whom o he re re en

he o n an area i ille wi h ign ha onl men ion in hi a er whi h are
igni i an in i a or o o n an reali an ear man me age ha ho l ha e a la e in
he e m.

air a when all e ler o o n an ome in he oma la e are a e ial a egor
ha e er e a e aile he are hel e er ir a r a in he mon h along wi h
o her mani e a ion when all he inha i an ga her.

RA I THE T A MU TI E I E TITIES

ro ima el wo ear ago he own o o n an are he ro e o ran ing
he own in i ing he mi ion o e ign ori m ol logo e an logan.

hi a ion wa igni i an in e i ma e he whole omm ni a e ar an era e
in a m oli wa he i er e earlier m ol while ring o in a new m ol a e a le
o e er one.

n he en a m ol rom a omi oo e ame he new ign o he o n an area
an he ele e logan wa *The to n talks/ a citt da racontare*. n or er o an wer he
e ion men ione earlier whe her l ral a i ing an e e hi i e in he m e m i
ho l e men ione ha i e a ew eo le ommen e or ai ha he logan ho l ha e
een *The to n gossips/ a citt delle cacule*.

he en er o er o men on aine hi ori al a a wi h e ial a en ion gi en o
he a ha here are hree ma or la e in he o n an area o n an ali ana an ero
all ha ing heir own hi ori al m ol an /or heir own oa o arm . he hi ori al oa
o arm o he own o o n an ha a whie hiel i i e in o o r a ro ima el e al
ar a re ro an a gol en own rown whi h ho er reel a o e he hiel . ear
he o om e ge o he hiel here are wo mall ran he ie wi h a l e ri on one
mall oli e ran h an ano her o an oa ree. he im ler arian o he oa o arm ha a
whie hiel an a re ro . he original oa o arm o ali ana an ero were ma e in
la er erio an ne er ha an a mini ra i e igni i an e. he ali ana oa o arm i
ma e o a oin e hiel wi h a roo er on a re iel he o om ar er o he hiel
a e le while he hree er ar er o he hiel orma l e a gro n ehin i. he
oa o arm o ero i a re oin e hiel wi h a whie a ern rho o ro .

Following the integration of the local and international waters in the following section, the study of the history of the city of Vodnjan is a topic of stormy history, through which it has integrated different identities into the foundations of the growth of its own culture and multiple identity. Its development is still in close relationship with the process of co-operation and co-existence of its inhabitants. The visual identity should be one of the factors of long-term economic growth, but also a cultural element of cohesion.

a ing in o on i era ion he ing lari o he own o o n an/ o n an area a an
a mini ra i e ni an he e lemen ha hi ni om ri e an e a e o he o her
e i i ali ie o he erri or ro n a le i ion were organi e a *Encounters in
Vodn an/ ncontrarsi a Dignano*. he e er rie l orwar all he a aila le a a an
he own eo le mem er o a o ia ion o na ional minori ie an o ra men along wi h
re re en a i e o religio omm ni ie re en e heir iew an e e a ion .

Il he le re were e igne o e hel in i i all or i i en in he *et s get to*
kno our to n/ onoscere la nostra citt rogramme whi h i ill in rogre . oin
 e r ion o amiliari e he own eo le wi h heir area will e a en a he en o he
 rogramme. he will e a le o a l or ari i a ion ring he n ol ing o he
 rogramme. on i ering he a ha i ha een no e ha he rem e min he e i a
 o hi ala e ho l la he role o a mee ing la e more in en i e wor wi h he
 omm ni i eing orien e o ing i in o n ion.

Le re on he ollowing e will e in l e he e elo men o agri l re in
he area o he own o o n an Dragonera he oa al ar wi h re er e an i e r ral
il ing *villae rusticae* on a e ween i er e i en i ie hara eri i o ra i onal
li e in he o an area rren a e an o i ili ie an o er i ew o igni i an l ral
a e in he o n an area rren a e on i ion o re er a ion er e i e e .

owe er o a oi he o i ili o onl o er er al ing a o o n an are
wor ing o a rogramme in o o era ion wi h he hnogra hi e m o ria. wo l
ena le inha i an wi h e i i nowle ge an ill or ho e wi h in ere ing li e
e erien e o re en hem el e . ar o he rogramme i i lanne o hoo
o men arie a o ho e eo le who will re en hem el e o he own eo le in a
ligh l olly ood actor manner an he e ilm will la er ha e heir la e among he
e m e hi i . he wor ing i le o he ro e i o n an a e oo .

o r e h e a i m o h e o w n r a n i n g h a e e n o e n o r a g e h e h o i e o w h a i
n e r a l i . e . o m m o n o a l l n e g a i n g h e e i i . h e r o e r o m e e e n o h e

own ran ing a well a he ro e o organi ing he e m aim o n er ore o h he
general/ ommon a or an he e i i .

THE T E S A ER – THE *ATTINIANUM* 2 -2

or i e ear now he own o o n an ha ha i own new a er arr ing
in orma ion an ho ogra h e i ing o e en ha almo e l i el on ern he o n an
area. hi iling al new a er inan e rom he ge an i ri e ree o harge ha
e ome a ar o e er a lie e e iall he ni e gl / ello r o ho o e ion whi h
raw a en ion o o i i e an nega i e manie a ion in o n an. a ma erial
henomenon an a an in en i e o r her ommen ar he *ttinianum* e er e i la e in
he re e m.

owe er i i in ere ing ha he new a er i name *ttinianum* li e he ir
wri en name o o n an in La in orm. he name i el re re en he in en ion an a em
o hoo e a name ha wo l no a en a e an one an o l e a e e e er one.

here i a en en e in he lea ar i le en i le i e ear oge her in he la i e
o ttinianum ll these are already ritten and spoken truths hich are, due to a lack of
repetition, forgotten by the locals, let alone by the ne ones ho still don t kno here they
live.

hat are those truths hy do they need to be repeated here is it that e live
 hat are the locals and those ho still don t kno here they live guilty of or
 deserving of credit for are ome o he e ion ha nee o e an were he
 re en a ion o he own o o n an e hnogra hi olle ion in a manner ha will e
 om rehen i le o e er one an in ira ional or all.

THE ATHLETIC MUSEUM AND THE ETHNOLITHIC

he ime o e a li hing he e m o he own o o n an he ollowing
olle ion were lanne

R LL

he olle ion wa a em le rom he ona ion ma e he inha i an o o n an
when he e hi i ion in en e o e he orer nner o he re m e m wa o ene in he
e i a ala e in .

he olle ion on ain o e or e er a e e ile agri l ral ool e .
an i owne he own o o n an.

oin e o in he n ro ion he e hnogra hi olle ion i wha i in en e o
la he ohe i e role o h in he e m e elo men an in in era ion wi h he
omm ni . he e m i re are o e hi i i em ha are no ar o i n whi h
hall on in e o e he ro er o he amil in whi h he were e . er ime h i em
ha e e ome ar o er onal an amil hi or an al o he hi or o he en ire omm ni .

R LL

he olle ion i om ri e o an a e ona e o he own o o n an
ae ano re ler a in .

RY LL

he olle ion hol i em rom he ol harma in o n an olle e in he
.

L DL D

D J

or he hree wo ear he own o o n an ha ha a ro e alle *My ka un/ a
mia casita* le re an wor ho or reno a ing he *ka un* an r one wall ha
lea o ro e ion o he li a e lan a e an e a li hmen o he m e m in he o en.

are or re er a ion o he erri or im or an e an re en a ion an on e ion o
ario a i i ie o ha en will e lanne an orien e o ho e who now he area an
ha e ili e i or genera ion al o o ho e who re ei e i a he momen ha he
e i e o ma e he o n an area heir ermanen home.

i al o lanne ha he re e m will among o her ho e an ar haeologi al
an l ral hi ori al olle ion a well a a olle ion o a aging an romo ional
ma erial or ro man a re in he o n an area.

R DL

he own o o n an i an e e ional e am le o hi ori al m li rai i a ion
m li l rali m an ermea ion o own an illage li e. he main i ea o he re
e mi he li a ion o all a e o o n an.

i lanne o reno a e he o hi Renai an e om le aro n he e i a ala e
along wi h o her ho e o ha he own o o n an e ome a in o own e m. ll
i a i i ie wo l e organi e rom he m e m en re a he e i a ala e ho ing a
wine ellar ea ing oil lan he own a er he own ale an ol harma a hoe ma er
a eweller a ho ogra her ll he e remi e wo l no ha e o e lo e in he a
ra her how a an rren reali .

e ma i i ie are al o lanne o a e la e in ali ana an ero .

here are al o n or he ^h en r mill an oil lan re air wor an or he
a a a ion o he e hi i ion area or hema i e hi i ion an or he amil olle ion . an
amilie in o n an ha e ri h amil olle ion o heir o men ing i eing arrie o in
o o era ion wi h he hnogra hi e m o ria. he area o he hi ori al mill i al o
ore een or i la o he amil olle ion .

here will al o e a en re or ee ing an o men ing he in angi le l ral
heri age in he e m. *The My ka un/ a mia casita* ro e will e on in e e a e o i
er goo re l .

e ial a en ion will e gi en o a an ing o o era ion wi h o her heri age
in i ion in roa ia an a roa .

H ARE THE I I -MAKERS I A ?

n he ro e o hin ing a o he ermanen la o o he own o o n an
e m he lan o in er iew wa rawn . ar wi h la e e all he inha i an
o he o n an area i.e. wi h he eo le wor ing a h la e he in ergar en elemen ar
hool heal h en re e . an eo le who are or hin o hem el e a eing he
o e er on o he na ional minori ie a o ia ion an o her a o ia ion . here i a
e ial gro o eo le he ele ri ie o o n an who are re ogni e all he
inha i an an who an o or ome ari lari ha o l e no a le an im or an onl
in a mall omm ni . ll o hem ha e een or will e in i e o al a o hem el e an
heir e erien e o o n an al o a o o her o a o in o wha he e e rom he
re e m.

i ori al re ear h o ha mall mi ro o m will e one a he ame ime in or er o
o ain a hi ori al elemen ha an e rela e o o a reali an o in o who ha e
he area in whi h we li e. hen we ea o he ol an he new m l i l ral omm ni in
hi en e we an ear h or he o men e reali an he legen a o he e lemen o
he new inha i an al o a o n er an ing he new e a e he ol ong rom he
earlier erio ha e line re erring o he re en e o he new an he ol h a govori
lipa Mara tko bi meni krunu naša n egova bin l uba bila. Naša u e rni Moro. Tad govori
lipa Mara pri e bin se utopila, neg morova l uba bila. Pretty Mara says hoever ould
find me a cro n, ould be his love. Black Moro found it. Then pretty Mara said d
rather dro n myself than his love be .

THE E I I S THE C C USI

eem ha he ign o eo le an la e in he o n an area an e i i e in o
wo gro

a ign ha are ran mi e a hori ie ha are largel i eal an lo an re re en
he on ei e or er

- m e m olle ion an heir re en a ion in he a an in he re en
- ran ing
- oli i al a i e he La in name o he new a er inno o ol lore elemen
he ka uni l. o her ne ral m ol an he li e.

ign ha are ran mi e he ree ha are e i en ial an anal an re re en
he a al or er

- in i eren e an i an ing
- h mo r an iron
- a i ing
- he a earan e o a a e ho win ow an o her.

he e an man o her ign ho l e re re en e in he hnogra hi olle ion o
he re own o o n an e m an ha e a la e in he ermanen e hi i ion o
o n an a a own e m.

he olle ion an he ermanen e hi i ion ho l re le rren an ormer
on li an re on ilia ion ha ha e een gi en a h moro in er re a ion he inha i an

hem el e . owe er hi ho l e one in a wa ha i a e a le o all o ha he
e mi el e a e a le a heir in i ionali e li ing room.

he e are a ewe am le a ro o al rom he mi ha h r h er i e no
e hel in roa ian or alian in La in he name o he lo al a er wa no ho en o
o r e mere han e or he er e o a lo al oe rom ha erio *Vodn ane stari*
grade, što od tebe sada rade, pop po tebi vodi strance, a ti si auto kamp za igane i Bosance

h o n an an ien own wha are he oing o o he rie g i e oreigner hro gh
o r ree an o are a mo ori am i e or ie an o nian whi h ha more
warm h an in er l ral n er an ing han i ma eem o omeone loo ing in rom he
o i e. Lang age ha i he lang age o en he inha i an o o n an al o ha e
heir mi e arian whi h i omar o he eo le o o n an al ho gh i er e ome
o her well in en ione ol a a rigger or ea ing. in e o n an i e elo ing in he
e onomi en e a a en re or ro ion o e ellen oli e oil here i an agri l ral
e am le *Ti ga preso la zamolba per i dr avni potica i da Ragu .* Yo re e i he
a e i wen o Rag .

in e am onl a he eginning o hi re ear h an here i a long an in ere ing
roa ahea hi i an i eal o or ni or me o in i e o inion rom all o er on he
in iring eli a e heme o lo a ing h mo r in he m e m. h h mo r i ome ime
a e on ereo e an an e o en i e nle i i la e in he a ro ria e one .

ho e ha hi m ing will oon wi h o r hel ha e i m e m orm in e *Čakule*
non fa fritule o i oe n ma e he *fritule* wee rian ri er an i won hel
o re en a i ing an h mo r a in angi le heri age a a m e m e hi i wi hin he
on e o he own o o n an e m.

TES

he erri orial i i ion o ria in o own an i ri a ing rom he erio o
ilaeian a riar ha e an re aine an en o rage he ene ian Re li i ill ali e
in he inha i an min . e i e he erri orial i i ion a or ing o he ormer en re o
ho e mall mi ro o m o n an o n an area La in La in area ar an ar an area
e . here i an o io em ha i on mi ro a ilia ion. n er oring lo al a ilia ion wi hin
he regional omm ni i o en mere ea ing i an a e on more erio mani e a ion
or e am le a oo all ma he .

he a hor o hi a er i rom he o n an area an i one o he new ol inha i an
her gran a her an gran mo her mo e o o n an rom i rro n ing area whi h ha
elonge o o n an erri or or wa near i. he ha een li ing on e erl ill in o n an
he lo al name or he new ar o he own wi h amil ho e or her en ire li e. he

a ilia ion o he omm ni he ie her in a ri ilege o i ion o or i al o
e man ra whi h he rie o a oi ore ra her el rom il ll .

i iall o n an/Dignano i a iling al own wi h he roa ian an alian lang age
re re en e e all .

i oče íc Li i a on r ion o he i en i an he m e m in er re a ion o he
l re o omm ni ie in ria nolo a ri ina ol. . .

he ha e een a an one in he mean ime an la e in ario ina ro ria e lo a ion .

hile wa wor ing on ha e hi i ion he o e im l im o e hem el e ome
were ei her ma e inno a i e inha i an or were mo i ie o er e ano her n ion ome
merel ro i ing ma erial or new o e . in e hen ha e een on i ering he o i ili
o a m lime ia ro e n er he wor ing ile *The ther ife of b ects* whi h wo l go
o i e he o n arie o o n an i.e. wo l o er he whole o ria an e en r her a iel .
ho e me amor ho e o e wo l e la e in rela ion o he ime in whi h he were
ma e an o he eo le who al ere an re le hem. he ar ing oin wo l e rom he
general nee or re ling in he a an o a o a o ene ra e o he lie o or inar
eo le. eo le rom i ere erio an o i ere origin who o l ha e een or ill are
in on li wo l e re en e hro gh he ommon nee or re ling. e arri e a
hro gh he re ling o o her o e al o ear he h moro iri o heir rea or an
ro i e an o or ni o ea o he *ther ife of People* hro gh he *ther ife of b ects*.
h re en a ion wo l e l e or a lea how a a *corpus separatus* o a en en o
iew h wor a on e al ar .

he ol e regi er are a e a he mi ^h en r an he ir lan regi r wa
e a li he in . on i ering how well he regi er ha e een e he are o r e ha
hel re on r e en earlier i a ion .

he a a are ll a aila le on he roa ian a i i al i e we age
h //www. .hr/hr / we / a a a e/ a el a i ano ni o Re li e
r a e/ a el a i ano ni o Re li e r a e.a

he hi ori al an o i ial a mini ra i e eal o o n an i wi el re re e in he area
rom he re oe on he i all o ign on her i h in .

he name o ali ana/ alle ano i remini en o he alian erm or roo er *gallo*
gi ing ri e o h a li eral in er re a ion in he oa o arm .

De elo men ra eg o he own o o n an rom n il .

tinianum ol. / ril . .

or e am le o e ha ha een ro gh o o n an rom o her omm ni ie an
o e a en o o her omm ni ie rom o n an.

a n roa ian. a i a alian. hara eri i ro n one iel hel er.

rni mean la in roa ian while oro i he e i alen in alian.

o hn l e ihi i ar ie win wa lowing an rian ol ong.

*Ti ga preso alian iale . a zamolba a roa ian a mini ra i e erm wi h he la
ar i le rom alian. he roa ian lang age oe no e ar i le . Per i alian iale .
Dr avni potica i roa ian a mini ra i e erm. Da Ragu an alian wor an he
rname o he hairman o he o ia ion or romo ion o li e rowing i i l re an
gro ori m groturist.*

wee na al o ra i ionall re are in he o n an area.

RE ERE CES

i ro ić el o hač ario *Zaštićeni kulturni kra olik Vodn anštine, Etno
arheološki park konzervatorski elaborat Protected landscape in Vodn an area, ethno
archaeological park, a curator concept la . man ri*

Del on Domeni o e . *Dignano e la sua gente Dignano and his people rie e*

orlani ni a nventario del Museo ivico di Dignnao nventory of the To n of
Vodn an Museum o n an . man ri

a e čić an n e ilo e ić *Program izlo be u palači Bettica u Vodn anu
Exhibitions in a Bettica palace in Vodn an an application D ro ni . man ri*

i oče ić Li i a onstructions of the identity and the museum interpretation of the
culture of communities in stria nolo a ri ina ol. . .

Ri mon o Domeni o *Dignano d stria nei ricordi Dignano in stria, a memory
Ra enna .*

E A ES:

roa ian a i i al i e

[h //www. .hr/hr / we / a a a e/ a el a i ano ni o Re li e
r a e/ a el a i ano ni o Re li e r a e.a on le g](http://www.hr/hr/we/a/a/a/e/a/el/a/i/ano/ni/o/Re/li/e/r/a/e/a/ano/ni/o/Re/li/e/r/a/e.a/on/le/g)

]

ra o n an/ i i Dignano/ own o o n an

[h //www. o n an.hr](http://www.o-n-an.hr) on l e g

rom nation to land and cultures.

The example of Estonian ational Museum

gne l a

rom nation to land and cultures. The example of Estonian National Museum.

agne .la
agne .al a erm.ee

onian aional e m e i ar onia
ni er i o ar he n i e o Jo rnali man omm ni a ion li ooli ar
onia

Abstract

he onian aional e m wa o n e in ar in an i wa o e ome a
om le e re o i or o onian l ral heri age. he ir ermanen e hi i ion o ene in
e i e onian ra i ion a a oheren l re wi ho ragmen arine l rali man
on li . he ame wa e hi i ion on in e nil he m e m o wa on
onian e hnogra h an e re e he wi h o er ei e one naional roo an re e
he on in an e o he naional i ea. mo ionall an i eologi all he e o i ion in
re em le he ir ermanen e hi i ion a o h o hem manie e e oming ree rom
oreign o a ion an gaining in e en en e.

onia wa o ie o ie nion rom . er re ora ion o in e en en e
onia ha a o o o la ion o R ian elar ian an rainian origin. o a he
m e m eel he nee o roa en he no ion o onian l re large ro e
in en i ie an omm ni a e e hi i ion . he m e m ha am i ion o e he hol er an
re le or o he i en i ie o i eren naional an o io l ral gro o onia ra her han
onian .

ir e am le ome rom he re en ear when m e m ha are o olle maerial
in erne rom i eren a ien e an omm ni ie who an ro e hem el e he
maerial whi h ho l re er e in m e m. he m e m ha alwa olle e e hnogra hi
maerial rom o her na ion in ear he onian R ian ha e he o i ili o
organi e an e ra or o heir own e hi i ion an o hoo e wha an how ho l e
re en e .

e wor on r ion o l ral heri age ermanen e hi i ion memor in i ion
re on i ili ar i i a ion

Introduction

n m e m o n e l r a l h e r i a g e m e m o l l e i o n a n o r r e l a i o n o h e m r e l e
m o r e a o h a n i o e a o a g e n e r a i o n o r w h a h e w e l e e h i n . n o n i a h e
h e r i a g e h a e e n e i n e m o l a e a a r a e a n o i i a l i n i i o n . h e m e m
a n o l l e e l r a l h e r i a g e h a e e n a n i m o r a n i n r m e n o r r e r e e n i n g h e n a i o n
o i n g h e o l i i a l i m a g i n a i o n o r a r i l a r r e r e e n a i o n o h e n a i o n a l o m m n i .
R e g i n a e n i h a r e m a r e h a w h a i i n g i h e h e r i a g e r o m h e o h e r w a o a l i g n i n g
h e a w i h h e r e e n i i a a i o h i e h e o m l e i e o h i o r a n o l i i

on r i o n o l r a l h e r i a g e i n m e m o n e a n e o l l o w e i i l l i m o l
i n h e o n e o e r m a n e n e h i i o n . n h i a e r w i l l e a m i n e _ i e r e n e r m a n e n
e h i i o n i n o n i a n a i o n a l e m a n w h a h e h a e w i h e o h o w a n e r e
a o l r e a n o i e a n h o w h e o n r i o n o h e l r a l h e r i a g e h a e e n m a e o
l i .

formation of collections and cultural heritage

he onian a ional e mwa o n e in ar in an i wa o e ome a
om le e re o i or o onian l ral heri age. he m e m wa o n e or re er e he
olle ion o Ja o r one o he grea e onian olle or o ol lore o arr on he
wor he ha are an o romo e he eeling o na ional oge herne o he onian eo le.
n line wi h he oli i in man o her ro ean o n rie a ha ime rimar im or an e
wa a a he o re er ing o he ol a ing ea an l re. he main em ha i o
olle ion wa lai on he ma erial i e e hnogra hi are a rela e o an ien ime an
he li e an om o ommon eo le howe er al o ar haeologi al in ing ar an
li era re.

aional i en i i in e ara l ie o hi ori al memor e er l re or i el wi h a
ni ie n er an ing o he a a narra i e onne ing he eo le a on in o
ari i an on he hi ori al age. a h l re ha i own hi ori al m holog heroe an
legen ar momen rom he a reg lar remem ering an i al re er a ion o he e
ni ie a eo le an legi imi e heir re en a a i i ie . o o ie an r i e wi ho a
ommon a . he rea ion o a ommon a i a on in al ro e a i i l memor
wor ring whi h i e ome lear ha er ain elemen o he a nee o e re er e
or he re an o her elemen orgo en. i ori al memor i re er e in on re e lie
e m moire i e o memor ierre ora . n er hi i ea elong e eral in i ion
m e m ar hi e an li rarie e en naional holi a memorial a an ere monie
h i al la e mon men eme erie an memorial an m ol me al naional
m ol an naional an hem . i e o memor are or oin or o r hi ori al
nowle ge whi h im laneo l ore an ha e o r i ew o he a . a whole he e
i e o memor in heir own wa orm a memor lan a e on whi h he olle i e
memor o e er l re i hel . amm .

n onian l ral here he onian aional e m ha re er e i m oli a
a he o r e o onian l re o he re en a . in he m e m are wi h he
i ea o on r ing he new il ing mone wa olle e an a on i era le ro or ion o
he o la ion oo ar o i eren a ion . mong i eren i e o memor he onian
aional e m ha la e a ra i onal e role. e m ring oge her he mo
im or an ar o a na ion ma erial a a a general r le a ing heir hoi e on he
ominan hi ori al memor . he memor an he i ea whi h are im or an an whi h are
no an e een in one o he e wa in he e hi i ion .

Ethnographic collections and museum of Estonian nation

mong he e hi i ion o he m e m here are wo ha migh e alle ermanen
e hi i ion he ir one wa e o e ring an he o her wa o ene in
alle onia. Lan eo le l re in he re en hi i ion o e o he onian
aional e man i on i la n il o a . mo ionall an i eologi all he e o i ion
o he re em le o he ir ermanen e hi i ion. hi i ion were elling he or o

he onian ea an li e rom he en o he^h en r o he eginning o he^h en r .

he are e i e onian ra i ional ea an l re e hnogra h a a oheren l re wi ho ragmen arine l rali m an on li . he were o e o arr on he onian na ional iri an e a e eo le a o he r e na re o he ra i ional l re. he e hnogra hi e hi i ion an olle ion were rai e o he en re a l ral heri age whi h i rari ie an er al a le .

he i ea o he e hi i ion ha een o gi e a general i e i re a o he l re he i la e i em were no al a le *per se* a l ral me on m ha arrie al a le in orma ion a o he age ologie an i ri ion o he i em . hile olle ing an howing he i em o onian ea an he main em ha i wa lai on a ra i e are a li e ea i ll e ora e lo he an eweller .

he e o i ion were rie o a re o e ien i i o e i e an r h lne . n hi ori al geogra hi al me ho wa r e ologi al e elo men erie were on r e an l ral loan were ra e . he e hi i ion were hara eri e he o alle e hnogra hi al re en imele ne . n he la e e hi i ion an a em wa ma e o how he l ral hange e igning ome e hi i ion area a li ing room o i eren erio o ime rom . Ye in he on e o a whole he e ha e remaine ra her ill ra i e an en o .

he were r ral n ional e hi i ion ha or ra e he l re o a inge o io l ral gro he onian in a ra her i eali e wa a ni e an no hanging in ime. he onl e e ion were ma e o wo minori ie li ing in onia e oa al we e an R ian l eli er who were al o agri l ral eo le an i no elong o he er la e .

Estonian national culture as a

o he ir ermanen e hi i ion he re in rial ea an l re wa r alli e a he na ional one in he e e o he onian eo le an he re en one large he ame i ea

an al e are omm ni a e . he no ion o onian ea an l re a a na ional l re i
 ill er m h ali e in he o ie a a *realm of memory* a a mon men o e ial al e .
 a o h a a o r e o no algi a a well a in ira ion mean o whi h new m oli m
 an i en i ie are rea e . rawing on ra i ion an wa o rea ing heri age
 re re en a ion eo le a em o e ine heir l ral a gro n an i en i an re le on
 al e ha are meaning l o hem. ra i ional l re a a *realm of memory* ha a e ial
 la e in he min o eo le an oe no i wi h e er hing a wa hown or in an e
 he ri i an i ion a o he new il ing o he onian a ional e m ha wa
 een a a arrier on o ie m oli m ha i n i in he i ea o onian na ional l re.

here were goo rea on or ha in o an a roa h a o h e hi i ion mani e e
 e oming ree rom oreign o a ion an gaining in e en en e. n onia he ie
 were he ir e a e o in e en en a ehoo an in he a e gaine he in e en en e
 again a er o ie o a ion are rom . he onian l re wa legi imi e a he
 high one an he e hi i ion wi he o er ei e na ional roo an re e he on in an e
 o he na ional i ea. he onian ra i ional l re wa e ine a e al o ha o he er
 la e i mean he ali erman an /or he R ian .

Culture as source of problems and uestions

we regar he re en onian o ie o o i el o he e hi i ion i ea we an ee ha
 a o o o la ion li ing in onia are o R ian elar ian an rainian origin
 mo l mo e in he ime o o ie o a ion. he hi or o onia i no wi ho on li
 al o in he re en hi or i een in man i eren wa an i har o now who e
 e erien e are he more righ one . he e hnogra hi olle ion an ea i l are a
 on a re an more wi ho on e an in er re a ion o eo le an e hi i ion i i or .

La ian m eologi gri a olina ha om are e elo men in ali m e man ha
 on l e ha m e m ha e ha he ame hi ori al one ha ha e een in l en e he
 m e m . rom he ee m e m a a e inan e in i ion whi h ha o eal wi h
 on r ion o new i en i an wi h memor ro lem . rom he m e m ha e
 e ame more in ere e o e on oli a or o o ie i eren ar in he ame ime when
 m e m am i ion ha e in rea e he inan ial or rom a e ha e ame le igni i an .

he m e m ha e en ere o he iel o l ral in r an are om e i i e in he iel o ree ime wi h o her l ral an en er ainmen in i ion .

o we ha e o a e ion

- ow i he na ion e ine an who i in l e ore l e rom he m e m e hi i ion
- ha ha en when he e hi i ion or i no oheren wi h hi or an oe no ll oin i e wi h he o i ial narra i e
- ow o we e e hnogra hi olle ion an wha in o heore i al an me ho ologi al a roa he ho l e a o e
- ow o ring o m e m i i or an omm nie a e al ar ner an on r er o l re

There are many ways of interpreting Estonian culture

onian a ial e m i in he age o lanning a m new il ing whi h will o en in ear . ew ar hi e ral orm nee al o new on en an new riori ie .

e m role in o a onian o ie i o n er an he m e m o ial re on i ili o n er an he li wi he an he mo i a ion o li o ari i a e in rea ing he m e m e rien e . he mo im or an iel o e elo men are o ial in l ion an o o era ion wi h i eren omm nie hro gh igi ali a ion an in er re a ion o olle ion .

o a he onian a ial e m ee he m e m o ial re on i ili in on oli a ing eo le li ing in onia. e m ee he role in o ering re on ilia ion e ween onian i eren memorie an orie . he e hi i ion an m e m online a a a e ho l re en a e a e age or onian i i en o he ire mo ion an i en i e ion . e m in en o in wa o a ing new e ion a o he o n r hi or an a o he memor an e erien e o i eo le o e ing a on er a ion wi h i a ien e.

he m e m ha am i ion o e he hol er an re le oro he i en i ie o i eren na ial an o io l ral gro o onia ra her han onian . n elling he or o onia an onian he e m ha o in a wa o en re ha i i or will o h e rea re he

amiliar an challenge he new erha in ing a la e ha how hem hi onian
or he are amiliar wi h an hen re he he e ge . he e o how he m e m
re re en i eren oi e la in i e ermina ion o in l e hem in he or rom he ar .
hro gh he ro e o on la ion an in ol emen he e m m e a le o a o an
re i en .

i he re on i ili o he na ional m e m o re en he e orie in inno a i e an
e i ing wa an ma e he i i or o he e m eel ar o he or ha he or he i
loo ing hro gh an in era i e ri m ra her han on he o i e o a win ow loo ing in.

o a he m e m eel he nee o roa en he no ion o onian l re large
ro e in en i ie an omm ni a e e hi i ion whi h gi e a an age om aring o
o her in i ion in he iel o ree ime. hi ear ha are he rea ion o onian o her
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e i en e he onian a ional e m ha on erge ma erial l re o i eren na ion
in mall ale om aring o he onian ma erial or enno gri eo le ma erial . o we
ha e are a ho ogra hi an ar hi e olle ion wha onian R ian ha e he
o i ili o organi e an e ra or o heir own e hi i ion an o hoo e wha an how
ho l e re en e .

uture opportunities

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r le . he m e m ha e o i ili o arr he memor o all eo le an re re en he
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on r an in er re heir li e worl . e m ha e man o or ni ie o in ol e li
o he on r ion o heri age an o ma e i oge her more i i an no im li all a e
o hi or . i no om h ha m e m on r i en i ie al ho gh he o io l
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hnogra hi m e m ha e ana an age om are o he o her in i ion in o ering he
age or ialog e e ween i eren eo le e erien e . hnogra h a me ho ha alwa
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References

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onian a ional e m ann al on eren e a ional e m a a e o l ral
Di er i an Dialog e . . ar onia

amm are . <http://www.memorion.org/en/memorion> [online] available

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¹ New building of the Estonian National Museum is situated in the city of Tartu, in the area where in the Soviet period located Soviet military airport.

**Educational Program at the Museum
for Jewish and Arab Children**

alia a i h

Educational Program at the Museum for Jewish and Arab Children

Galia Gavish, Artistic Director

Historical background

Jerusalem's history is one of numerous wars, conquests, destruction and rebuilding.

The Jews Holy Temples, which stood on the Temple Mount, were destroyed by foreign conquerors: The First Temple was razed by the Babylonians in 586 BCE and the Second Temple was burned by the Romans in 70 CE. Since that time, the Jews did not have an independent state, but they kept the memory of the sacred site for centuries as throughout the world Jews continued to pray for a return to the Land of the Forefather and for the rebuilding of the Temple.

During the Roman Empire, a temple of Zeus stood on the Temple Mount.

When Christianity replaced the pagan Roman religion, a feeling of sacredness returned to the city as the place where Jesus worked and died.

With the Muslim conquest of Palestine in 634 a third religion competed for Jerusalem as a place of holiness. The Muslim Caliphs constructed the Dome of the Rock - Qubaat al asahira - and the al-Aksa Mosque, considered the third most important mosque in the Muslim world, on the Temple Mount.

The Crusaders retook the city in 1099 and transformed one Muslim building on the Temple Mount into a church and the other into a palace.

When the Crusaders were defeated and Islam returned to rule Jerusalem and the Temple Mount, the Jews were prohibited from ascending to their Holy Mountain. As a substitute, the Jews began praying near the Western Wall, the last remnant of the huge compound near the Holy Temple, which had now become the most sacred place to the Jews.

The Modern Era

During the late 19th century, two national movements arose, each striving to control the Arab nationalism. Towards the end of World War I, when the British army repelled the Turks, Lord Arthur James Balfour on 2 November 1917, declared that the Jews had a right to establish a Homeland in Israel. On 9 December 1917, General Allenby marched into Jerusalem, accepted the Turks' surrender, and Palestine became a British Mandate.

The Arabs reacted by rioting and attacking the Jews in 1921, 1929 and in the "Arab Revolt" of 1936-39. The British reneged on what was called the "Balfour Declaration" and issued the "White Paper," limiting Jewish immigration to Palestine to 1,000 entry visas annually. The gates of Israel were closed to Jews who succeeded in escaping from the Nazis in Europe during and after World War Two, when the world already knew just how extensive was the genocide committed during the Holocaust.

On 20 April 1946, the British proposed a partition of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state, but the Arabs refused the offer and the British transferred the problem to the United Nations.

On 29 November 1947, the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab sectors. On 14 May 1948, David Ben-Gurion declared the State of Israel on the night that British forces ended the Mandate and left the country. Six Arab states attacked the newborn state, but the Jews established independence and thousands of Arabs became refugees.

In December 1947, the siege of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem began and lasted six months. On 28 May 1948 the Jewish Quarter fell to the Jordanian Legion after a 10-day battle. 380 fighters and residents became POWs, while the other residents moved to the new section of Jerusalem. Among the Jewish refugees were families that had lived in Jerusalem for several generations. After the Six Day War of 1967, some of these families returned to the Old City to live.

The Jewish-Muslim conflict arose from the Arabs' inability to accept Jewish rule over of Palestine, and especially over Jerusalem and the Temple Mount. The Jews' Declaration of Independence was called by the Arabs the Nakba, or the national disaster.

The Isaac Kaplan Old Yishuv Court Museum

The Museum is located in the Old City of Jerusalem not far from the Temple Mount, the heart of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. The 500-year-old building is now home to exhibits on the lives of the Jews in Jerusalem between the Old City walls from the Ottoman Period (16th century) when it was called "The Courtyard" up to the fall of the Jewish Quarter in 1948. The Museum has 8 rooms in each one lived an entire family, and at present they are exhibition rooms.

The Old City of Jerusalem is divided into four Quarters: Muslim, Christian, Armenian and Jewish Quarters. In the past, all of the ethnic communities lived alongside of each other under very crowded conditions. They had to get along, while each community preserved its own traditions and customs. Nowadays, there is almost no contact between the communities residing in the Old City.

The Isaac Kaplan Old Yishuv Court Museum has numerous evidence of good neighborly relations between the communities in generations past in its photographs, documents and artifacts.

For example, during the Spring Festival of Passover, Arab and Jewish children built kites and flew them together. For the festival of Purim, about a month before Passover, the Jewish custom is to masquerade, but since money was scarce for sewing new costumes, the Jews would borrow clothes from their Arab neighbors.

The Museum's collection of photographs include many scenes of Arabs and Jews in the Old City coffeehouses sitting together over a narghila. At weddings, Arab musicians would come and play for the bride and groom, while on the Sabbaths, if the fire went out in a Jewish home, the head of

household would go outside with a sad look. The Arab neighbor knew the reason and would enter the house to re-light the fire...

The New Monastery winery in the Old City lacked a winemaker, and so Grandpa Tepperberg, owner of the winery in the Jewish Quarter, would make wines for them. In return, the monks would order their labels printed at the Jewish print shop. The last two exhibitions at the Museum, "The A.L. Monsohn Print Shop" and "Souvenirs from the Holy Land: Works by Meir Rosin," present products made by these artists for Christian and Muslim communities. Hadassah set up the "Drop of Milk" Clinics in the old city in 1925 to care for babies and new mothers from all of Jerusalem's ethnic communities.

These facts were forgotten over the years, with only the written memoirs, photographs and stories of the elders of the older generations remaining. The Museum is developing an educational program for encounter between the various communities to transmit the message that it is possible to cooperate and live alongside of each other in peace. The mission is no easy task considering the hatred and hostility and constant warfare, but the Museum considers these activities to be of utmost importance and hopes to bring hearts closer to each other.

Muslims, Christians and Jews lived under similar crowded conditions in Jerusalem. Everyone's hygienic conditions were similar, everyone cooked outside in the courtyard, and the like. Muslims and Jews were all religious, and there were mutual influences.

Status of women:

Jewish and Arab women were married young.

The **Sanduk**, the trunk in the corner of the room, contained the valuable household effects. When a girl reached the age of 8 or 9, and was considered a "young lady," the family would give her the **Sanduk**, in which she would store her embroidered linens and other goods for her dowry.

Both the Arab and Jewish mothers-in-law to be would carefully examine their prospective daughter-in-law.

The Muslims would conduct a physical examination of the young lady, looking for healthy teeth, how she walked, questioned her to avoid the mentally deficient and watched how she served drinks to the company.

The Jews would conduct a wide variety of tests to see if the intended bride had good motor skills, consistence, patience and obedience. Could she untangle a skein of yarn with knots? Sift rice or beans from stones, or make a cilantro/fennel patty, peel cucumbers, and other tasks?

Islam permits four wives to a man. Often they live in a single room.

Oriental Jews could take more than one wife only if the first wife was barren.

European Jews and Christians could marry one wife only.

In the late 19th century room The Europeans who arrived to settle in Jerusalem in the 19th century did not want to sleep on the floor like the "natives."

They imported beds. Out of the 11,000 Jerusalem residents during this period, 6,000 were Jews. The Jews had 6 beds like the special bed on exhibit in this room –A man who respected his wife rented a bed like this for her birth.

Muslim men slept in a bed, with the wife on a mattress on the floor by his side.

Traditional midwives in the Old City were Jewish and Arab women. In the early 20th century, there were Jewish midwives who traveled to Vienna to learn the profession and specialize. The qualified midwives provided their services to Jewish, Arab and Christian women alike.

Both Arabs and Jews believed in the magical power of amulets and their power to protect infant and new mother. **Lilith**, the demon wife of Asmodeus King of the Demons, is called **Karina** by the Muslims.

The Courtyard: Feasting wedding usually took place Saturday nights. Since the destruction of the Temple, the Jews did not play musical instruments in Jerusalem (except drums), Muslim musicians played.

The Muslims trusted the Jewish slaughterer, and often brought animals and fowl for acceptable ritual slaughter by Jews.

Passover: Jews may not eat leavened bread or food on Passover or to possess leavened food, and so they "sold" the food to the Muslims or Christians for 8 days, then bought it back after the holiday. (This custom is still practiced today by the Jerusalem Municipality and throughout the country).

Direction of prayer: Worshippers face the holiest place for their religion: for Judaism it is to the East (the Temple Mount) while Muslims face South to Mecca.

Ritual purity: Jews wash the hands before prayer; Muslims wash hands, face and soles of the feet.

The command of charity: This is a basic religious precept for both Islam and Judaism.

Pilgrimage: This is one of the major foundations of Islam and in Judaism. Jews are commanded to "go up" to Jerusalem three times a year, and Muslims are commanded to go to Mecca. Pilgrims receive the honorific "*Hadj*" after completing the journey.

Prayer: Jews pray 3 times a day during weekdays and 4 times a day on Sabbath, while Muslims are called to prayer 5 times daily.

Fasting: The major Jewish fast days are Yom Kippur and 9th of Av; minor fast days (daylight to dark) are 10th of Tishrei, 10th of Tevet, Fast of Esther and 17th of Tammuz. Muslims fast daily during the month of Ramadan, from sunrise to sunset.

The Jewish calendar and the Muslim calendar are lunar calendars, Muslims counting from the Hejira and the Jewish calendar from Creation.

Male circumcision: Both religions follow different sons of Abraham: Judaism on the 8th day, as Isaac; in Islam, usually age 13, like Ishmael.

Rachel's Tomb: The Matriarch Rachel is holy to all three religions. There is a Muslim cemetery near the Tomb, and barren women would come to pray for a child and easy birth.

Mrs. Mandelbaum (of the family on whose property the "Mandelbaum Gate" was located) used to sell her products on an "easy payment plan." Her grandson, Moshe Mandelbaum, tells the story of how, after the Six Day War, many Arabs from east Jerusalem came to him to pay their debt from the days before the 1948 War of Independence.

Tipat Halav "Drop of Milk" Centers:

In 1921, the World Hadassah Organization attempted to address the high infant mortality rate and decided to set up the first *Tipat Halav* Drop of Milk station in the Old City to care for Jewish and Arab children alike. Each child received a cup of goat milk each day to improve their nutrition. Mothers received guidance on parenting, while babies' growth was monitored.

The educational program

The children are exposed to objects on exhibit, and each of the communities explains the cultural significance of the object.

The children play with yesteryear's games, which were usually homemade.

At the end, there is a trunk of costumes of all of the communities and the children play dress-up together.

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Dream o erla ing ea e

ra

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o h l re .

or ho ol an ha e .

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he were i i e in o gro o o r air o eenager rom ea h i e wo o hem hoo han
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e ion an e re m al wi he .

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ai *and they shall beat their s ords into plo shares, and their spears into pruning hooks*
nation shall not lift up s ord against nation, neither shall they learn ar any more. aiah

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here ar rom an o her e lemen he ari i an were a le o rea awa rom heir normal
ail ro ine. a warming o rea he i e e ween he wo om le el ranger gro all
he ari i an were a e o in ar ner rom he o o i e gro an ha e han or a
rolonge erio o wo min e a an in ro ion o he a i i he were going o o. hen
he were i i e in o gro o o r mi e air o eenager rom ea h i e wo o hem
hoo han an he o her wo ha o wra hi han ha e a .

he ma erial ho e a wa orrowe rom me i ine o er e a a me a hor or healing
ra re .

he ro e wa arrie o a ollow
ne air on i ing o raeli an ale inian i hel han irml or a ew min e an he o her
air ha o o er he ha en han wi h a eline ream. he rea ing o he ream ha o e gen le
an o li e ro ing. he an aging ha o e one irml gen l a he ame ime. ig.

ho hi

n er ig re a o here

hen he ha o an age hem wi h wo la er o a .D ring he a ing age he one
hol ing han ha o e a en i e o ea h o her while ro a ing heir han an al o o he one ha were
oing he o o an aging. he were on e or min e an hen he har ene a wa
remo e an he air wi he role . D ring hi rolonge han ha e hi m oli in ima e ge re
ena le hem o la gh oge her ha a e ion an e re m al wi he . ee ig. .

n er ig re a o here

hi in o a i i e o e hem o a ni e emo ionale erien e. hi lo e an ne e e
en o n er wa ome hing ha none o he e o ng er ha e er ha e ore.

he ro o hi wor ho were oge her in o a long hain ha he i rom a a oo home o
e h ng on he wall o heir hool m oli ing he i ea o e en ing han or ea e.

o e

ere ha e o men ion ha in e *The slo agreements* he on li ha hange olor
rom o imi i in o e imi i ar olor . here were a when ea e eeme wi hin
rea h an o her a when i eeme ho ele .J e ore he hir mee ing here wa an

ho hi

in i en o a i i e om ing in a *Tel viv* o lar re a ran wo women were ille an man
o her were in re . hi in i en or e o o he hir mee ing a i a e a n m er o
rea ra i ro lem or he organi er le alone he emo ional re er a ion an mi e eeling
among he ari i an o o h i e . er a while we were a le o ro ee wi h he ro e
ee ing in min ha hi new i a ion wo l ha e o e a en in o on i era ion when hol ing
he hir mee ing. he ir ar o he hir mee ing he e a e wa e i a e o rea ing an
a mo here o oo era ion an goo will in i e o he ra ma.

or ho a ing o a

he gro ha o rea e a ma in mi e air . D ring he ro e o ma ing ho e ma
he were a le o ha lo el an in ormall an hen when remo ing he ma ea h one ha o
ma e ome o i i e a emen o he gro ha will on ri e o he i ea o e en ing a han or ea e.

or hi wor ho al o e a hi ime or rea ing in i i al a e ma . he
ari i an were wor ing in mi e air ea h one ma ing a a ma on he a e o he o her.
nli e he al i re o eile a e in la o errori ha we ee in o r lo al
new a er or on . . a re ing he worl wi h ha e l e lara ion he whi e a ma
er e a a on ra ing image re re en ing leanline an ri . hi a i i or e he
ari i an o loo a he a e o he ir ar ner ee him e amine hi a e lo el eel he in o
hi a e ro e i o er i wi h a eline ream o allow ea remo al o he a when one. ig.

ho hi

n er ig re a o here

he learne how o e are l ring he ro e o a ing in or er no o a e ain or
h r he ar ner in an wa . he here were momen o em arra men a he ame ime
here were momen o m al r when he gra all learne o r he one who wa
o ering heir a e wi h a . he nee e o e rela e ea e lan a ea e ring hi age.
hen he ma har ene he ha o a e i o an re en l ell he o her how he el ring
i eren age o hi ro e .

hen he ar ner wi he role o ha e er one e erien e hi a i i . inall he
were a e o a ario a ial e re ion on heir in i i al ma ha will on e heir
eeling a ha momen . ee ig.

n er ig re a o here

ome o he ar i i an remar were

*came ith mixed feelings to this third meeting, as afraid of the reaction of the
sraelis and as n t sure ho they ould treat me. Maybe one of their relatives as hurt by the
terrorist as really discouraged. So, the idea of the mask made things easier for me liked*

the feel of the fingers on my face, the peaceful atmosphere of the surrounding and the inner calmness under the mask.

n the beginning, as afraid but slo ly slo ly began to feel safer.

*t first, felt embarrassed that someone, a complete stranger, is stroking
my face but it as pleasant.*

*There as a moment hen felt like tearing the mask apart but it soon changed because
heard the voice of my partner hich put me at ease.*

he la ar o he a i i wa o wear he ma again an on e i eren me age
an ge re h a o an a ne a a hmen an e a hmen war an ea e ing hea re
im ro i a ion .

inall ea h ari i an ha o ome wi h hi ma an al a o wha he ho gh
e ore he a i i wha were hi eeling owar hi ar ner in e hi ing ehin he ma
allow o o a in ere wor raigh orwar . hen ea h one ha o a e he ma o an
o enl al a o whe her he mee ing ma e a i eren e o him. Doe he eel ha i i wor h
wor ing or re re on ilia ion an ma ing a hange or all

ne re on e wa

Although I started this activity with mixed feelings, I soon realized that wearing the mask enabled me to express myself in more than one way through the theatre improvisations. I realized that I was able to open up to a variety of feelings, which led me to think that perhaps I will be able to contain my partner's feelings, that perhaps I will be able to empathize with my partner.

no her re on e wa

didn't want to come to this meeting today. I decided that there is no point, that there is no one to talk to. Eventually, I was convinced to come and I am not sorry I did. I feel frustrated but through this workshop my feelings softened and I realized how valuable it is to have an open dialogue with the other side. I am not anymore and I would like to remain friends with all of you

he ere on e e i en l how ha he e o ng er n erwen no an emo ional
e erien e a ogni i e ro e a well. he e ame aware o an al ern a i e a i e more
o i i e an o en one an he are an io o eli er heir new in igh o heir omm ni ie .

o e

er a erie o error a a he en ion e ween he ra i i en an Jewi h i i en
in rael in en i ie an here wa a reali a ion ha lo al ra eenager ho l al o e
a re e in a i ion o he ale inian in he o ie erri orie . a re l we egan o hol
mee ing e ween Jewi h an raeli ra high hool en a l ing he ame me ho
men ione hi her o.

n mi e ra en an o e e how

mong he ra minori ie in rael he *Bedouin minority* i one wi h whom we wor e
on a oin ro e in a o ia ion wi h he *Museum for the rt of Puppetry in olon*.

he e o in li e in he ege o hern ar o rael in i er e lo a ion . he e are
lim noma ri e o whom onl a ew are i a e in ermanen illage .

hi i a on er a i e o ie wi h ri r le e e iall regar ing women. he
e a ion heir hil renge i limi e an he are n er ri ilege in man wa . an o hem
o no a en hool reg larl e a e he ha e o oin heir aren wi h ario hore . he

e o in on a wi h he raeli o ie i er limi e a well mainl e o heir re er e
le o li ing. hilan hro organi a ion alle *Shatil'* e a li he a rogram alle *The*
Negev coexistence Forum for civil Equality'.

hi or me a li he on a wi h he *Museum for The rt of Puppetry* in . he
ime wa he ire or o he *School for the rt of Puppetry* an wa in harge o he
e a ional rogram or he *Museum*, o h are ar o he *olon Puppet enter*.

oge her wi h he hel o *Shatil'* an he e o in omm ni wor er we organi e a
ll a eminar or a gro o eenager age rom he i o *Be'er Sheva* he a i al o
he ege an rom a ye an *useife* wo e o in e lemen in he area a he *museum in*
olon. he gro on i e o ari i an rom ea h i e o an girl .

in e he e o in eenager i n ea an e rew an he raeli i n ea an
ra i he lang age o e hea re wa he ommon lang age.

he mee ing egan wi h a o r in he m e m ge ing a aine wi h i eren le o
e hea re rom i eren l re an he were hown he ario e hni e o o era ing
e how . ig.

n er ig re a o here

he ne age wa a wor ho o o era ing han e e erien ing he a i o
er ha a e ge re on e ingemo ion o an li ing. ig.

n er ig re a o here

he hir age wa learning an ra i ing ri wri ing. wa a e on hree a le
rilov. he me age o he e a le i ha o ha e o a e an re e he o her e en i he
o her i er i eren rom o . he ari i an ha o on er he ale in o a la
em ha i ing he on e o eing an o i er a e ing he o i er an em a hi ing wi h him.
er wri ing he la he ari i an rea e he e or he la wi h he ai o he
m e m in r or . he en o he a a maller gro rom he ari i an orme
ol n eering o ra el wi h he newl rea e e how among he e o in e lemen . hi
gro e o e ime an e or o rehear al o ma ing he e ing on he age re or ing a
la a in ra i all hi wi h he a i an e o he m e m in r or . he how ra ele all
o er he *Negev* area ring he mmer ime a a ion. ig.

n er ig re a o here

he arge a ien e wa hil ren rom in ergar en i o age . he en o ea h how
he hil ren learne o ma e han e o o olore ar oar wi h he in r ion o he
gro mem er o e a en home.

ho hi

he e o hi ro e wa remar a le in i e o he man o a le ha oo in he
wa o he gro o a le rela e o he on er a i e e o in ra i ion an o her rela e o
logi i . en all hi gro o o ng er wa om limen e e er where ro gh o an
ha ine o hil ren in la e where here are no o or la gro n an a ol el no
e erien e o he hea re worl among hil ren a well a a l .

mning

he o n a ion or he re on ilia ion ro e were lai in . he o r ro e e i e here
are e i ome o a roa er an om rehen i e rogram ha ha een a lie e ween he ear
o . hro gh o he e ear here ha e een n mero eminar mee ing an
wor ho or e *Ta ayush* ra Jewi h ar ner hi *Peace No , People to People,*
Shatil ew rael n . r or m o e on high hool en or he rea on re en e
a o e.

owar he ear he elligeren a again raeli i i en in rea e an he
raeli go ernmen wa or e o h o he a age e ween rael an he o ie erri orie
e e or h mani arian ai an a mall n m er o a hori e wor er .

on e en l i e ame im o i le o hol an re on ilia ion mee ing e ween raeli
an ale inian eenager here in rael. or na el h mee ing o e i o a he are
hel o er ea in ro e ralia mainl ring mmer a a ion .

n or na el he e e o he e re on ilia ion mee ing ha imini he e o logi i
an inan ial ro lem . wo l li e o oin o ha e ore i wa n ea o organi e h
mee ing ei her. here were om le ro lem ha re ire rea i e a ho ol ion . here
were in an e when a gro wa en a or wi hhel he mili ar e o ina e a e ermi

or an ne e e hange o r le in he wa e o a re en errori a . he i a ion e ame er
ragile.

he ea her an lea er o he ale inian gro were n er on an re re o heir
omm ni again ari i a ing in h mee ing or ea e. nl ail er i en or on o r
ar en o rage hem o er e ere. her o a le were rela e o he r le o hi on er a i e
o ie . aren wo l n le he girl oin he mi e gro o eenager wi ho e or. nl ew
were inall on in e o r he ea her an en heir a gh er o he mee ing .

o a mo o o r e or are ire e in ernall owar he minori ie li ing in rael
he ra an e o in e or. e hol mee ing in whi h we learn o main ain a ialog e in he
iri o m al re ogni ion an he n er an ing ha o h o r na ion are e ine o a here
an li e i e i e in e erla ing ea e. n he wor o he ro he *the olf also shall d ell*
ith the lamb and the leopard shall lie do n ith the kid aiah

r m e m in olon i an i eal i e or he e mee ing mainl e a e he lang age o
e hea re i ni er al. a eal o all an he ialog e o e ing h mor emo ion
an o lang age an remo e arrier. a e he a ien e in an l ringing o an
am emen an ro i e o imal erm ora o i i e ialog e.

i liogra h

ohen ro man ra e. Jewi h ar. ea ro e .

Da i o i h Da i he Jewi h marriage on ra hro gh he age. el i

.Le in ein L . li her .

Dowla hahi li. er ian e ign an mo i or ar i an ra men. ew Yor Do er

li a ion n .

lia rie Lo a an ara an Dani. ea e. rael Daniella De r li her L . m

e li hing o e L .

lia rie Lo a. Lan o he hear. el i m e li her L .

he e ro oli an e m o r. he oman em ire. he e ro oli an e m o r

lle in ol me i no. *anuary* .

פארי מירי. בובה סובבת עולם מסורות אמנותיות בתיאטרון בובות. חולון המוזיאון ובית הספר לאומנות תיאטרון

. הבובות

R E THE ATI A MUSEUM

CU TURES I ME IC

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ROLE OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CULTURES IN MEXICO

Prof. Silvia Seligson
Researcher and Curator
East Asian Cultures

The National Museum of Cultures is the sole institution in Mexico devoted exclusively to foreign countries or overseas cultures. The collection is comprised of objects from various ancient civilizations and peoples from different geographic and cultural areas, and shows mankind in its cultural diversity; therefore, it is a space for reflection on the Other with a respectful gaze.

This paper focuses on the museum's new efforts in two fields: broadening its activities and scope to acknowledge otherness in all its forms (highlighting and defining the achievements of each one), and innovating the educational programs.

For these purposes, this paper presents first a brief history of the museum, including the activities done so far to effectively operate and maintain the permanent exhibits and promote or increase the temporary ones. The second part conveys the innovative means of approaching the cultures and displaying their objects as vectors of identity, values and meanings in a wider and more coherent context. The last part is devoted to the educational programs, with the aim not only to relate the exhibits to the school curricula, but also to foster the knowledge or understanding and appreciation of other cultures among a wide range of people from different backgrounds.

Brief History and Activities of the Museum

The building that houses the Museum dates from the beginning of the 18th century (1734), when it was the Royal Mint where silver and gold from Mexican mines were turned into coins. In 1865, after the Independence of Mexico from Spain, it became the first Public Museum of History, Archaeology and Natural History. Its collections increased with time, resulting in the need to create other spaces for their display. Thus, in 1909 the *Chopo* Museum was established to

contain the Natural History section; in 1944 *Chapultepec* Castle (which up to then had been the official residency of the presidents of Mexico) was converted into the Museum of National History. Lastly, the remaining collections of pre-Colombian and ethnographic pieces moved in 1964 to the then recently opened and imposing National Museum of Anthropology and History.

Throughout these years the Museum carried out various academic activities, among them the 17th International Congress of Americanists (ICA) in 1910, and was also the seat during twenty years of the National School of Anthropology and History, which was founded in 1938.

The present National Museum of Cultures was inaugurated in December, 1965 with objects belonging to foreign cultures, since then having been donated both by governments of other countries and private collectors as a gesture of brotherhood and friendship with Mexico, rather than from Imperial pillaging.

The building in sober baroque style stands out with its imposing main door made of bronze engraved plates and knockers of Chinese origin, the mural "The Revolution Triumphant" (done between 1930-1935 by the renowned Mexican painter Rufino Tamayo, who was Head of the Museum's Ethnographic Design Department in 1921), and its classical colonial architecture with a central patio and three stories with long exhibition halls.

The Museum has 20 exhibition galleries in which one can appreciate the evolution and cultural richness (from Origins to the early 20th century) of the millenarian peoples of many regions¹. Since its inception it has looked to relate the Museum's exhibits with the school curricula, its major function being to serve as an educational resource for primary and secondary school students². They constitute 42% of the total annual visitors (an average of 263,000 in the last four

¹ Mesoamerica and the Andes, North American aborigines from the arctic to the forest of the United States' southeast, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Israel, Greece and Rome, Eastern Europe, Africa, Middle East, Southeast Asia, China, Korea, Japan, and Oceania (which has part of the renowned anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski's collection donated by his widow, an artist who painted under the name Valleta Swann and who assisted him in his Mexican studies of peasant markets during 1940-1941).

² The 5th grade of primary school and the 3rd year of secondary school curricula include World History and, therefore, obligatory visits to the Museum.

years), whereas other senior high school and university students the 37 , and general public, Mexican and foreign, the 15 and 6 , respectively.

Therefore, the Museum has offered lectures, workshops and exhibitions to stimulate an interest and appreciation of the history and art of other cultures among its audiences, as well as summer courses organized every year for high school teachers around the theme "Cultures of the World and the Teaching of History", which include lectures and guided visits to the various Museum's galleries.

Currently the Museum is undergoing an integral renovation of the building including enlargement of the exhibition halls or galleries, a project that has provided the opportunity to improve or change both the collections display and the educational programs of the Museum.

Innovative Means of Display

The new project aims to present the cultures in groups, rather than separated, according to specific subjects or topics, in order to bring out similarities and differences on a wider and more coherent context, thus emphasizing anthropological, historical, archaeological and ethnographic knowledge on human homogeneousness and diversity. This innovative means to approach the cultures also emphasizes their representative objects as vectors of identity, values and meanings, using provocative visual juxtapositions and contextual information as a reflection of the synthesis between traditional ideas and new influences, stimulating a respectful gaze for the diversity and creativity of the exhibits.

The exhibitions will be arranged so as to lead the visitors to see the significance of the Museum as an Institution devoted to throw light on a variety of issues or phenomena through four principles applied to a diverse range of objects and art works: utility, community, individuality and symbolism. These would, at the same time, encourage the visitors to explore them in their own ways, answering their own questions, rather than just turning to the authority on the labels. This approach aims also to make them think about their own culture

and identity, as well as about their prejudices and convictions, contributing in this way to raising awareness and critical thought among its visitors.

The effort to bring together an interesting and compelling assemblage of relevant objects from many cultures and to exhibit in an equal manner their history, traditions and values is a challenging task for the Museum, because of the characteristics and peculiarities of the collections being in some instances an odd assortment of more than 14,000 artifacts donated at random, as well as its limited budget for new acquisitions, due to the low government expenditure/investment in recreation and culture³.

Therefore another project is to promote external partnerships and networks of museums with common objectives and affinities in order to organize temporary exhibitions and other cultural activities⁴.

Educational Programs

The educational programs aim not only to relate the exhibits with the school curricula but also to foster the knowledge or understanding and appreciation of other cultures among people of different backgrounds: students, teachers, scholars, general public and even foreign residents⁵ or descendants of the immigrants who are nowadays Mexican citizens, in this last case enabling them to find traces of their cultural heritage.

In order to promote through education an awareness of cultural diversity the anthropologist Leonel Duran Solis, Director of the Museum, established in 2008 the Center of Cultural Diversity Studies (CEDICULT) as a place for debate, interaction and discussion, research, teaching, and reflection on the importance of culture in this globalized era. Its objectives are:

-Establish collaborations between national and international institutions, societies and scholars devoted to cultural diversity studies.

³ In 2006 it represented only 0.4 % of the GNP - and for education 4.6 % (INEGI).

⁴ Proposal presented by the anthropologist Leonel Duran Solis, Director of the Museum, at the UNESCO Meeting of Cultural Policies Experts, in Paris, July 6-8, 2009.

⁵ The number of foreign residents in Mexico increased from 106,015 in 1959, to 492,617 in 2000, representing the 0.5 % of the total Mexican population in those years. (INEGI, Censos de Poblaci3n y Vivienda).

- Foster exchanges of information, publications and practical knowledge or experiences among institutions and museums.
- Stimulate knowledge about the ancient and rich cultural heritage of other people.
- Organize multidisciplinary meetings, symposia, seminars, lectures and a wide variety of courses.
- Create new spaces to meet the needs of the students who are willing and eager to further their postgraduate studies on the art, society and history of foreign cultures. It is worth mentioning that the curricula of World History and Art and Anthropology at Colleges and Universities, are devoted mainly to Mexican topics, (and belittle the ones of other cultures, in particular the non-Western, which are taught only in one semester); and that the programs of the only institution in Mexico that has a Center of Asian and African Studies, focus mainly on International Relations, Economics and Politics.
- Implement exhibitions, programs and public performances in order to arise or increase tolerance, and respect for cultural diversity or other cultures.
- Sponsor individual or group research projects on cultural diversity.
- Develop educational materials and new resources for the Museum.
- Foster and enhance the research and cataloguing of the Museum collections.
- Produce electronic, digital and written materials with a wide distribution and low cost.
- Elaborate a program for the creation of other similar Centers in Latin American countries with the sponsorship of UNESCO⁶.
- Increase and enhance the on-line networks, for instance, the Blog on the Museum's web page (www.museonacionaldelasculturas.org); the semi-monthly release of the on-line magazine *Correo de las Culturas del Mundo* (since 2007); CEDINET database; and a newsletter with the reports of the monthly meetings held by the scholar-members of CEDICULT and the advances in their research.

Proposal advanced by the Director Leonel Duran Solis, and also on behalf of Dr. Cristina Di Bernardis, Director of CEDCU – Argentina, at the above mentioned UNESCO meeting.

These experiences are still reduced in scope and depth, but should permit the construction of other types of programs that could pave the way for framing and conducting new and innovative cultural exchanges and ensure the preservation and promotion of the diversity of cultures. It is important to define more clearly the objectives and the appropriate criteria for approaching them as well as the spirit and the methods used to pursue them.

Nevertheless, we believe, think and are confident that with the establishment of CEDICULT and the development of new functions that complement the existing ones, the National Museum of Cultures is becoming a larger educational institution whose contribution to Mexican society can actually be very valuable.

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ew ublic Management
and a ew Role for the Museum
– rom education to edutainment

l Dahre

Abstract

ICME–Conference 2009, Seoul, Korea, October 19–21

Dr. Ulf Dahre,
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New Public Management and a New Role for the Museum From education to edutainment

After years of criticism of Ethnographic museums a re–newed healthy debate is taking place on their role in the contemporary world. The main issue in this debate is in what direction the Ethno–museums in a ‘post post–modern’ world should take.

The central argument in this paper is that Ethnographic Museums, have changed from its early nationalistic, chauvinistic, and colonial construction in the 1800s and the first half of the 20th century, to a deconstructed multicultural and non–representative ‘arena’ for public discussions during the post–modern era in the end of the last century. Now, when this post–modern critique and era have faded away, is there a new development taking place, in what I call the ‘edutainment’ discourse. The challenges for Ethno–museums today are nevertheless immense, as they are increasingly being subsumed in tourist–, entertainment– and experience industries (in short, the edutainment industry).

I argue that this new direction is problematic for the role of Ethnographic museums, as it undermines some of the work in museums, the so–called invisible sector of the museum, as collecting, registration and conservation of artifacts and immaterial objects are being put aside as the rhetorical mantra in the edutainment era is “visibility”. As some observers have noted: “produce visibility or perish”.

In the end, I will therefore argue for “reclaiming the museum” by taking back the educational role. By this is meant that museums, instead of being part of the edutainment industry, should have closer connections with universities and the research and education sectors.

New Public Management and a New Role for the Museum

- From education to edutainment

By Ulf Dahre

The Meaning of Whiteboards

There is a large whiteboard on the wall in the staff entrance to the National Museum of Denmark. On that whiteboard visitor numbers are summarized each month. Even if this may be a fairly traditional way of continuously showing the attraction of the museum, one must consider that the whiteboard came up on the wall in times of rapid structural change. This change consisted primarily in severe cuts in governmental core funding alongside the introduction of new museum management ideas, based on what is commonly known as 'New Public Management' (NPM). The immediate consequence of the change was that many people lost their jobs. Adding to that, the introduction of NPM had wide structural and long-term impacts as it fundamentally changed the role of the museum from an arena of education to an arena of "experience". A concept widely launched in the cultural sector. Here it is used as an effort to make education more entertaining. And it is in this cross-section between the concepts of education and entertainment, sometimes considered to be contradictory, that we nowadays often see a symbiosis. This new general direction of museums was recently a subject of discussion at a conference in Denmark, called "Enlightenment vs. Experiences".ⁱ The conference was held because, according to some opinions in the museum sector, it is necessary to realize that the world today is more individualized and that people are acting within a global experience-economy, whether it is rock-concerts or exhibitions. And it is argued that the museum have to be part of this growing experience-economy.

The central argument in this paper is that the whiteboard represents this new role of the museum as an arena of edutainment. This new role is not just about change in methods and new forms of knowledge production. I argue that we are witnessing a fundamental change which is transforming the museum into a leisure activity and tourist attraction where the key-concept is edutainment. Obviously, this is a shift of focus of what the role of the museum is from content to form.

The Role of Museums

It has long been debated what the role of the museum really is and should be. It has been

suggested by some that education and an active part in social issues are its primary roles (Hine, 2005). But, that proposal has been challenged during the last years and it has been observed by other commentators that amusement and entertainment very often are on the museum agenda (Friedman, 2000:252). Some might even suggest that there is no contradiction between education and edutainment.

This new role can be seen at many museums. It is not everywhere, but it is common enough to make the claim that museums are changing in this direction. The discussions on this have been posed in a fairly simple manner and we can recall its basic outline. When exhibitions were controlled by curators, –the focus was on content. Now, when designers are in the driving-seat, – the focus is on form. The change I am talking about can be observed in “the spectacles”, that is, crowd-pleasing spectacular designs, based on ideas from theme parks, theaters and rock-concerts which are increasingly being used to attract the public (Counts, 2009:273). As the former director of the Swedish Museums of World Culture argued some years ago at an international conference on the future and necessary role of the museum:

“they [the museums] need to be restructured into meeting-places...”.

And he continued to propose that museums should be called “forum humanum”.

There is nothing new in this. Museums have always been meeting-places, but the question today is why people should want to meet at museums? It is within this context it is argued that museums have to change its role in order to attract more visitors and have a role to play in a changing social and cultural environment? Museums have to leave the education arena, because, as Svensson argued:

“The museum must no longer be content to see itself simply as a fixed and unchanging repository of knowledge and artifacts” (Svensson, 2000:7).

The knowledge production museums and its collections of material culture are “unchanging”, and, the meaning of it is “fixed”. To be an arena of education seem to be outdated. Not surprisingly the conference was titled “Reforming museums for the 21st century”. But the question was never asked: what if there is no knowledge production or education at the museum? Why should people meet there? Why not have a café latte and a view somewhere else?

Do not get me wrong here. Historically many exhibitions, at many museums, were terribly boring, uneducational and unattractive, but the current shift of driver, signals not only a wish to make content interesting, but to make the design interesting. In many parts of the world a great deal of money has been spent on spectacular museum-buildings with breathtaking views, cafés and bookshops. It may be that this leisure activated edutainment development is not opposing educational aspects of the museum. It may actually mean, it is argued by some, that the museum can still be part of giving the public educational “experiences” and at the same time be a meeting place and entertaining. In this sense edutainment can be seen as an educational method. However, as the meaning of the whiteboard implies, the shift of purposes and expressions are not only about a new design language at the exhibitions. The change of role concerns the museum as an institution. It is a structural change, which is bringing more than new education methods. In my museum we are constantly and ironically noting the trend that

we have to write descriptions of how we are working, a policy called “description of the working process”, while we at the same time have less time devoted to what the curators call the core work.ⁱⁱ However, in the language of NPM this is called excellence.

Developing and experimenting new methods for knowledge production has always been part of museum activities. But I see the new focus as an argument that education is not interesting in itself. It has to be packed in an attractive manner to be interesting. This is puzzling, considering another current development, that we are also entering the “knowledge economy”. It is therefore a surprising development to see the dismantling of the educational role of museums. Societies, especially those at a post-industrial stage, are looking into research and education as key in the development of their economies. The experience-industry has its legitimate claim, but why not in other arenas.

The State and the New Public Management of Museums

The change of role of museums came with the general transformation of the state. The cultural sector in general, and the museums in particular are in most countries closely linked to the state. Historically we have seen how ethnographic museum and other cultural historical institutions developed closely related to the nation-state and ideas of national identity, modernism, civilization and colonialism. During the 1980s we saw how the museums were criticized for that close connection and new ideas were put on the agenda as multiculturalism, post-modernism and post-colonialism entered the world. As globalization and neo-liberalism re-entered the world of politics in the 1990s this new development also came to be more or less reflected in the world of museums (Gunther, et al, 2005:364–368). With globalization and neo-liberalism came new management ideas and ideas of what museum should do. The public services in general were found in crisis and stagnation and it was proposed to introduce New Public Management (NPM) to solve this problem. The idea with introducing this theory in public services was that it could enhance and make public services more efficient. NPM is a management philosophy used since the 1980s to modernise public sector services. The main ideas behind NPM is that more market orientation in the public sector will lead to greater cost-efficiency for governments, without having negative side effects on other objectives and considerations. What the NPM has brought to the world of museums are key concepts as the three “Es”:-economy, efficiency and effectiveness with more stringent targets, performance indicators, audits and inspections. This development was seen as a key-concept by some participants at the Stockholm-conference in 2000, when outlining the future of museums: “It is necessary to adopt a more market-related and strategic way of thinking and to reconsider the organizational structure of museums” (Svensson, 2000:8). And as a research report concluded some years ago: “[Museums] have changed from being predominantly custodial institutions to becoming increasingly focused on audience attraction” (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002:745).

The museum in Copenhagen has implemented a management model developed within the European Union, called the “Excellence Model”. The economic key-concepts and models for management are all part of the overall value for money reports that the government is requiring. The purpose of these reports is to show how the museum is using its funds. This may well be a

legitimate and relevant issue, but behind this audit-culture is the idea looming that the governmental funding is linked to quantity, that is, the numbers of visitors in the museums should be counted. It is according to the NPM logic that governments have to show the taxpayers' what they get for their "investment" in the museum. Any investment should of course have a high output. Obviously, the government can not argue for spending money on something no one wants to visit or know about.

At the same time is the funding from the government becoming less important for the overall budget of the museum. In practice it has meant that cuts in the government core funding is forcing the museum to look for alternative funding in business, private funds and citizens. This is not something new either, which any university can tell us about. But, there is a difference here. Despite less funding the government still maintain its control of the museum and can continue to demand higher outputs. The trend in the university sector is to make them more independent from the state also in an organizational standing. And moreover, also private funds wish to see high visitor output on their investments.

Understandably this put the museum in a delicate situation. Therefore a visitor management policy is adopted. To attract more visitors means to have a good argument to present to the government and private funds. But how do museums attract large crowds? The general theory has been that something new is needed to draw attention to larger visitor groups, that can motivate the spending of taxpayers money on the institution. The visitor management therefore consists of three parts:

- Visitor counting (the whiteboard)
- Identification of target groups, mainly done in the planning and marketing of exhibitions, and
- Bringing in "users" (an NPM concept for -visitor) in the planning of exhibitions (Frey & Meier, 2003).

The conclusion is that museums in order to attract more visitors, have to give visitors a major "experience", or even better, reflect what people themselves have expressed interest in seeing or to know more about. This has also been tried in practice by the museum. Recently the museum made an exhibition on conservation with possibilities for the public to get advice on conservation or some clues on the origin of their own antiquities. It was thought the public had a great interest in antiques. An interest continuously displayed and witnessed through the television program "The Antique Roadshow". However, the exhibition was a flop, at least seen from the number of visitors. To know what the public wants is not easy, even if they are asked beforehand.

Consequences of NPM at the museum?

Thus, a major consequence is that the museum is transforming from an arena of education to an arena of edutainment. This change, according to the official policy, also include qualitative aspects. That is, the content, presumably some educational element, of exhibitions have to reach high educational and experience standards. But, in the end of the day, we all know that

quantity is easier to measure.

The following shortlist gives a fairly good overview of new introduced concepts used in the management of the museum to make it more attractive:

- Counting of visitors at the museum
- Identification of target groups in each project
- Focus on the visible activities
- Creation of public activities other than exhibitions or publications (arena for meetings)
- Change in the funding of the museum and in employment structure of the staff
- Audit culture. All activities from administration to exhibitions, research and working processes are being evaluated constantly and reports are being written;
- Administrative processes introduced at all levels
- Use of concepts like “excellence” and “professionalism”, in all activities.

These points are of course relevant and not entirely new to a museum. This fact makes them difficult to deconstruct. But as museums in general bears significant relations to the state, although museums may seem to have a life of their own, it is natural that new government policies are reflected in the management and activities of the museum.

Some new organization theories argue that NPM is a ‘dead’ concept. However, that is not the case, at least not in Denmark and other Scandinavian countries. And its consequences are seen in many ethnographic museums in Europe today, both in terms of how exhibitions are displayed, but also on the overall activities.ⁱⁱⁱ It may be argued, and some does, that this actually leads to better and more interesting museums, that is, a better and more efficient cultural sector. The cultural sector used to be almost entirely dependent on government funding. Today the Ethnographic Museum I represent, for instance, has 30 percent of the staff fully employed. The rest are employed on a project basis.

More concrete consequences can be seen in how museums reason when it comes to exhibitions. The first issue is the discussion about the difference between ethnographic and art museums, which is brought up again. This debate flooded the museum journals and conferences when the prestigious Musée Quai Branly in Paris opened in 2006 (Amato, 2006). The artistic impression with minimalistic information and contexts about objects led many observers to conclude that this was an art exhibition. Temporary exhibitions at Quai Branly have also received the same critique. And it was this debate that led the first project leader, Maurice Godelier, to quit during the planning stage of the Branly, as he wished to see an ‘ethnographic museum’. One reason for the approach taken at the Quai Branly seems to be to copy the success of many art museums. I am not arguing that art museums are just “entertaining”. They can certainly be educational. But one element in the approach of the contemporary ethnographic museum seems to have been to attract more visitors.

A second issue is that museums are trying to be more attractive by bringing in spectacular aspects in everything from the building itself to the cafés, bars and the exhibitions. Quai Branly is once again a case in point. Exhibitions have minimalistic texts on display, but sometimes spectacular catalogues are coming along. Some claim it is a route back to the days of the Museum of Primitive Art. What I want to say with this point is that there is an aura of

resistance against educational efforts. Maybe the post-modern and post-colonial feelings are still there, making people afraid of not being politically correct. To some extent, the same criticism can also be held against the museum I represent.

A third issue is that museums are increasingly defined as leisure activities and tourist attractions. Delclaux and Hinz (2009:3) argue that this relationship is crucial and that “museums have a leadership role to play” in making better tourism. We have just recently met this development in practice. In the spring 2009, the private organization “Danish Tourist Attractions” (DTA) evaluated the National Museum of Denmark. The evaluation presented some critique of the museum. Information at the exhibitions was lacking, or was too little, and it was argued that focus was too much on exhibiting objects only. These are two relevant observations, because they grasped the background ideas with the exhibition. However, the problem comes with the purpose of the evaluation. The purpose of DTA is to inform tourists coming to Denmark about what experiences, facilities and services they can expect when visiting an “attraction”. And from their point of view the experience could not be completed with these things lacking. The official response of the museum was that the critical points should be looked into and solved.

The new financial context is a fourth issue. This issue has two sides to it. First it means that museums have to look for alternative financial sources. Second, it has an impact on the actual activities at the museum. More concretely, in a landscape where visibility to the public is key to all museum activities, it means that non-visible activities are not prioritized. Collecting, registration of objects, and conservation, traditionally key-activities at a museum, are therefore more difficult to fund. At the museum in Copenhagen, many of these activities are now project-based and financed thru external funds. The consequences of this are, first, that these activities are no longer at the core of the museum and second, it means that the museum cannot maintain the knowledge within the museum. The museum is becoming project-based with its own logic in financing and time-frames.

Conclusions: Reclaiming the Museum

Is this change of role of the museum a problem or an opportunity? It depends on how we wish define the museum. Maybe it should be an arena for edutainment experiences? But, on the other hand, if we wish to have closer contacts with research and higher education the blurred role may be a problem.

The museum community has since long debated whether museums primarily should be educational, or part of the expanding experience-industry. Or should museums try to do both? I have argued that the recent and ongoing changes in fundamentally new directions are resulting in a new role for the museum. The *raison d'être* of the museum used to be educational and knowledge producing, broadly defined. Museums should of course give new experiences, based on educational efforts. But the change now consists of giving experience an educational touch. There are certain consequences in arguing that museums should reclaim their educational basis. If museum education is more than just particular tasks assigned to some of the staff of the museum, then we have to realize that the museum as an institution is doing educational

activities. This is of course an important and wide responsibility. In this we should try to move closer to universities instead of the leisure/edutainment/experience sector.

The will from many actors in the museum field, as has been pointed out, to change the museum into a leisure activity is also surprising when seeing that we are now entering the “knowledge economy”. Knowledge, research and education, we are told, are concepts increasingly getting more important for national economies and competition in the global arena. In that perspective it is even more alarming to dismantle a knowledge producing institution as the museum.

Notes

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References

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**Observations of Museum and Exhibitions
in Community Engagement**

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John Starkie
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TITLE OF PAPER

Museums for Reconciliation and Peace
Roles of Ethnographic Museums in the World Seoul, Korea
19-21 October 2009

Observations of Museum and Exhibitions in Community Engagement John Starkie
University College of London

ABSTRACT

Institutions have the responsibility to educate, connect and engage with the community they serve. Museums and exhibitions seek ways to contextualise objects and "bring alive" to the public their interpretation. The challenge with in this changing world is how the presentation of material culture can be undertaken in such a way to engage the audience they seek to attract.

With reference to specific museum initiatives in ethnographic programmes, this paper will discuss the benefit and relative success in outreach where the principle objective was the engagement of a diverse cultural and social audience. Data will be presented with regard to significant indicators such as visitor numbers, the social, economic and racial mix of entrants, and the extent to which this reflects the wider known target community and its demographic profile.

A significant part of this collected data identifies visitor feedback which has been obtained via passive observation and the extended interviews of entrants in order to gain insight into their wider appreciation of museum and exhibition enjoyment.

It is only by the analysis of the experience of the audience that the wider appreciation can be gained to both understand the engagement which has been achieved by the community and enable improvement to future programmes. This paper is intended to provide a basis for the enhancement of the way we understand, in a quantitative sense, the connection of entrants such that improvement can be made to museum and exhibition methodologies.

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Ethnographic / folklore Museums of the 21st century.

**Their presentation between historical lesson
and cultural event**

L ía e hwal e

Dr. L. ia e hwal e Dre en

Ethnographic / folklore Museums of the 21st century. Their presentation between historical lesson and cultural event Lernor an l rha

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ne bject – Many Stories:

The Museum is no eutral place

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The tangible and intangible dimensions of reality

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oin or o r heore i al re le ion . ow
e er he e ma erial hing are in hem
el e in om le e an anno an in e
en en l .

nowle ge em ra e m h more han
angi le ar i le .

e hing ori em on i e he ma
erial or angi le worl . owe er when
we loo a an o e he in angi le worl
i imme ia el a i a e in o r re le ion .

e hin a o o e an we al a o
hing we ell orie in e en en l o
he a al re en e o he ar i le we re er
o.

e ore image o ar e a in o r mem
or . mage la an im or an role in l

ral memor e a e he re re en re er
en e en re or h man re le ion on he
worl .

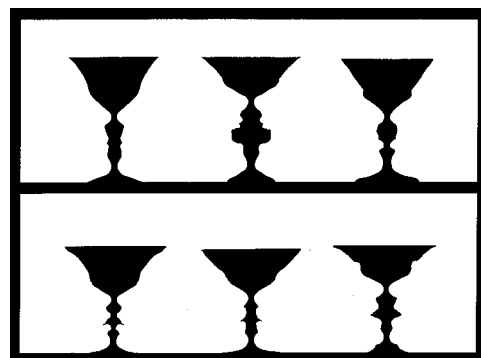
n rela ion o worl heri age oli i oo
e eral ear or he in er onne e ne
e ween he ma erial an imma erial
worl rro n ing o e o e o i iall
a e e . nerna ional r le ha e now
een li he
on en ion .

hil n il ome ear ago m e m
rimaril olle e ma erial o e a ole
e imonial o h man i ili a ion we
now now ha in a i ion we m al o
a e imma erial worl heri age in or er o
in rea e nowle ge a o man in an i
l ral i er i .

wa in a ia ha in l en e ro e
an he e ern orl in hi wa . eo l
i h he righ la e o e al ing a o
he e i e here a hi on eren e.

i h he ollowing image wan o e em
li i ering er e i e on he ma erial
an imma erial worl whi h oge her orm
he wo imen ion o reali .

ig re a e or a e



he wo i eren olo r o he i re
an or he ma erial la an he im

ma erial whi e here o reali . hile
loo ing a he ing i e i e ome lear
ha o h olo r imen ion e i oge her
an a he ame momen im laneo l .
he i eren ha e o he a e ome in o
eing a are l o he i eren orm o
he ro ile an i e er a.

e a e o he in en i o he la olo r
eo le all ee he la a e ir .

era e on glan e om ine wi h a
wil l hange o loo ing an he ogni ion
o wo i ering er e i e o e i o
ere in he gra hi eo le are a le o er
ei e o h imen ion o i .

ow he i o er ha he are ree o
e i e wha he wan o ee in an o e
an rom an i a ion he e erien e.

here i ne er onl one a e an one ro
ile here e i a m li e o ma erial
orm analogo o a e wi h heir or
re on ing imma erial imen ion or
ro ile . i he ra or an he e
a or hoi e o e i e whi h or o a e
he wan o ee.

hi awarene o he wo e i ing imen
ion o he whole reali hol igni i an
on e en e or he e a e on ma erial
o e an he imma erial oi e r
ro n ing hem.

Re erring o hi nowle ge will re en
o wi h hree i eren er e i e on
o e .

hor hi ori al in ro ion o he
hanging oli i o olle ing.

Drawing on e am le o e ra i e
will how o wa o o he e er
o a a .

he hir oin how o i le wa o
wor ing in e hnogra hi al m e m
wi h a el re le i e image o no eing
a ne ral la e .

Multifarious pathways in museum col- lections ways into museum collections

ig re an



n he ^han ^hen rie in ro e
olle ing e ame an o e ion o r ler
ari o ra h r he an la er or a a em
i . he a ral ien e ha no e een
e elo e an eo le worl wi e olle e
e i ing an e o i hing or heir rio
gallerie rio i en a ine e . h
olle ion were in en e o ro e ha he
o e herein were e am le or he a
rie ie o he rea ional a . he n al
an he rare were he ri eria or olle e
ie e . hnogra hi o e were een a
e al o ro ean one an all ar e a
were re en e a or ing o heir ma erial
on i ion an n ion . ei her he ro
enien e nor heir ra i ional on e wa
o in ere o he olle or .

he owner o he e gallerie in i e one
ano her o ri a e oiree where oge her
he en o e he on em la ion o i em
hara erie rio i an mar el. he
emo ional rea ion o he i i or an e
e ri e a e ween e en e an longing.

he om ina ion o he o e re en a
ion wa i a e he er onal in lina
ion o heir owner . he olle ion o
are a wa on he one han regar e a
a emon ra ion o he owner ower
weal han nowle ge an im l aneo l
a a re re en a ion o he o mo .

o i le e lana ion or hi a ion or
olle ing an ama ing are a i ha
ro ean lowl are o re ogni e ha
ro e ha o e een an n er oo in a
wi er one . a on e en e o he ri e
o worl wi e ra el in e er ire ion
all heorie ormall e o n er an he
worl were o he e .

he en o he ^h en r he na ral
ien e were orn an he oli i o ol
le ing hange . he grea e e i ion o
Jame oo o he o h ea in he ^h
en r ro gh or he ir ime ma e o
e hnogra hi o e o he ro ean mar
e .

hi oin in ime e iali e olle ing
oli i emerge wi h a new wa o
ema i ing o e . he ormer ni er al
i m ani he an an am ig i regar ing
he wa in whi h e hnogra hi o e
ho l e a egori e aro e.

n he ^h en r he ma ori o large
a ional e m an ome o he hno
gra hi e m were o n e . e
e he e olle ion were o ene o
he in ere e i il li o rgeoi
women men wor er an hil ren.

om are o he ormer ra i e o e l
i e e en ora ele e li he ro
e o he emo ra i a ion o nowle ge
egan.

ig re a ionalm ee o enhagen
Denmar ele ri a. er onlig

r he hnogra hi al olle ion
Rein



er he lo re o he rio a ine an
he han ing o er o olle ion o he new
e m ha a ral i or e
m or i ori al e m rimi i e
eo le were regar e in i ionall a
eing ar o na re om ara le o lora
an a na. hnogra hi i em were now
organi e a or ing o a na ral ien e
em he were or ere a or ing o
heir geogra hi al ro enien e an imi
lari o heir orm an la i ie a or
ing o an imagine age o i ili a ion.

ig re le elan a ral e mo
a ral i or ear all o
man olog Rein



e ion aro e a o how ar he e o e
re re en e an original rimi i e worl he
o om o a rami o h man e ol ion
whi h lmina e in he whi e nglo
a on male.

n he^h en r m e m i la la el
oregro n e he re ominan e o he
whi e man an hi l ral an in rial
a hie emen .

en e wi ho an om rehen i e on e
ine ima le n m er o o e en ere he
olle ion o m e m . n he e e am
le on e al nowle ge a o he are
a origin wa a ire an re en e
h a ime la e an e hni gro .

ig re e m r l er n e
Dre en a n lle om
hm en n lei en . .
. . Rein



he a i e o olle or a hi ime i
i ho e he oo i em rom an e
e em li ie he wa in whi h h man
remain were mer han i e all o er he
worl . he remain were no rea e li e
h man elonging ra her a o e
er ing he ien i i r o e o gaining
nowle ge a o h man ra e . n i
i al er onali an re e or he o her
were o all i regar e .

n a e olle or ga here in orma ion
a o o e onl in er iewing he
hie or heir ran la or a o e i i
i e . heir mo o wa ne ri e one
hie one oi e . n er iew wi h eo le

o i eren genera ion or a re ing gen
eri e are largel mi ing.

n il he man e hi i ion in
ro e an he in l e eo le rom
o er ea e e iall im ore or he
how n er he ile il eo le wil
animal . he were rimaril on i
la in oologi al ar en an he orl
hi i ion . he ime he m e m
worl wan e o re re en he ower o he
olonial a e o o e o he olonial i e .

ig e orwar in hanging i rimina
or er e i e o he her wa he i
en anglemen o are a rom he e ol
ionar em an he e a li hmen o a
new wa o e al a ion a or ing o l
ral ri eria. he heigh o he iorama
wa rea he a er heir in ro ion in he
^h en r an m e m egan o re on
r ene ha o ere in igh in o l
ral a gro n h a ene o or i
nar ail an religio li e.

ig re he ew Yor a e e m
l an a i e eo le o ew Yor he
hree i er Diorama Rein



De i e he e a em o re age he l
ral meaning o olle ion i em he re
on r e na i e oin o iew re
maine or ina e o he ominan
e ern er e i e . n il he re en
a he oi e o he her ha e een
e l e rom he ma ori o m e m
re en a ion . l ho gh here ha e een

ear long e a e a o hi i i l i e
man m e m are ill mi ing e on
e o olle ing an o men a ion or
wor ing wi h a ime a n nown
olle ion .

n il he re en a m e m are a
ha e een re en e n er a ro en ri
mea re o al e in wo rin i le wa .

ig re Ro e eller ing e ro oli an
e m o r ew Yor Rein



ir l he an e e hi i e a ar o e
he ma e i la e ing larl or in
gro ome ime in a how a e le
men e wi h e hni al in orma ion.

he e on me ho i o how o e a
he are e in e er a li e o he will
e re en e in anorama i a ion or
oge her wi h o her ar i le an me ia
rom he original on e .

ig re Rei en n n e en. om
e i an en ain . .
. . el er
ra en e m er el l ren
D e er D .



n a ew a e he eo le who ro e
he i em were in i e o al a o heir
li e how he e he o e an wha
he i em mean o hem.

om ina ion o he wo me ho o re
en ing he ra i onal wa o li e an o
i la ing he i em a ar o e wa
ili e in he e hi i ion Rei en n n
e en. om e i an en ain in
ran r am ain.

ig re D Rei en n n e en.
om e i an en ain el er
ra en Rein .



aring wi h he o men e li e i a ion
o he eo le li ing in he e i rea in
a a ew inea in he . ig.
an he e hi i ion howe he olle
ing ro e an he ran or o i em in o
he m e m. he i i l wor o he
ra or wi h regar o heir e ion
aro n he rimaril non o men e
o e an he i eren orage me ho
wa ma e i i le.

ig re D Rei en n n e en.
om e i an en ain Rein



he e hi i ion on l e wi h an ar gal
ler where he o e were e o e a
ar o e in e en en o an in orma
ion rela ing hem o heir n ional on
e . ig. .

he me age o hi e hi i ion wa o
emon ra e ha o e m e n er
oo wi hin heir original on e .

owe er i em an al o e e i ing in an
o hem el e in he a en e o an a
gro n nowle ge a o hem e.g. regar
ing heir ra i ional e. i i or an e
im re e im l he e hni al an ae
he i al i e o a r i a a or ing o
heir own in i i ale al a ion em.
hi i he oin o hi ing.

n he a en e o an gi en on e o
e are in er re e i i or on an in i
i al a i gro n e in er onale eri
en e an nowle ge. i lear ha in an
e hnogra hi al m e m he re en a ion
o i em a re ar wor i a al a ion
a or ing o ro ean/ e ern er e
i e . r hermore i i a limi a ion o he
a nowle gmen o he her a an in el
le al on em orar wi h heir own i em
en ere i ew.

lea in e he wi h new e a
ional rogramme an new oli i al hal
lenge m e m more e or in o
wor ing an engaging wi h li e e a
ion . i i or eman e o now more
a o eo le rom o her o n rie how
he li e how he wor e an heir
ho gh an o inion a o li e. ew
e hni al me ia ha ho ogra h an
i eo were in ro e in o m e me hi
i ion . n he a a emi i ion
are regar ing he rela ion hi e ween
he a ra o an o e an he e o e hni
ale i men .

hnogra hi ale hi i ion whi h rie o
mee hi nee in i e eo le roma roa
a een rom erman o hare in orma
ion a o heir wa o li e ore am le
he e hi i ion n ian ime . a hri h en
a em ro en meri a in ran r am
ain

ig re ee D



n he D hel an e hi i ion
a o he hi or an on em orar li e o
or h meri a a i e eo le. ar o
he how wa a o o era ion wi h he
arm ring Re er a ion in regon. Di
eren a e o ail li e ha i hing
an he woo in r were hown. r.
o er alama a o an hi on
a e in ran r am ain or ome a
in or er o e lain more a o he li e
le in he re er a ion an e ri e n

ian on e o i en i o i i or o he
e hi i ion.

he en h ia i rea ion o i i or o he
no el ialogi al re en a ion o ano her
l re o ene new a en e or o i le
in era ion an o o era ion . am aware
ha o her e hnologi al m e m ha e al o
e h orm o me ia ion an omm
ni a ion or ome ime.

in e gen er an o mo ern heorie ha e
ene ra e m e m ra i we now now
more a o i eren oi e an er e
i e o i em . o onl an gen er rela e
er e i e on he worl e er i eren
here are al o grea aria ion in er
e i e rom i eren genera ion . er
er on ha hi or her own in i i al or
o ell.

hnogra hi al m e m ha e a e ial
mi ion wi hin he m e m ene heir
olle ion are generall a mi re whi h
in l e ar haeologi al i em high ar
o e al o rom he er e i e o heir
ro er i em rom ail li e an reli
gio o e . ne rin i al o an
e hnogra hi al m e mi he re en a ion
an ran la ion o he on e o i eren
ra i ion an l re an i i he h man
ha li e hi /her l re. hi mean ha
h man eing hem el e ho l e he
o o re ear h an me ia ion ore am
le ro er er ealer olle or ra
or an i i or. er er on an ell hi or
her own or a o he o e he in er
a wi h.

n he ollowing will how o ome
e am le o wa in whi h i eren oi e
an e in egra e in o a m e m e hi i ion.

Examples of best practice

he ho en e am le are organi e a
or ing he ollowing

i ori al a an oi e Ro al
n ario e m ana a R

i ori al a an mi e oi e
i igan i i ni hina eg ana a

i ori al o e an on em o
rar oi e R

i ori al o e an i eren
meaning e m er el l
ren ran r am ain erman

i ori al o e an on em o
rar religio lea er D

i ori al er onali ie on em o
rar ar an ari D .

1. Historical facts and voices Royal ntario Museum Canada R M

he R i e i a e o howing he
l ral on a or ana a earlie o
ie ie an re ealing he e onomi an
o ial or e ha in l en e a i e
r .

ig re R orl l re allerie
Da hne oo ell aller o ana a ir
eo le Rein



he R re en a ion wa hara eri e
 he e o i eren me ia wi hin a in
 gle how a e hi ori in i i al were
 e ri e hro gh or rai e al ia
 ion rom him or her i a ion rom ro
 ean who ha ir on a e erien e
 an he in l ion o er onal worn i em .
 hil he mi ing o me ia ma on e
 he i ea ehin hi me ho o en a
 ro e o in er re ing o more han
 eeing an o e in i ma erial e hni al
 imen ion .

2. Historical facts and mixed voices Kitigan ibi Anishinabeg

he i a ion in ana a e ween he a
 na ian an he a i e eo le i a e ial
 one om are o o her na ion an heir
 minori e hni gro . hil here are
 ome in er gro on li he in l ion
 an ari i a ion o he ir a ion eo le
 in ana a l ral arena ha een wi el
 an o larl a e e . he ana ian a
 a na ion are er aware o he ne e i o
 a ialog e e ween i a i e eo le an
 he e hnogra hi al m e m whi h own
 ra i onal i em . na i ion he ir a
 ion eo le are e i a e o heir igh or
 o i ial a e an e a e al in all l ral
 here . he in i on emon ra ing he

i eren o i le er e i e o hi ori al
 in er re a ion.

ig re an i igan i i ni hina eg
 ana a o n e nee rom i eren
 er e i e Rein



n he l ral en re o he lgon in
 ir a ion i igan i i ni hina eg
 he he ir a ion eo le howe he
 e hi i ion o n e nee rom i eren
 er e i e . he e iale e o he
 how were he hree i eren oi e i e
 on whi e a er n ere a hi em. he ir
 wa he o i ial oi e o he go ernmen
 he e on ame rom hi ori al ir a
 ion eo le who oine he igh an he
 hir were on em orar o ng eo le
 oi e a ing e ion a o he war an
 e re ing heir o inion a o i .

3. Historical objects and contempo- rary voices R M

n he en ran e area o he aller o he
 ir eo le o ana a a he R he
 e hi i ion egin wi h a how a e o hi
 ori al olle ion o e om ine wi h
 li ing oi e o well nown er onali ie
 rom he ir a ion eo le. n er he
 ile r hoi e he m e m in i e
 i a i e a i or rom omm ni e
 a ro ana a o ele an e lore ar e
 a rom i ir eo le olle ion . n
 he how a e he i i or in in orma ion

on e eral le el in a i ion o he a al
e hni al a a.

igure 1 R M orld Culture aller-
ies aphne Cookell allery of Canada:
irst eople Rein 2 .

mushkegowak elder, historian and
storyteller from eawanuck, inisk
River, ntario:

In the mushkego territory the snow-
shoe is the most important item for
hunting and survival in winter. These
items show snowshoe frames in the
process of construction and one pair
finished. The nushkegowak con-
structed all of their own e uipment and
were self-sufficient. However, with the
new e uipment, like snow machines,
traditional knowledge is being lost.



ere or rai o he i or oge her
wi h an image o heir ho en o e are
i la e . he o e i in i i all
ho en heir ommen a o he are a
ha e er er onal an e i i meaning .

he a i or oin o how he e o e
re ona e hro gh ime an re re en more
han he h i al ma erial rom whi h
he are ma e. Li e he olle ion in hi
galler he e o e em o ra i ion
e onomi ra egie worl iew an
om le rela ion hi .

igure 1 and 1 Royal ntario Mu-
seum, Canada orld Culture aller-
ies aphne Coowell allery of Canada:
irst eople Rein 2 .

1 : Iris ' atch, akoda Assiboiné
educator and language spec alist from
Carry the Kettle Reserve, Sakatchewan

Historically, the akota cradle is a tra-
ditional teaching tool. The cradleboard
enabled infants to observe, listen and
learn from their environment. The bun-
dling of infants gave them the same se-
curity as the womb. The youngsters
were taught that through observation
and listening it helped them to experi-
ence and learn from their surroundings.
Thus great care and love went into the
making of the cradle boards, which were
beaded with significant symbols and
colours meant to enrich their child's
learning.

1 : Tom Hill, Konadaha Seneca, first
Aboriginal art curator in Canada and
for Museum irector at the oodland
Cultural Centre rantford from h-
sweken, ntario

This table cover of black velveteen and
decorated with raised beadwork of white,
red and green beads portrays eighteen
birds feasting and choke cherries with
eight empty ictorian baskets placed
along the border, a design which was
probably inspired by Iro uoian carved
cradle boards. The cover employs a
dense pattern of design reminiscent of
European carpet bags and primarily
reflects the tastes of ictorian Canada.
This virtuosity in beading became stan-
dard for the burgeoning tourist market

of the late 1th and early 2th century.



Figure 1 R M World Culture galleries
aphne Cookell gallery of Canada:
first people Rein 2

isga'a cultural advisor and Manager of
the Ayuukhl isga'a department, is-
ga'a isims overnment from ew
Aiyansh, ass River, ritish Columbia

The is a headdress worn by a
N S Chief during sacred
ceremonies reminding him to move with
caution and purpose for he is a leader,
and the invited guests to listen for they
are the witnesses that grant approval. In
its construction, the would be
invested with the family's History, with
prayers that the S would serve
his people well. The amhalayt is a repre-
sentation of being N , to have re-
spect for all around you to carry on the
traditions and inheritance, to be disci-
plined and above all to have compassion.



. Historical objects and different
meanings Museum der eltkulturen
rankfurt am Main, ermany M

o n e in he D ro e a
e ial how o ele ra e i h ir h a .
n he one han he e hi i ion ro i e
in igh in o he hi or o he m e m
whil im l aneo l rea ing awa rom
he linear on e o howing a ringen
o e i e er orman e o he olle ion.
rea ing wi h on en ion he ra or
were a e o ma e er onal hoi e a o
olle ion i em rom he area ha he
were re on i le or. e on l he ra
or ha o on re ear h rom m l i le
er e i e in or er o in an wer . he
were a e o a re he ollowing e
ion

ow oe he e hnogra hi al a
gro n o he ho en o e rela e o he
ro er he ealer he meaning an he
n ion o he o e

ho were he olle or

ha o we now a o i eren
al e o he i em er onal al e argain
al e a al al e on hear mar e

n whi h an hro ologi heorie
were he i em e o e elo ara ig
mai ien i i e am le

h i he ra or ele hi ar
i lar i em rom hi /her olle ion

h ho l a i i or ome in o he
m e m o ee hi ari lar o e

ig re D n i h a hen a
Jahren leger oo a a e g inea
a im awa . . .
D



o gi e an e am le o he hoi e ma e
one ra or he ra or o he eani
De ar men e i e o in l e a oa rom
a a ew inea in he e hi i ion e
a e o he o i i e er onale erien e
he ha when he ra ele on a oa in he
re ear h area a a en in he .

olle or an ra or all eel emo
ionall a a he o he olle ion o e
an he area he i em ome rom. n man
a e hi lo e er onal rela ion hi o
he wor i he rea on wh he ra or ol
le a a rom a ari lar i em whil
a ing le a en ion o o her . all
h er onal in orma ion i e l e in
he or o a m e m e hi i ion in or er
o gi e he im re ion o o e i i how
e er i ho l e e in min ha he are
a ial a i o he m e m wor an
on i e an im or an elemen o he o
rie rro n ing ari a .

. Historical objects and contempo-
rary religious leaders M

ig re D m hi hen ei en.
Jahre hamani m in
e i irien . . .
e er D



n a o o era ion wi h hree i erian m
e m he D in i e ra i ional reli
gio lea er o he o ening ere mon .
he in alla ion o he hi ori al haman
i i o e where arrange in a omewha
oe i on em orar re on r ion o
m hi al orie an on em orar al ar
ma e ari .

ig re D e er D



owe er he hamani eo le who a
en e he o ening ere mon were e i e
a o he o e whi h elonge o he
ormer eo le o he han en an an en.
o i iall a e e re re ena i e o
heir ra i ional religion hamani m he
ini ia e an on e ari al in he mi

o he e hi i ion o wel ome he iri al
eing in or ora e in he e hi i e ri al
i em . l ho gh he m e m ire or
ro e e again he aging o ana hen
i religio ri al in he m e m he wa
n e lino o i ion o he haman
who wi hin min e ha e anal ar
an ro gh wi h her all he ne e ar ri
al ara hernalia rom i eria.

ig re D ening ere mon
D



ho own ra i onal l re an who
ha he righ o e i e wha ho l or
ho l *not* ha en wi hin an e hi i ion on
he her or he haman he o e in
he e hi i ion were no m e m i e e
i em en owe wi h i al reng h whi h
ha o ere e e an o e wel ome
wi hin a e ial ri al.

. Historical personalities, contem-
porary art and artists M

ig re aar ie aa mann L on
e ail an ig re a an
a D .



n hi ain ing a an a ma e re er
en e o a hi ori al er on aar ie aar
man a. in o h ri a hoi an
. . in ari . he woman wa
e ore ir o Lon on an la er o ari .
rom her o wa li l e o e
lo he in a in igh re . he wa an
no n e a he o en o en
arri e rom he in erior o ri a he
grea e henomenon e ere hi i e in hi
o n r . D ring her na e re en a
ion in ron o ien i he wa ain e
L on e aill in . a an
a orn an who li e in
ar eille/ ran e in e he wa in
rig e aar ie aa man her li e or
an he a ha a er her ea h ien i
ma e a la er a o her whole o
on er e her geni al ele on an hea
an la e her h man remain in he
e el omme. he i le o a an
a ain ing o e la l elle i i
mai lan he eige ie an le o a
e el omme e l elle re
er o he ore ie e o aar ie aa
man remin ing o her ragi or an
he role o m e m in ari i in er re a
ion.

he ro e o he D o ere hree
a e he e hi i ion he a i i ion o
he ain ing an a ilme in er i ew wi h
he ari who e ri e hi er onal rela

ion hi o he ar wor . or he ir ime
he i eo o men a ion wa o i iall
inan e he i o ran r a eing
an in angi le ar o he whole ar wor .

ne object – many stories. Ethno-
graphic Museums take their opportunity

he en o he ^h en r m e m
ri i all e ione hem el e an heir
mo i e or he ir ime ho are we
ha are o r a a re l in he
ollowing ear eolog wa e a
li he a a ien e in i own righ .

n orm la e he on en
ion or he ro e ion o l ral ro er
in he en o rme on li . hi
on en ion ha i origin in he r in o
he e on orl ar an in he in erna
ional re ogni ion ha war o ro e
heri age were no eno gh o re en he
lo o irre la ea le l ral m
ol an a o n r ol main ain
on rol o i hi or an i l ral i
en i i an e onomi e elo men in
hor i i en i in he on er o na ion
onl i he in e gri o heri age ol e
a eg ar e . e m la e a en
ral r ial role in hi ro e o al a ion
o l ral heri age an o on em o
rar m e m worl wi e were o n e
a er hi ar. heir ini ial o e i e wa
o arr o he ema i in en or ing
an i en i i a ion wor re ire o ran
la e he rena en oli i al an l ral
a ira ion in o he ma erial reali o im
age an o e . hi a whi h wa
arrie o in he la e where he wor
were on er e rai e he e ion o he
legi ima o he o e ion o o e
e ween he o ie ie or whi h he ha

original al e an he one whi h were
ing hem.

ig re

THE FAR SIDE® BY GARY LARSON



"Anthropologists! Anthropologists!"

n La in meri a a ar o he
o olonial i o re he one o he
integrated museum emerge . e m
are o wor in olla ora ion wi h he
omm ni ie rom whi h he olle ion
he ho e origina e . he ialog e re
a e e ween he l ral omm ni ie an
m e m managemen wo l in rn
hange he igni i an e on en an re
i ien o he i eren e o nowl
e ge in la e he m e m. he m
e m wa now re ol el rne o war
i li an ai lo e a en ion o o ial
an l ral hange. wa a le o romo e
in egra ion hro gh i re ogni ion o mi
nori l ral al e an re on ilia ion in
he o olonial on e .

he ara igm o he ^h en r rom
heri age o o ie wa re er e o rom
o ie o heri age or rom o i e o
in i e .

n o em er a eneral
on eren e in airo i o i ial re ommen
a ion were ma e on erning a l e

a ion ha er on regar e a a l
he o ie o whi h he elong e elo
heir a ili ie enri h heir nowle ge im
ro e heir e hni al or ro e ional ali
i a ion or rn hem in a new ire ion
an ring a o hange in heir a i e
or eha ior in wo ol er e i e o ll
er onal e elo men an participation in
alan e an in e en en o ial e onomi
an l ral e elo men .

on e en l he hi rom olle ion
a e organia ion o n ion a e
organia ion eman e ari i a ion in
he olle ing or an o ra or hi o an
e hi i ion. here ha een a ara igma i
hi rom he a i e i i or o he a
i e er o hem e m.

herea in he h en r he main a
o m e m wa in i i al en o men he
m e m rogram in he h en r
hange ra i all a or ing o li e
e a ion o h in i i al an olle i e.
he m e m wa een a on i ing a
o ial a e e igne or omm ni a ion
an i olle ion a ha ing o e re
ene in a wa whi h en re he o i
m m on i ion or ran mi ing meaning .

o ele ra e i h ir h a he Jewi h
e m in ran r am ain in i e
e er o o on ri e ri a e Jewi h
o e o e hown in an e hi i ion. o
ge her wi h he olle e o e hem
e mal o i la e he orie rro n
ing hem ore am le wh an o e wa
regar e a eing Jewi h. he ro e mo
i a e more han eo le o ari i a e
an wa a grea e or he in i ion.

ig re an ig re e m
J eng a e ran r am ain in
gewi e i he wa . .

. . J i he e m
ran r am ain Draeger .



we now h man eing rea i er
en l o i a ion he en o ner in li e
an remem er i eren l a or ing o a
arie o a or in l ing gen er age
e en an heri age.

i he role o m e m o romo e he
l rali o oi e rro n ing heir olle
ion no onl o mee li eman
al o o o men he ri hne an i er i
o h man l ral ro ion an el
re le ion on angi le an in angi le
worl heri age.

n il he mi h en r e hnogra hi
m e m rimaril on e hi i ion
a o hi ori all re en l re ha
were ar awa in geogra hi al an l
ral rela ion o ro e an he e . ne
e a e wa he a ha o e were
on i ere o e n on amina e mo
ern l re on a . owe er hi
e l wor ing on e whi h lo ri he
or e eral o en ear wa in o e
ion a a re l o glo al e elo men .
hi ara igma i hange a hie e lari
an i re le e in he er en e a e re
gar ing new lanne il ing or ol
e hnogra hi m e m . e.g. Lei ig
e m r l er ne Lei ig
ari e ai ranl
ln Ra en ra h Jo e m
erlin hnologi he e m

ran r am ain e m er
el l ren .

eem ha e hnogra hi m e m are in
he o i ion o ha ing o ma e a e i ion.
Do he wan o e a e o a m e m
wi h hi ori al or an i e a r i a n h
an in i ion he wo l rimaril wor
owar he main enan e o worl heri age
a or ing o he a i e ion regar ing
he o ial on i ion o h man o ie ie

r n ragen e men hli hen am
menle en . he ommon a onom i ill
a or ing o geogra hi al a egorie h
a on inen geogra hi al region
gro o o e h a o a o he a
i i gel o he ma an general
o i h a lie le ri al an e r
ing om anni ali m hea h n ing hina
ar an ower .

n he e am le o re en ing e hnogra hi
o e a ar o e he a illon e
e ion o he alai Lo re o l
e a a en a a ro o e or an e hno
gra hi m e m. n e en en o geo
gra hi al or l ral on e ali a ion he
o e are re en e here a ing lar ar
o e . a i i or wan more in orma ion
a o he e hi i he or he ha he o or
ni o ear h he igi al a a in a
en re.

owe er hi orm o re en a ion mean
he ran orma ion o a r i a in o ar o
e a or ing o Ja e a e i e
ame ar me amor ho i i.e. an i em
e ome an ar o e hro gh he ro e
o a ro ria ion.

no her o ion or an e hnogra hi m
e mi he e elo men in o an in i ion
wi h a nowle ge la ora or i en
La ora ori m . hi la ora or wo l

rin i all o men he a al ro e e
o ran orma ion in glo al ne wor an
how eo le rom e eral region o he
worl ha e rea e alwa a er e olonial
ominan e wi h he ir own rea i e o en
ial . he o alle l re o i a
earan e oge her wi h he e hno
gra hi re en e wo l no longer ma e
an en e in he on e o an e hnogra hi
m e m o a .

n re en ear on e o he her
an he e ha e hange rom a ome
wha homogeno a egor o a er he
erogeneo one. hi mean ha he m
e m on e regar e a a on ainer or
long an ing olle ion i now e o e
o i eren in ere an i ion ha re
ire a new i o r e.

or e hnogra hi m e m en ral o i
or re on i era ion ho l e ho e
e ion rro n ing ro e e o a ro
ria ion an wa o ro ing l ral
al e an imagina ion whi h an e
a re e rawing on ialog e regar
ing angi le an in angi le worl heri age.
ri i al el re le ion a o he ro ean
i ea o re re en a ion an a o he a
oin men o ro e a a worl in er re
a ion en re are ne e ar on i ion
or a re e hnogra hi m e m.

l ral i er i a r i i a ion an o ial
in l ion a o o e o in egra ion are
he grea hallenge or o r m l i e hni
o ie ie . n erman we generall ill
re er o i he on e o in egra ion
ra her han ha o a r i i a ion. n m
o inion hi nee o e hange in he
near re in or er o e er wor oge her
o o e he o i o o r on eren e

for reconciliation and peace for values as mutual respect, trust and shared commitment to each other .

owe er we ho l remem er he oi e
ha will ere re ene in a m e m
e hi i ion will alwa e en on ien
i i an oli i al arame er . ha hi
mean i ha here i no ne ral la e in
an m e m.

n no e

n ari on he ho o er
he eneral em l o he
a e he on en ion or he a e g ar
ing o he n angi le l ral eri age
. er a e ha ra i ie he
on en ion e ame o era i e on he^h
o ril . in e hen o n rie
oine he on en ion a rom o
er . n il now erman ha no
ra i ie he on en ion.

[h //www. ne o. e/immaerielles](http://www.ne.o.e/immaerielles)

[l rer e.h ml L](http://www.ne.o.org/) on l e^h o
g .

[h //www. ne o.org/ l re/i h/in e .](http://www.ne.o.org/)

[h g](http://www.ne.o.org/) on l e^h o g

.

an m e m ha e er goo a io
ar hi e e . er ew o hem om
ine he angi le an he in angi le a
e while o men ing olle e i em .

ig re a e or a e he an wer
e en on wha o er ei e a he a
gro n he la a e or he whi e.
ho ogra her e e ermann ha rea e
hi in rig ing ollage ing he ilho e e
o real eo le. o r e o le or rai
e e ermann o righ .

e o hi e were ar o m
le re a he oe he ni er i in
hr ng in a i m er im ma er iellen
l r an o m a er he hno
gra hi al e m o a . er onal
ima e re ene a he on eren e m
mer eminar on em orar r an
he lo al ge organi e he
en er or r an e ia ar l r he .

ig re al ha ar ermo er an
Dinglinger wor ho oor wi h emer
al e ro a l aa li he
n amml ngen Dre en/ r ne
ew l e

ig re a il o al wi h orallen in
en orneli an elle in hler Jo
hann einri h ge e ermina ion egin
ning o he^h Jh. aa li he

n amml ngen Dre en/ r ne
ew l e [h // il ar hi .](#)

[re](#)

[en. e/ / e m ear h. m e m](#)
[r ne ew l e a alog D](#)
[re or iew ear hRe l De ail iew](#)
[ear h e m e m on l e^h o](#)
g .

hri o h ol m in meri a
a o a ama wa o n ia ernan
ore / on ere e i o Jame
oo hree e e i ion in o he
o h ea .

eo r heologi o a ionale
ea el m na ional hi oire
na relle ari Ri m e m m
er am Den aag e a ional
a ni er i a e e eral o Rio e Janeiro
ra ilia la ene m e m Će h h
rag a eri he a ionalm e m
n hen r h ologi he a ion
alm e m Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο
hen a ionale i ori he

e m Εθνικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο hen
l n i he a ionnalm e m
i l n . min asafn slands
eo r eol gi o a ional e a a
a ri .

hnogra hi al e m ri i h
e m Lon on Ri m e m
oor ol en n e olonial
e m arlem e m r l
er n e Lei ig nigli he
oologi he n n hro logi he h
nogra hi he e m Dre en
Lin en e m gar e m
r l er n e am rg

J lia o Der e ra h er im hr .
. . .

n he la ear i e ame er a h
iona le o age he le o o e re en
a ion in he wa o he eginning o e h
nogra hi m e m . he a alm e m
wan o how heir ri i al han ling o he
hi or o olle ingan i eren wa o
re en a ion.

n il o a i e en on he i ie
l ral oli i i he ha e an own h
nogra hi al e m ori one in e hno
gra hi olle ion in i ori al e m
in a ional e m or in a ral i or
e m li e in le elan .

11 ee how h man ha e in era e
wi h he na ral worl aro n hem. lan
an animal an aria rom l re
rom or han o h meri a e o
ameri a ri a ralia an ew inea
are re re en e here.

[h //www.mnh.org/i e/ he e m/ Yo r aller i e/ ainLe el.a ear hallo h mane olog on le h o g](http://www.mnh.org/i e/ he e m/ Yo r aller i e/ ainLe el.a ear hallo h mane olog on le h o g) .

hi ine wi h h main remain
ignore om le el an e hi a e . n

ome l re lime he n i or i i eo
le i i or i en o o h h man one o
i ea e eo le. l ho gh ele on or
in o hem were o n in m e m .
nl in he h man remain o he
amil o he n i ini ha o e ran
erre rom he meri an e mo
a ral i or in ew Yor o hi o n
r .

[h // e.wi i e ia.org/wi i/ ini alla e on le r o ril . n he ele on her on er a e rain an he geni al rom aar ie aar man in ari were ran erre rom he e e l omme a o o h ri a where he originall wa orn.](http://e.wi i e ia.org/wi i/ ini alla e on le r o ril . n he ele on her on er a e rain an he geni al rom aar ie aar man in ari were ran erre rom he e e l omme a o o h ri a where he originall wa orn.)

[h // e.wi i e ia.org/wi i/ arah aar m an on le r o ril .](http://e.wi i e ia.org/wi i/ arah aar m an on le r o ril .)

hi iorama e i he e o ag
ri l re he ro oi ra i e when
ro ean ame o wha i now a e
ew Yor eginning a o . hi
e hi i ri e o e a hen i in all re
e rom he ma or e ing o he mall
e ail . he lan an animal i la e
are a ra e re li a ion o ho e ha in
ha i e he ro oi worl .

[h //www.n m.n e .go / ro oi illag e/ i er one.h ml on le h o g](http://www.n m.n e .go / ro oi illag e/ i er one.h ml on le h o g)

he worl o women.

he worl o women.

in orma ion wa gi en l r
ol erer oreworl ohne Da ier ng
l re woo er oreworl wi ho
an age e ermina ion .

[h //www.rom.on. a/e hi i ion /w l re /ir eo le . h on le h o g](http://www.rom.on. a/e hi i ion /w l re /ir eo le . h on le h o g)

[h //www.rom.on.a/meia/o/a/i](http://www.rom.on.a/meia/o/a/i)
[la . h i](http://www.rom.on.a/meia/o/a/i) on l e ^ho g
. hi a re how o a i eo on
he hie i ing ll ea re rom
.

o e rom he e n er he or
rai .

o e roma e in he e hi i ion
.

o e rom he e n er he or
rai .

o e rom he e n er he or
rai .

[h //www.mw](http://www.mw)
[ran](http://www.mw)
r . e/De h/ ell ngen/ ergangene
ell ngen/ n i h a hen a
[Jahren./ oo le /in e . h ml](http://www.mw) on l e
^ho g . o e rom he ho
me age o he D oo le . a
Raa e er nli he e ieh ng er onal
Rela ion hi .

ig re le
h // loa .wi ime ia.org/wi i e ia/ e/
/ /L on e aill arah aar
man. g . . L on e aill ran .
ll ra or an gra hi ari a.
ig re righ D la ari .
n n e hi h e einer hwar en
Dia ora
m D .

hi ar ro e wa ar o he ro
o al or a ermanen e hi i ion in he new
il ing lanne or he D . D ring he
e hi i ion in he D aller
la ari he m e m e i e o a
ain ing a an a.

new il ing or he D wa lanne
in e he mo e in o he illa ha main ai
in . lrea hree ime he lan
were o e e a e o inan ial ro
lem o he i la ime on he r o
e em er .

[h //www.iegel.e/iegelge](http://www.iegel.e/iegelge) [hi h e/](http://www.iegel.e/iegelge)
[.h ml](http://www.iegel.e/iegelge) on l e ^ho
g .

[h // e.wi i e ia.org/wi i/ arah](http://e.wiieia.org/wi i/arah) [aar m](http://e.wiieia.org/wi i/arah)
[an](http://e.wiieia.org/wi i/arah) on l e ^ho g .

he ollowing e re er o he a er
o Leon ine ei er an en h om
e her m en er re en e on he
^ho a a he on eren e o he
De her e m n in ral n .

[h // oral. ne o.org/](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [l re/en/e . h](http://oral.ne.o.org/)
[RL D](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [RL D](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [D](http://oral.ne.o.org/)
[RL](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [.h ml](http://oral.ne.o.org/) on l e n
o e em er .

[h // oral. ne o.org/](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [l re/en/e . h](http://oral.ne.o.org/)
[RL D](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [RL D](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [D](http://oral.ne.o.org/)
[RL](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [.h ml](http://oral.ne.o.org/) on l e ⁿ
o e em er .

[h //ww.reningha . e/an hro ologi](http://ww.reningha.e/anhroologi)
[Da eien/image](http://ww.reningha.e/anhroologi) . g on l e ⁿ o
J ne .

[h // oral. ne o.org/](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [l re/en/e . h](http://oral.ne.o.org/)
[RL D](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [RL D](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [D](http://oral.ne.o.org/)
[RL](http://oral.ne.o.org/) [.h ml](http://oral.ne.o.org/) on l e ⁿ
o e em er .

[h // oral. net.org/ 1 re/en/e . h](http://oral.net.org/1re/en/e.h)
[RL D RL D D](#)
[RL .h ml](#) on le n
 o e em er .

[h //www. net.org/e a ion/ /](http://www.net.org/eaion/)
[R . D](#) on le n o e em er
 .

om ara le ile were o n in he
 e hi i ion n er r el ommen. Da
 m ol or mim hlo . in
 e a li . . .
 erlin .

na g ra e in ril he a il
 lon e e ion i lo a e on he o h
 i e o he alai Lo re eween he
 lore wing an he Denon wing an e
 hi i ma er ie e o l re rom
 hro gho he worl in he hear o one o
 he worl grea e la i al ine ar m
 e m .

[h //www. ai ranl . r/en/ olle ion / a](http://www.ai.ranl.r/en/olleion/aillon.e.eion.hml)
[illon e e ion .h ml](#) on le . . .

a e .

ili .

erge r in i .

ei el / en ieg .

a h a .

iogra h

Diawara ama o

he im o i le loo . iew rom
 ri a. ei el e er n rea en ieg
 g. *ontemporary rt and the Museum.*

Global Perspektive. il ern a e
 an .

ee hri ian g.
 n ian ime . a hri h en a em
 ro en meri a. ien .a. e m er
 el l ren.

ili homa

inlei ng. r en a ion n
 Re r en a ion al li regime.

*athedrale der ulturen. Repr sentation
 von zeanien in unst und Museum.*

erhar gor J lia ohm argi
 ol erger g. ien e al L .

ro Ra hael .a. g.

*Geschenkte Geschichten. Zum .
 ahres ubil um des dischen Museums
 Frankfurt am Main. ran r am ain
 o ie erlag.*

r in i erge

he e i io in . ei el e er
 n rea en ieg g. *ontemporary
 rt and the Museum. Global Perspektive.*
 il ern a e an .

a h a ol gang

m ol or m ro e an he
 Re o he orl lierl homa er
 mann a inger g. m ol or m
 erlin. Da ro e . he ro e . erlin
 hea er er ei .

Le enie ol

hie om in elle ellen
 olonial m . i h we li he l ren
 a erlin a er De a e er a
 e ai ranl in ari lernen ann.

[h //www.wel. e/wel rin /ar i le](http://www.wel.e/welrin/arile)
[/ hie om](#)

in elle ellen olonali m .h ml
on l e . . .

a e Ja e
n ro ion o e he i n hro
olog . ir l. . ali n ena
re .

ei er an en h Leon ine
om e her m
en er n li he man ri .

ini eri m r l r er R i hen
era ion g.
hi hen ei en. Jahre
hamani m in e i irien. o a
re oil.

e m er el l ren g.
nsichtssachen. Ein esebuch zu
Museum und Ethnologie in Frankfurt am
Main. ran r am ain e m er
el l ren o ie erlag.

Raa e a g.
Reisen und Entdecken. Vom Sepik
an den Main. intergr nde einer
usstellung. ran r am ain e m
er el l ren.

Rein ne e
n i h a hen. er e i en er
r ei am e m er el l ren
ran r am ain. *nsichtssachen. Ein*
esebuch zu Museum und Ethnologie in
Frankfurt am Main. ran r am ain
e m er el l ren
o ie erlag .

a hl er eere erlen i ereien
ie iel al e el er e .
ine *orld eritage and rts Educa*
tion. ni er i a er orn.

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**Crafting A New Ethno-Ecological Landscape
for Peace, Justice and Reconciliation
: Memorialising the Natural
and Cultural Heritage of Conflict
through Ethnographic Museums**

Anna Rihing / Rama Rani

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Crafting A New Ethno-Ecological Landscape for Peace, Justice and Reconciliation:
Memorialising the Natural and Cultural Heritage of Conflict through Ethnographic Museums

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Memorialising the Natural and Cultural Heritage of Conflict

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In times of conflict, polarized and binary identities are constructed along boundaries through ethnic cleansing and violence, while in times of peace, these margins become the spaces of the emergence of new hybrid identities and cultures. Alongside these new ethnographies of the margins, new ecologies have been seen to emerge in the interstitial landscapes of conflict. Military Buffer Zones are increasingly recognized as spaces where endangered species and fauna have been preserved, due to the temporary absence of the human footprint. These landscapes may act as catalysts to jumpstart ecological restoration after war, also serving as a natural and cultural museum for peacebuilding. We are proposing a unique form of ethnographic museum for reconciliation after divisive conflict that would combine ecological resilience with cultural diversity. Furthermore, the *process* of creating and crafting such an 'Ethno-Eco peace park/museum' is itself conceived as an inclusive act of healing, co-creating and hence reconciliation, through which members on both sides of divided societies work together across old boundaries. This new inclusive space, where the divisive past is not forgotten but surmounted, would include a memorial of cultural and aesthetic artifacts produced by the actors and survivors of the conflict. The cases of Cyprus, Rwanda and Korea will be illustrated as a starting point for this investigation.

MAIN TEXT

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Political boundaries are often confounded by the overlapping, blurred and moving boundaries of ethnic groups. During periods of conflict, polarized and binary identities are constructed through ethnic cleansing and violence, while in times of peace, these margins often become the spaces of encounters and of the emergence of new hybrid identities and cultures. (Bhabha, 2004)

As new identities and ethnographies are constructed in the margins, so new ecologies have been seen to emerge in the interstitial spaces between societies in conflict. Military Buffer Zones have been confirmed as spaces where endangered species and fauna have, ironically, been preserved, due to the temporary absence of the human footprint during the period of warfare. Such spaces are an eloquent paradox, as the ecological devastation of war and the pillage and depletion of natural and mineral resources during war is well documented. These ecological havens can not only provide a jumpstart to ecological restoration after war, but also serve as part of an organic natural and cultural museum for peacebuilding.

This presentation questions the new roles and spaces of ethnography in the construction of peace and reconciliation. How should the artistic productions and institutions produced during the period of conflict or separation be considered, preserved and displayed? How should the unexpected evolutions of the landscape and the scars of the conflict be managed or articulated in future visions of a peaceful and reconciled society?

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Through research in landscapes of ethnic conflict, we are proposing a unique form of ethnographic museum for reconciliation after divisive conflict that would combine ecological diversity and resilience with cultural diversity, wisdom and creativity. Furthermore, the process of creating and crafting such an 'Ethno-Eco peace park/museum' is itself conceived as an inclusive act of healing, co-creating and hence reconciliation, through which members on both sides of divided societies work together across old boundaries. This new inclusive space, where the divisive past is not forgotten but surmounted, would include a memorial of cultural and aesthetic artefacts produced by survivors and victims during the conflict as a testimony of their faith in humanity, and could also be associated with and confronted with the objects and narratives produced by the different actors of the conflict. In this way, the ethnographic space of memory and reconciliation will create a creative space of dialogue between the conflicting parties leading to the surmounting of differences.

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Memory can be selective, and used (or misused) to construct and maintain physically and mentally polarized territories. While it can project us into the future, it can also imprison us in this past, immersing us into nostalgia for what existed before. In *The Future of Nostalgia*, Svetlana Boym distinguishes between a restorative and a reflective nostalgia. *Restorative nostalgia manifests itself in total reconstructions of monuments of the past, while reflective nostalgia lingers on ruins, the patina of time and history* (Boym, 2001). Too often in the past, the reconstruction of devastated spaces and landscapes has adopted the restorative approach that Boym refers to, seeking to recreate an ideal and distant past by erasing the signs of a more recent past. Reclaiming cultural diversity implies recreating a plurality of pasts and memories, albeit if they may be conflictual or contradictory. Highlighting the importance of *unintentional memorials*, Boym describes them as places of historical improvisation and of unpredictable juxtaposition of different historical epochs that can act as shields and disrupt attempts at selective and embellished reconstructions of history, and become spaces for reflexive nostalgia.

Memory is as dependent on a possible future as on a past moment. In recasting the liberated line as a landscape of memory, we should not impose memory in so much as question and challenge it. The construction of Memory is a process, an operation of healing. Processing Memory is considered as important as the artefact that results from this process - a memorial, monument, or landscape of memory. Habermas refers to this process a *space of discussion*, which he distinguishes from the *space of the monument*. As an illustration of his *discursive theory of democracy*, Habermas proposes public dialogue and deliberation as the proper space of memory. *What is a memorial or monument without a discourse or dialogue? What is discourse or dialogue without a monument? They are both unfinished.* (Habermas, 2006). Thus, monuments to memory or memorials may be intentional or unintentional. In our proposed model, memorials are considered as intentional and co-creative.

We are proposing to associate the different processes in the deconstruction / construction / reconstruction of the dividing line: The deconstruction of the disjuncture (the process of reconciliation); the reconstruction of the landscape (the process of physical rehabilitation of the territory); and the construction of memory (the process of dialogue and deliberation) define the process of transformation of the boundary into an *ethnographic landscape of memory, healing and reconciliation*. This discursive process is, and should be, an opportunity to reveal and reflect on the new ethnographic identities that will participate in building a diverse and inclusive future.

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In her extensive work on post conflict peacebuilding since 1996, co-author Rama Mani has developed the concept of *reparative justice* which is particularly attuned to the specificities, complexities and requirements of the survivors' of violent conflict. Briefly, reparative justice as conceptualized by Dr Mani is a consciously survivor- oriented' approach to post-conflict justice, healing and reconciliation. (1) Drawing on the twin roots of reparation in psychology and law, reparative justice deliberately grounds itself in the local culture and population, eschewing the tendency of post-conflict transitional justice to impose external international solutions. Avoiding the pitfalls of the conventional means of transitional justice – trials, truth and reconciliation commissions or vetting – reparative justice is contextually-sensitive, and flexible and innovative or adaptive, rather than rigid and fixed. It adopts a variety of approaches combining official, unofficial or informal, symbolic, creative and cultural, in order to respond to the complex and varied needs of all survivors of conflict within a society, while affording particular attention to the suffering of victims and restoring their dignity and integrity.

The starting point of this conception is the realization that most concepts of post-conflict reconciliation and justice focus on the two purportedly hermetic groups of 'victims' and 'perpetrators'. Dr. Mani points out that this is an inadequate conceptualization of actual post conflict societies and concepts and practices based only on these two groups are incomplete and hence cannot contribute to reconciliation and inclusion as they exclude significant parts of society – bystanders, beneficiaries, and those whose identity is not clearly definable in the two immiscible categories. Further, she underlines, the dividing lines in most societies between alleged perpetrators and victims is blurred and arbitrary as a variety of factors leads people to either switch sides to survive or with the changing tides of history victims may assume the conduct of perpetrators as has often been witnessed. 'Soldiers by day, rebels by night' is a frequent reality. Thus, she has argued consistently in her extensive work on post conflict justice and reconciliation since 1996, it is important to adopt a concept that goes beyond the narrow, exclusive and ultimately divisive categories of 'victims and 'perpetrators' and embraces the inclusive and encompassing notion of 'survivors' of conflict. On the one hand, many victims reject this term that condemns them to passivity and lack of agency but identify themselves rather as survivors. But survivors in reality would go beyond victims alone, and embrace all other groups in society whatever role they played in the past – destructive or constructive – during the conflict. It recognizes that whatever their past, if they are not made to feel a part of crafting the new present and do not choose to do so, they will adversely affect the future. Thus it is only a conception that embraces all survivors and makes them *feel and act* as active agents and co-creators of their own peaceful societies.

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A conflict creates many artefacts: objects of propaganda, icons of resistance, memorials of victims, trophies of perpetrators. How should these artefacts be considered, appraised and valued? And can they be regarded as ethnographic objects, worthy of being collected and curated? It may be that we do not wish to memorialise or iconise artefacts that were instrumentalized by warlords to mobilise populations and perpetrate war crimes. Yet we do not wish for these to be forgotten either, lest they reappear in future conflicts in the same or distant geographies, because there was no process that allowed for reflection and rejection of such violent utilisation of art. A good example is the Radio Mille Collines of Rwanda which was used for hate propaganda before and during the genocide of 2004. The genocide memorial in Gisozi deliberately archives the machinations of Radio Mille Collines, and the radio station itself has been made a memorial site.

On the contrary, during conflict artists often manage to rally together against the odds, despite repression, and use their various media of art to express their protest, and to articulate alternative visions of peaceful civil society. Such artistic endeavours both reflect the cultural heritage and artistic traditions of that society and break from them radically due to the violent schism created by the conflict which may also create new departures in art forms that emerge in that society during or after the period of violence. Sometimes such artistic expressions merely subsist, providing an outlet of sanity in the insanity of war, but may not actually halt or shape the outcome of conflict. An example is in Mostar, deeply divided between Serbs, Croats and Muslims during the conflict. By night, musicians would get together in underground darkened shelters and produce music together but by day would return to their respective armies. By contrast in some cases such artistic expression and mobilisation may provide the groundswell to reshape the terrain and outcome of conflict. Another example is in Nepal where contemporary artists, musicians, writers and performers were at the forefront of dynamizing what became a mass civic movement that swept the country, ended the monarchy and brought a respite to the violent conflict.¹ Such artistic expressions emerging from conflict's bloodied soil are an invaluable part of the society's memory, and a testimonial to the unwritten segment of the conflict's history – the living civic spirit. Usually the population in conflictual societies are only treated as passive victims if they are not actively a part of either of the multiple fighting forces involved directly in the war. However, in reality, society's multiple inhabitants are active and creative agents who find outlets to preserve their cultural and biological diversity and reshape them during conflict.

Curating the artefacts produced during and after the conflict by the many actors and stakeholders of the conflict and of the ensuing reconciliation movement enables and empowers them to directly participate in this discursive process and in the construction of this pluralist work of memory, through a landscape that associates cultural diversity and biological diversity.

Cultural diversity and biological diversity can and indeed must be associated in the reconstruction and reconciliation between nations and ethnic populations. UNESCO's publication on Biocultural Diversity talks about the necessary synergy between cultural and biological diversity. However it appears that this concept has not yet been applied to divided societies emerging from conflict. Based on our work in numerous terrains of conflict across Europe, Africa, Asia, Central America, and the Middle East, we firmly believe that it is particularly relevant as a new basis for ethnographic museums to experiment with combining

¹ This draws on the ongoing research by Dr Rama Mani in the project *Ending Mass Atrocities: Echoes in Southern Cultures* which she directs and will be further elaborated in that project's documentation.

the ecological and cultural/aesthetic legacies of conflict, in order to fully and appropriately memorialize the impact of war and build inclusive peace and reconciliation.

With this proposal, we are also looking to question, redefine and expand the notion of the ethnographic museum, as extending beyond the boundaries of a building or institution, but also become a matrix or structure of interpretation and interrelation between objects, memorials and artefacts inserted into a landscape. Now we will illustrate this proposal with different aspects of work and research that we have undertaken in conflict zones. The cases of Cyprus, Rwanda and Korea will serve as a starting point to excavate the substance of our argument.

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Rwanda, Cyprus and Korea have in common an ethnic conflict and/or an ideological polarisation, resulting in a separation or selection of populations (genocide). While in Rwanda and Cyprus, the conflict emerged from already existing ethnic groups, the Korean case demonstrates the construction of new ethnic identities on either side of the dividing line, through the influences of the socialist and capitalist economies and ideologies. In all three cases, the conflict has resulted in new narratives of identity, in spatial separation and fragmentation, often in the drawing of new boundaries, and in a large number of victims and missing persons on both sides.

Despite this, in the Cyprus and Korean Buffer Zones, the separation zones, or buffer zones that bisect the island and the peninsula, have been reclaimed by spontaneous nature and rich biodiversity (including the preservation of several highly endangered species). This positive evolution of the landscape has sparked interactions and collaborations between civil populations and scientists on both sides, and has alerted the interest of international experts and organisations in biodiversity (IUCN, UNDP). Located outside the political framework of the conflict, these unexpected and positive outcomes due to the territorial confinement have provided opportunities to investigate and envision possible future uses for the this unique linear military enclave. Likewise in Rwanda particularly in the northern regions neighbouring the violence-wracked democratic republic of Congo, despite terrible damage to the natural habitat and exploitation of the rich natural and mineral resources by warring parties, the plight of affected fauna and flora, particularly the unique gorillas in the region has also awakened a great interest in the preservation of the biosphere in that region. Further, in the case of Rwanda, attention has also focused on the regeneration of nearly obliterated cultural traditions and artefacts drawing on the memories of the older generation in parallel with the creation of new art work primarily by a younger generation of survivors and refugee returnees. These parallel tracks of cultural and artistic diversity offer a space of resistance to the genocide and ethnic cleansing, creating art and artefacts to both memorialise and yet go beyond the burning memories of war, and to become an instrument of healing and constructing a sustainable future. (Nevertheless, our research will also focus on associating this cultural work with the cross-boundary collaborations on the border between Rwanda and Congo, in a conflict zone which has been mitigated by a project of ecological conservation and cooperation.)

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At the nexus of the civilizations of Europe, Asia and Egypt, the island of Cyprus - legendary birthplace of Aphrodite/Venus the Greek/Roman Goddess of Love - has a rich cultural and historical past. Nevertheless, for the past 40 years, the diversity and multiplicity of the Levantine and Mediterranean heritage has been overshadowed by polarized narratives constructed on selective histories and founded on conflicts of territory and national identity between the Greek

and Turkish Cypriot populations. The rivalry between the two ethnic groups, already ignited on the eve of decolonization, became inflamed when the British decided to give up their occupation of the island and to bestow independence on Cyprus in 1960. The strategic interests of the Greek Junta, enacted in a military Coup-d'Etat supported by the CIA against the new president of the Cypriot Republic, Archbishop Makarios, resulted in the disembarkation of the Turkish Military Forces in 1974, provoking an armed conflict between the two communities and resulting in the partition of the island into separate states: the Republic of Cyprus (Greek) and the (de-facto) Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The boundaries of the two separate states are defined by the fixation of the Turkish and Greek cease-fire lines in 1974, between which lies a military buffer zone controlled by the United Nations, which takes the name of the Green Line.

The creation of the two separate states and the resulting duplication of divergent historical narratives of the partition, have imposed themselves on the urban and rural landscapes. Street names, monuments, statues, and icons form the symbolic text of the city, while giant flags and statues adorn the arid landscapes. Before partition, Cyprus was a multilingual, multicultural island. The street signs were written in three languages, Greek, Turkish, and English. Following the division, the State undertook a process of *Turkishization* in the northern part, tearing down and erasing Greek names of places and streets and replacing them with new Turkish names. In the southern Republic, numerous streets were renamed after Greek nationalist heroes, in a similar process of *Greekification*. So how should these artefacts and products of the conflict and its dividing and nationalistic narratives be reworked, replaced or reconsidered in the future?

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In Nicosia, each half city, icon, institution, monument, and memory has its alter-ego. Competing verticalities, competing icons, competing memories, and competing histories perform a subtle balancing act across the boundary. The statue of Kemal Ataturk's giant, illuminated bust with his piercing blue eyes that loom over the square that takes his name - along with its lonely Venetian column brought by the Venetians from the Roman temple of Jupiter in Salamis - represents the symbolic unity with Turkey, the *fatherland*. As everything comes in pairs in the divided/duplicated city, Ataturk's alter-ego is the Archbishop Makarios, the former president of the Republic of Cyprus, whose image and statues are also multiplied, like chess pieces on the territory. In the archbishop's palace in the center of Nicosia, an enormous stone statue of Makarios dwarfs the palace and his fellow Archbishops. Recently, in November 2008, the ten meter bronze statue of the Archbishop Makarios III, which had stood in a square close to his palace and in proximity to the Green Line in the divided capital of Nicosia was removed and transferred to his tomb in the Troodos mountains. Referred to by the Greek Cypriots as *Big Mac*, this nickname alludes not only to the size, but also to the popularity of this effigy as a tourist attraction and photographing backdrop (Theodolou 2008). This *Americanisation* of Makarios is volte-face to his previous nickname as *Castro of the Mediterranean*. The image of his statue being lifted in the air connects us to Berlin and reactivates the visions of the statue of Lenin hanging in the air of the Berlin sky before disappearing East Berlin. The statue, built in 1987 in bronze by an English company, was the subject of numerous debates on its appropriateness and location for over two decades. Considered an eyesore by the church, it was vandalized in 2008, before its replacement by a modest white marble sculpture. While Makarios' giant statue was travelling to the Troodos mountains for a final repose, another debate animated the Greek Orthodox Church over the revision of history textbooks, an important initiative to modify the very selective and nationalist anti-Turkish narrative that is being taught to schoolchildren, which has been suggested by a team of historians as a necessary path towards reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriots. But Archbishop Chrysostomos has insisted that education should remain

Hellenocentric and that *history will not be distorted*. This indicates that the deposing of the giant statue of Makarios is not synonymous with a lessening of the influence of the church in state matters, nor of a *de-hellenization* of the church and its spheres of influence. On the other side of the Green Line, the bust of Kemal Ataturk towers above the historic city of North Nicosia, a large, illuminated portrait that gazes down on the Ataturk Square that has also recently been dimmed. Once again, as in the case of the Makarios artefact, it is not necessarily a sign that there is a reduction in the nationalistic ideologies, but may simply signify a certain *détente* in the conflict, a lack of violence or armed confrontations, and therefore a desire to move forward towards reconciliation.

These giant male and nationalistic effigies that dominate the landscapes of Cyprus contrast with the miniature effigies of Aphrodite that are sold in the tourist shops all around the island, which is marketed as the sexy birthplace of Venus/Aphrodite. Yet, Aphrodite may one day have her monumental representation. A project to build an Aphrodite Theme Park near Paphos, with a giant statue of Aphrodite was highly criticized for its Las Vegas style and content by local artists and activists, and has not been realized yet (Christou, 2002). While the Aphrodite theme park for tourists is perhaps not the desired form or infrastructure we might aspire to a future, reunified Cyprus which depicts more modest and tasteful forms of the Goddess of Love, who could, like Makarios and Ataturk, also come to adorn or throne the public spaces and enter into a dialogue with the nationalist effigies.

What should become of these monuments of the period of the conflict? Can they be reinterpreted, reframed, reworked to participate in the discourse and process of reconciliation? Can their continuing presence, in a recast form, contribute to resisting amnesia and flattening versions of history? Or could they be curated in a *cemetery for monuments* that could be located within the dividing line and become a segment of the landscape of memory? In his work on analyzing the abolishing of forms and the fate of monuments of iconographical socialist heroes and how they illustrate political and social transformations and conditions of liminal societies, Czepczynski proposes three approaches for recontextualizing old monumental icons: a. Remove and Destroy; b. Reposition and De-pedestalize, Remove and De-centralize, i.e. move to peripheral locations; c. Refuge and Revenge, Refuge and Asylum, Redefining and Re-suining Buildings (Czepczyński, 2007).

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Other products of the conflict that mirror each other across the Green line are the National Struggle Museums of both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot community, that are located in the walled city of Nicosia. Both these state museums present a very selective reading of history and the Cyprus conflict. Should we erase or preserve, link and reinterpret them? Can this be considered an ethnographic process, or an ethnographic work? What should be the path of linkage and the process of linkage?

Both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot states have constructed a National Struggle Museum, that are described as *monumentalized cemeteries for the fighters* (Papadakis, 2005). These institutions, located within the walled city, are intended for a public of school groups and tourists, participating in the construction of the double narratives, acting like mirrors of the

selective history that is imposed on the urban realm. Presented as ethnographic museums, each institution exhibits a biased and nationalistic version of the conflict, and they have become instruments and spaces where the narrative of the conflict and the division is constructed, propagated and maintained. The *Milli Muxadele Muzesi* on the Turkish side was constructed in 1978, and takes the angle of the struggle of the Turkish Cypriots for Taksim, union with Turkey, heroicizing the TMT fighters and martyrs. The *Museum of Ethnikou Agona* constructed in 1960 on the Greek side commemorates the struggle against the British Colonial Power and struggle for Enosis (union with Greece). In Turkish Nicosia, there is also a *Museum of Barbarism, which is located* outside the walls in the former house of a Turkish Cypriot doctor who was killed with his family by Greek Cypriots in 1963. An extremely disturbing museum, the scene of the massacre has been left intact, and it is visited by schoolchildren who often remain traumatized after the visit. What is the future of these museums in a future reunification and reconciliation? Should they disappear in the future constructing of the new and plural ethnographic landscape of Cyprus? Or could they be articulated through a new ethnographic museum, which could be inserted into the physical space of the Green Line Buffer Zone, and construct a new narrative by referring to the existing museums on either side?

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The Demilitarized Buffer Zone in Cyprus is not a totally abandoned space or sterile space. It has become the territory of the United Nations Peace Keeping Forces (UNFICYP) who cohabit with cats, rabbits and other forms of wildlife, many of them endangered species, like the moufflon, fruit bat or monk seal. Jane Walker, a writer and wife of the former British High Commissioner in Cyprus, has described the new narratives of the Green Line - which emerged from the accumulated events experienced since 1963 - as a *micro-culture*. In the Walled City of Nicosia, there are landmarks, each accompanied by anecdotes, that glorify the golden age of Canadian Peacekeeping - which lasted until 1993 - with names like *Grizzly Bunker*, *Beavers Lodge*, and *Roger's Pass*. The Canadian forces were known for their pragmatic use of bulldozers in the Buffer Zone, and Roger's Pass refers to a *chance encounter between a bulldozer and a shop front* that created a widened passage for the UN troops in the Buffer Zone. Its geographic reference in Canada is an area in the Canadian Rockies that remains open in winter thanks to snow ploughs. Beaver House, towards the Eastern part of the Green Line, near Flatro Bastions, was the scene of heavy fighting with many casualties, which can be witnessed in the bullet-marked neo-classical facade of what used to be a girl's school. It is part of an ensemble, Ayios Georgos, which also included a boy's school, a church, and a playground. Opposite Beaver's House, Annie's House illustrates a tale of resistance to the divisions and displacements imposed by the Green Line. Located on the Greek Cypriot cease-fire lines, the facade of Annie Couppis' house was directly on the front line and when she stepped of the front door she was entering the Buffer Zone. Not having a back door to her house, and refusing to leave, she had to be escorted by UN soldiers every time she left her house. The narrowest stretch of the Green Line (3.3 meters) has been renamed Spear Alley, formerly Constantino Alley, and it is said to have been given this name from the spear jousting that occurred between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot soldiers from the balconies of the houses on either side of the alley. Other historical events are marked by the grand facade of the Olympus Hotel, where Churchill stayed when he visited the island, and the Ayios Lakovos Church, said to be the oldest Greek Orthodox Church on the island. Caf  Otto, Yellow Car, Spring Factory, Blue Tractor, Magic Mansion, and Butterfly Court are other colourful nomenclatures that mark the Peacekeeping pilgrimage through the Walled City Green Line. Nature disregards the Status Quo - the truce agreement that prescribes the immobility of the No-Man's land and its artefacts - growing plants and trees (including fruit trees and palm trees) that appear in the abandoned buildings and sprout along the streets, and on the rooftops, in a spontaneous rendering of the contemporary ecological

green roof. Numerous pools of water along the Green Line axis in the walled city remind us that this is where the river used to flow, and the wild flowers - the celandines and asphodels - are also indicators of wet bog lands, stream banks, and moist areas. These yellow flowers are also visible in the no-mans land below the Flatro Bastion where the Pedios River formerly flowed out of the city. Further reminders of the presence of the river are the Flash Floods that occur sporadically during the spring and summer months, causing considerable damage to properties. And a historic catastrophe occurred on November 10, 1330, in which 3,000 citizens drowned. In May 2006, a flood occurred in May when equivalent of 72 hours of continuous rain fell in two hours. Reports indicated that a bad rainwater drainage system was partially responsible. In the same year, on July 7, a severe storm resulted in the falling of 15 mm of torrential rain in 10 minutes, flooding the centre of Nicosia. The significance of these floods in the buffer zone is explained below, and the argument is how do we create a future Landscape of Memory that includes these new micro-cultures of the conflict, as well as the urban biodiversity created by the status quo, and that builds on the geological and hydrological conditions of the Green Line?

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These recurrences of floods within the walled city recall the historic floods and the former river, and suggest a possible future River of Memory that can articulate both the memorial spaces and institutions, at the same time addressing the questions of water shortage that have become the *New Cyprus Problem* in an ecological landscaping that is founded on and water collection and water management. The memory trail, which has been traced by the existing patrol path, will create the continuity and linkages of this River of Memory, in a necklace of reserves of biodiversity, cultural sites of reclaimed diversity, new institutions for the reconciled communities and memorial sites to the victims of the conflict.

There are many sites of memory along the Green Line, many of them painful memories of the ethnic clashes of the 1960s and 1970s and people are still grieving on both sides for the thousands of men, women and children who disappeared without a trace during the height of the conflict. According to UN data, more than 1,400 Greek Cypriots and 500 Turkish Cypriots are listed as missing. Some 270 remains have been unearthed on both sides of the cease-fire line following an agreement last year. While it may not be possible to locate the missing persons and their graves, it is important that they be honoured and remembered; this remembrance and grieving will help to heal the wounds between the two communities.

The existing *landscapes of memory* along the Green Line should be documented, including cemeteries, sites of traumatic or violent confrontations and ruined villages, and could be linked along the Green Line in a memorial trail along the former patrol path. Intertwined with the recent memories of trauma are historical memories of coexistence that will work to reweave the Cypriot cultures, and these will also need to include the new evolutions and ethnicities that have shaped the identities of the island in the recent years. Abandoned cemeteries, ruined churches, centennial olive trees, individual memorials, collective monuments, traces and relics, will be articulate with landscapes and sites of remembrance and forgiving along the Green Line. The Green Line can be viewed as a link between existing cultural and historical sites and future cultural institutions, and can take the form of a historical trail that showcases the historiographies of Cyprus and the mosaics of cultures as an alternative to the polarized cultural landscape of the divided communities.

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Peace parks can be key to reframing a conflict and inserting a positive dimension into the negative space of the boundary (Ali, 2007). By situating the conflict zone and the future peace park into a global and regional context, we can widen the horizon for the parties involved by creating a forum and network of knowledge. Long-term planning can shift the temporal perspective from visions that are anchored in the present or past conflict to sustainable processes of development that include the physical and social aspects of reconciliation. The Ecological Transboundary Infrastructure Plan can give a spatial form to this forward-looking process and can create a comprehensive vision that unites fragmented research and varied approaches from multiple stakeholders at the different territorial scales, ranging from international to regional and down to the local dimension. The plan can also serve as communication instrument of this vision as an object of discussion as well as a tool to develop a legal framework for the implementation of the Peace Park. The vision of the Peace Park should not be just a static representation of a post-conflict memorial, but should embody a dynamic instrument to resolve the conflict, and should present an opportunity to *reframe the conflict*, to act as a *consensus catalyst* that links environmental issues to the conflict resolution process, one that would require the involvement of environmental and spatial planners in the negotiation process.

In Cyprus, the Vision for the Green Line should address the current environmental challenges that face the island of Cyprus, which include water pollution, water scarcity, coastal degradation, and the loss of wildlife habitats. It should also build on environmental regulations that are being enforced by the European Union in the Republic of Cyprus since its accession to the EU in 2004. The plan also aspires to preserve the positive evolutions in the Buffer Zone, in particular in the preservation of endangered species. Amongst these is the Cyprus Moufflon, a historic race of sheep that has been present on the island for approximately 7,000 years and nearly extinct, and a rare species of nesting Turtles. The plan will also seek to remedy the negative developments in the boundary zone, which include land mines, abandoned infrastructures, and copper mines. The plan will engage all stakeholders and civil society and harness existing environmental initiatives and collaborations between both sides. It will seek to provoke a shift from the narratives of disputed land rights and reclamations to common issues of preserving the environment and act as a catalyst for the reintegration of the divided communities. As a backbone for the reconstruction and reconciliation process, it could become an opportunity for innovative environmental landscape and urban design and offer sites for the establishment of new organizations and institutions that will participate in overcoming the psychological rift. (2)

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Rwanda has been rocked by ethnic and genocidal violence ever since its birth into independence in 1959. However, none of the genocidal events since 1959 paralleled the scale, extent and thoroughness of the genocide perpetrated during 100 days between 7 april and 4 July 1994. during this period it is estimated that eight hundred thousand Tutsis and a large number of moderate Hutus were brutally massacred in an organized orgy of genocidal violence. Ever since 'Liberation Day' on 4 July 1994, when the invading Rwandan Patriotic Forces seized the capital Kigali and formed the government till today, the 15th anniversary year of the largest genocide of the post cold war period, a number of memorials and museums to the genocide have been erected across the country.

A great deal has been written about the process of post-conflict justice, healing and memorialisation in Rwanda, naturally enough given the globally felt reverberations of this most

significant genocide of the post cold war era, and to the widespread guilt experienced by the international community for its failure to react in a timely and forceful manner to quell the genocide.

Here we wish to underline two specific features within the memorialisation process and draw attention to a third. The first two are the role of art and culture within the memorial process and the third feature which we want to draw attention to in this analysis and link to the former two is the role of nature. (3)

Both culture and art have played important parts in the process of memorialisation ever since 1994. After the genocide, the Rwandan government supported the efforts of national scholars and international supporters and friends to establish an ensemble of museums, regrouped as the Institute of National Museums of Rwanda (IMNR). These combine the effort to historicise and contextualise the events leading up to the genocide and the memorialisation of victims with the attempt to retrace and re-established the suppressed cultural traditions and practices of Rwanda and finally the desire to support the newly burgeoning re-emergence of contemporary and visual arts after a long period of their suppression or disappearance during the genocide. The IMNR includes the Museum of Rwandan Ancient History in the historic capital of Nyanza. As explained by leading anthropologists in the country, much of the culture and traditions of Rwanda were stamped out violently during Belgian colonization where the local language and all traditional practices were banned and punishable and children were separated from their parents for schooling in Catholic missionary schools to ensure that the younger generation would be taken away from the 'corrupting' tribal influence of their parents. A monumental effort has been made by ethnographers in Rwanda to investigate and restore these rich cultural traditions. Many such ancient practices have also been revived, suitably adapted, and adopted by the government and civil society as official or informal parts of the reconciliation process such as the adapted process of Gacaca, the local mass tribunals of *genocidaires*, and the mass mourning ceremonies that transpire each year in April.

Close to the History Museum in Nyanza stands the Rwesero Arts Museum displaying contemporary art work. This museum is the result of a specific project which originally hoped to create an Art museum for Peace. It initiated an annual competition among local artists and an award of Art for Peace, which continues to this day, organized now by the museum. Many of the award winners' and competitors' works are displayed in the museum. The museum of natural history in Kigali records the country's geographic and botanical specificities in the former home of the country's first European explorer, Richard Kandt of Germany.

The final and as yet unbuilt element is the future Museum of the Environment, whose aim is to sensitise the public to the protection of the natural environment. Interestingly enough the proposed site for this museum is in Karongi (former Kibuye) in the North not far from the border with the violence-racked Democratic Republic of Congo. This is a region that was deeply affected by the genocide, the ensuing flight of *genocidaires* to DRC to escape retribution, and the ensuing violence that has torn DRC apart ever since in its own civil war which is not entirely extricable from Rwanda's political quagmire. In a discussion with the Curator and Director of the IMNR Professor Kanema, it was explained to the co-author Dr Mani that at present there is no plan to link the Museum of the Environment to the theme of peace or post-genocide reconciliation, as the plan of the IMNR had been to have distinct museums dedicated to the separate major themes, and as several memorials and museums to the genocide had already been painstakingly and often quite exquisitely done. Indeed the curator himself played a key part in the design and implementation of the major memorial museums including the main one in Gisozi near Kigali. While Professor Kanema was deeply interested in the concept of a

museum for reconciliation and peace that would combine and harmonise artistic, cultural and natural heritages, he admitted that this was not at present within the IMNR's plans or budgets.

To a smaller extent and sometimes in macabre ways, nature too has played its part in this memorialisation. A common act after mass killings often perpetrated in churches or schools where Tutsi populations were congregated by genocidaires on the false pretext of protection, was to throw the bodies into communal graves and pit latrines. Many memorials in churches and schools such as at the Kibuye church and at the Murambi technical school include within their campus the surrounding habitat which also bear testimony to the dehumanizing way in which corpses were disposed off after massacres.

What we wish to underline here is the tremendous potential that lies in bringing together and harmonizing these three elements within an ethnographic memorial museum. The arguments we have made in this paper for such a living museum are even more salient in cases of deep genocidal violence as in Rwanda. As we explained here, the concept of such museums is one where both the process of co-creative construction and inhabiting/ownership of the space by the actual survivors of conflict is as important as the 'end result' of the museum in that it serves actively to build the bridges of reconciliation between fractured individuals and communities.

The main genocide memorial museum in Gisozyi, built with support from the Aegis Trust, goes some way towards this, and signals the vast potential of taking this harmonization of the three elements a step further. On a small hill just a few kilometers from the centre of Kigali, Gisozyi combines cultural history, artistic memorial, and natural homage. The first part of the museum provides a detailed and historical narrative of Rwanda from its cultural heritage to the moment of the genocide with precise detail on its planning and implementation. The second section provides a highly artistic, symbolic memorial to the near 1 million victims which has a powerful evocative effect. In aesthetically curvilinear interconnected galleries with somber lighting, thousands upon thousands of simple photographs of victims are lined up and hung, while a few fragments of clothing, personal belongings and skeletal remains line some walls. The most powerful room displays a larger than life photograph of a small number of the child victims and lists evocatively the child's 'favourite things' at the time of death. Outside, a park was designed with the purpose of providing an opportunity for viewers to pass a silent moment of meditation and contemplation to pay homage to victims in the bosom of nature. A fountain with a flame of homage in the centre, surrounded by a park and benches was intended to provide this effect. However, the fact that the park also serves as the entrance to the museum detracts from this desired – and indeed highly desirable – effect.

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Only about 700 mountain gorillas are left in the world and about half live in the lush volcanic mountains straddling the borders of Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda - an area riddled by war. The gorilla is a symbol for quiet power that prolongs the lifespan of people and is an important medicinal and totemic animal for many African tribes. While some of the traditional rituals related to gorillas have decreased with colonialism and the modernization of society, there are also new forms of participative actions that have emerged and that involve all populations. In Rwanda, the President Paul Kagame and his wife lead naming ceremonies - which are usually reserved for newborn children in Rwandan culture - for newly born gorillas. In total, 26 baby gorillas and four adults were named, with names chosen from suggestions proposed by the children. These ceremonies involve children dancing, with the participation of locals and tourists, and the last one took place in the village of Kinigi, surrounded by hills on the

edge of the Virunga park, to name two twin baby gorillas, Byishimo (Happiness) and Imano (Gift). The region's gorilla population rose to 380 at last year's count from 324 in 1989. During Rwanda's 1994 genocide, when some 800,000 people were slaughtered, many of the gorillas fled. At this occasion, the president stated that *"the increase in the number of gorillas is attributable to the peace and security prevailing in Rwanda"*.

The gorilla has been the catalyst. In modern times, it has also become the catalyst. Peace Park in the Virunga Mountain range that separates Congo and Rwanda. The Virunga Heartland is one of the world's most important biodiversity sites. It constitutes the last remaining afromontane forest habitat on the planet for mountain gorillas and hosts a spectacular array of other rare and endangered animals and plants. Ironically, the origins of this reserve lie in the process of establishing the colonial boundaries of German East Africa, when two large apes were shot during an expedition in 1902 to mark the border. One of the apes was recovered and sent to the Zoological Museum in Berlin, where it was classified as a new form of gorilla - Gorilla beringei - after the man who discovered it. In 1925 Carl Akeley, a hunter from the American Museum of Natural History who wished to study the gorillas, convinced Albert I of Belgium to establish the Albert National Park to protect the animals of the Virunga mountains.

The Central Albertine Rift region in the Virunga Heartland supports lush afromontane forests and a wealth of species, including the endangered mountain gorilla. Because this area spans the borders of three countries – the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and Uganda, transboundary natural resource management is critical to maintaining the integrity of the landscape. Political instability in the Virunga region has made conservation of endangered species and habitats difficult. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda, in which as many as one million people were killed, and the ongoing civil war in DRC have caused massive human migration. Gorillas have been caught in the crossfire, and their habitat has lost probably 36 million trees chopped down for firewood by the million-plus Rwandans encamped in eastern DRC from 1994 to 1996. Nevertheless, today, the International Gorilla Conservation Program (IGCP), formed in 1991, is working to ensure the conservation of the last endangered mountain gorillas and their forest habitat in this transboundary area. One of IGCP's chief successes is fostering cooperation among DRC, Rwanda and Uganda to safeguard the mountain gorillas and their habitat. Despite tensions among the three countries, IGCP regularly brings together park staff, government officials and other partners to discuss common issues: for example, how to work effectively with surrounding communities and how to foster safe ecotourism. IGCP also helps to coordinate regional activities such as joint patrols and a shared ecological monitoring program and supporting database.

The Director of the Rwandan branch of the International Gorilla Conservation Program, Eugène Rutagarama, was persecuted during Rwanda's genocide, and managed to flee to Burundi with his family in 1991. He returned as soon as safely possible, quickly rose through the ranks of Rwanda's national park system, and was key to ensuring that mountain gorilla habitat was not overrun as Rwanda resettled more than two million people. Eugène, who was selected as a CNN Hero for Defending the Planet, has won many awards for his heroic work.

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It might be immensely worthwhile to explore the idea of expanding the current concept of the intended Museum of the Environment in Karongi (ex Kibuye) to incorporate the notions of Peace through Culture and Art. Given its historic and geographic and geo-political situation and the lethal role it has been forced to play in recent history this would be highly fitting as well, to bring the healing elements of Nature, Art and Culture jointly to bear in creating a living, locally owned

and co-created space of reconciliation and peace both between the communities within Rwanda, between Rwanda and DRC and within the Great Lakes region at large which, despite its abundant natural wealth and cultural depth has seen such bitter violence and suffering.

The Museum in Kisozi is already a start in this direction with its notional elements of all three features, and this could be enhanced and deepened as well. For example, a more secluded park could be envisaged behind the museum to separate visitors who complete the visit and are visibly moved from those entering the museum. The park might be not fully manicured but rather blend into the lush nature around it and combine the healing elements of water, air, earth and fire, while displaying a few sculptures and art works including few pieces from the Rwesero Arts Museum and the annual art for peace competitions. Within the museum, which receives a constant flow of national and international visitors, it would be important within our concept to introduce an element that makes it both living and participatory or co-creative so that each visitor could become a part of the natural tapestry and still evolving history of the museum, whether they are victims, perpetrators or mere bystanders or sympathisers.

The Virunga Peace Park could also become connected with the other memorial sites and museums of the Rwanda conflict, and become part of a Memory Trail, an inclusive and plural memory path that would also link to the neighbouring countries, e.g. Democratic Republic of Congo through the Peace Park.

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Since the War of Korea and the 1953 Armistice Agreement, the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) separates the Democratic People's Republic Korea in the North (DPRK) from the Republic of Korea in the South. Extending for 2 kilometres on either side of the military dividing line, this linear enclave stretches for 248 kilometres along the 38th parallel, from the East to the West coast of the Peninsula. From the eastern seacoast, the buffer zone crosses mountain ranges, rivers, wetlands and abandoned rice fields to rejoin the river deltas on the West coast, continuing as a boundary between the territorial waters of the ROC and the DPRK. The resulting disconnections of geographies, ecosystems, network and populations, the divergent political ideologies and economic systems, have created widely differentiated developments on either side of this territorial rift. Recent research has confirmed that these territories, extracted from human development, have been transformed into reserves for biodiversity, which are natural havens in a rapidly expanding and urbanizing context. It represents a cross-section of the different landscapes and ecosystems that are present in Korea and has been described by Ke Chung Kim, one of the founding members of the DMZ Forum, as a *Ready Made Paradise Park* and by other sources as a *Garden of Eden*, *Walled Off Paradise*, or *Involuntary Park* (Kim, 2007, Grichting, 2009). The DMZ is traversed by five rivers and contains many ecosystems with over 1,200 plant, 50 mammal, 80 fish, and hundreds of bird species, many of which are endangered. Intensively cultivated rice fields have morphed into wetlands, flourishing with flora and fauna that are reclaiming the agricultural landscapes.

The work of artists such as Ik-Joong Kang have addressed the conflict and the Korea DMZ, despite an existing taboo to address this physical and psychological pan-Korean territory. Kang's projects include *Wall of Hope*, 2008; *Amazed World*, 2001; and *1000'000 Dreams*, 1999. The latter involved the works of 50 000 children from South Korea, creating 100 000 dreams. It was intended to involve North Korean children, but they did not participate as planned, but a space for their *dreams* was reserved in the artwork. In December 1999, Ik-Joong Kang worked with 50,000 children from South Korea in creating *100,000 Dreams*. This installation featured a 1 km-long, vinyl tunnel - located near the DMZ zones - inside which all of the children's works

were displayed. It was lit up at night, as if to invite North Korean children on the other side to come out and play, or more realistically, to come out and add their dreams. *A wall of dreams can break down the wall of hatred and ignorance that separated us for a long time.* Through his work, Ik-Joong Kang addresses not only the Korean conflict but worldwide conflicts. *Amazed World* 2001, an installation composed of 34,000 children's drawings from all over the world, was scheduled to open at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York on Sept. 11, 2001. Drawings come from the mountains in Tibet, street corners in Hong Kong and from the war zone in Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda. According to the United Nations Children's fund, in 1995, there were 30 major armed conflicts raging around the world, and as a result, nearly two million children have been killed in the past decade in wars.

Another interesting avenue to explore would be the rebirth of Shamanism in Korean society and particularly its manifestation in Korean Performance Art. Even though belief in Korean shamanism is not as widespread as it once was - with the loss of agricultural societies in modern Korea, to which many of the shamanistic rites were related - the practices are kept alive, and it remains a common heritage for both North and South Koreans. With the emerging interest in Nature Preservation, it could once again become relevant, and also for its rituals of commemoration, grieving and healing, its goal to solve human problems through a meeting of humanity and the spirits. (4). Korean shamans are similar in many ways to those found in Siberia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. They also resemble the Yuta found on the Ryukyu Islands, in Japan. Jeju Island is also a center of shamanism. The Korean Conflict and its resolution require a regional approach, as does the sustainable ecological preservation of the peninsula, and therefore the revival of the regional dimension of the nature-based shamanistic culture could also participate in constructing sustainable peace. This new Korean shamanism could become one of the *new post conflict ethnographies*.

The Freedom bridge, located in the DMZ, is a physical and symbolic connection between North and South Korea, tradition. On 16 February 1952, Freedom Bridge, a focal point of worldwide attention during the Korean War, was officially opened and became a major link between the truce site of Panmunjom and Seoul, Republic of Korea. To the United Nations Command soldiers returning from captivity in North Korea, it was truly a bridge of freedom. Spontaneous memorials have been improvised, using the traditional tying of ribbons (that symbolises the link to a family member or loved one on the other side. Every Chusok (the Korean version of Thanksgiving) divided Korean families flock to this point with gifts and offerings. A makeshift memorial, a chain-linked fence closing off the bridge, is adorned with flags, personal notes and letters to people in the North, pictures faded from the sun, t-shirts with marked messages to families, messages of hope from different organizations (5). This highlights the necessity that the families of victims and separated loved ones need a space to address their messages and thoughts, in the impossibility of any other forms of exchange.

The emergence of a Ready Made Paradise Park, the re-emergence of common and ancient spiritual practices that reconnect man and nature, new practices of commemoration and mourning provide and the work of contemporary Korean artists provide us with rich and pertinent ethnographic and geographical materials and sites to construct a meaningful ethno-ecological landscape of memory articulated along the backbone of the Korea DMZ.

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This paper exploring ongoing research into the *new ethnographies* created in the cultural and physical margins of conflict zones highlights the multiple approaches and facets that should be considered in constructing what we propose as new Ethno-Eco peace parks and/museums.

Taking as a foundation the physical landscapes and its natural evolution and resilience, the concept posits this new space as a receptacle of these witnesses of the new ethnographies - created during and after the conflict, by actors and survivors. The process of construction of this space is part of the process of reconciliation and it is important that it involves all parties and also does not create a selective landscape of memory (mirroring the selective spaces of the polarized conflict) but creates and constructs a pluralist narrative and inclusive cultural landscape of memory.

The many examples we have cited above, and which include the work of artists, performance artists, historians, cultural landscape architects, urbanists, peace specialists, underscore that we are not seeking to restore (what was before) through the reconciliation, but to recognize and reconstruct a space of reconciliation with the new emergences and hybridities that have emerged. The new space and new ethnographies are recognized through a constant dialogue and discourse, and recognize that a space of conflict is also the space of contact between rival groups, and must be transformed through the creations and co-creations of the actors on both sides and in between. In effect this is a new space that belongs to all "survivors" of conflict who come together to create a new present and shape a joint future together that overcomes the divisions of their diverse pasts.

Endnotes

1. This concept of reparative justice is elaborated in detail in Dr Rama Mani's writing in *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War* (Polity/Blackwell: Oxford, 2002/2007), "Reconciliation or Transitional Justice?" in William A. Schabas, Ramesh Thakur, and Edel Hughes (eds.), *Atrocities and International Accountability: Beyond Transitional Justice* (Tokyo: UNU Press, 2007) and 'Reparation as a Component of Transitional Justice: Pursuing Reparative Justice' in the Aftermath of Violent Conflict' in Stephan Parmentier et al. (eds.) *Out of the Ashes: Reparation for Victims of Gross and Systematic Human Rights Violations* (Intersentia, Antwerp/Oxford 2005).

2. This project is the outcome and application of Dr Anna Grichting's Doctoral Research entitled *Boundariescapes. Reacasting the Green Line of Cyprus*, Harvard University, June 2008.

3. This draws on the ongoing research by Dr Rama Mani in the project *Ending Mass Atrocities: Echoes in Southern Cultures* which she directs and will be further elaborated in that project's documentation.

4. Koreans, like other East Asians, have traditionally been eclectic rather than exclusive in their religious commitments. Their religious outlook has not been conditioned by a single, exclusive faith. Today, Buddhists or Christians still turn to the old folk traditions of Muism, the folk culture that serves as an important resource for research into Korean religion, ideology, history, literature, music, stories and the other vital elements of its civilization.

5. Chusok, also known as the Korean Thanksgiving, is held on the 15th day of the 8th lunar month. Chusok means a great day in the middle of August. It occurs during the harvest season. Thus, Korean families take this time to thank their ancestors for providing them with rice and fruits. It includes the return to the hometown and the performance of ancestral worship rituals early in the morning. Harvest crops are attributed to the blessing of ancestors. Historically and according to popular belief, Chuseok originates from Gabae started during the reign of the third king of the kingdom of Silla (57 BC - AD 935), when it was a month-long weaving contest.

between two teams. Come the day of Gabae, the team that had woven more cloth had won and was treated to a feast by the losing team. Many scholars also believe Chuseok may originate from ancient shamanistic celebrations of the harvest moon. New harvests are offered to local deities and ancestors, which means Chuseok may have originated as a worship ritual. (*Encyclopedia of Korean People and Culture*, The Academy of Korean Studies, ed. 1991.)

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Images

Intercultural understanding and misunderstandings

– experiences from public discussion

on museum education

in Helin Rautavaara Museum

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"Intercultural understanding and misunderstandings – experiences from public discussion on museum education in Helin Rautavaara Museum"

Maria Koskijoki, maria.koskijoki@helinamuseo.fi

The Helin Rautavaara museum is based around a collection donated by a Finnish woman, an avid collector and life-long voyager Helin Rautavaara. The collector was an original personality, but the museum is not only the inheritor of her collection but an active institution popularizing anthropological discourses. The museum focuses actively in museum education, central themes being globalization and cultural diversity. The museum is owned by a private foundation with appointed representatives of the City of Espoo, the Finnish Anthropological Society, the University of Helsinki and the Finnish Museums Council. Four of the five permanent staff members are anthropologists with training in museum studies.

The reflective and educational status of the museum is every now and then being doubted by the general audience: in two separate disputes the relevance and ethics of the museum has been debated at large by evangelical Christians in letters to the Editor in the local press, even in the Board of Education of the City of Espoo (the museum is mostly funded by City of Espoo subsidies). The museum itself and museum education workshops (i.e. dance performance, handicrafts) has been suspected of "pagan rituals". The colourful character of the collector of the original collector is not easily forgotten. The prejudices expressed in the media have not affected the audiences, but are an interesting glimpse of the xenophobia Finns not very reluctant to admitting to.

The collector: Helin Rautavaara 1928-1998

Helin Rautavaara devoted her life to documenting cultures and religions. After having graduated from the University of Helsinki with MA in psychology in the fifties she started her travels outside Europe, first as a journalist/travel writer. To most Finns at the time an exiting trip abroad would mean the neighbouring country Sweden, so travel stories in popular weeklies were well liked. Between 1954 and 1957 Rautavaara travelled to North Africa, Middle East and South Asia and wrote lively accounts of her travels. She travelled with little luggage and a very small budget, looked for free rides and tried to get recommendations from contacts for free lodging. Her accounts describe how she "was invited " and "was taken" to places. Actually, she had to be very active in initiating these invitations, as she did not have much in the way of contacts when she first started. We have not been able to deduce whether or not she really was staying in the Jordanian court, followed Dalai Lama's march to north or visited the Maldivian court. She was in the same place at the same time, but... then of course we have to remember that we are dealing with an extremely strong-willed individual, who managed to persuade enough academics and councilmen to commit to making a museum out of her collection. Maybe she was just persistent and demanded special treatment as a journalist?

On 1958-59 Rautavaara got an ASLA-Fulbright scholarship to University of Michigan, Ann Arbor where continued her studies in psychology. From Michigan she started on 1960 on a two-year tour of Central and South America – first allegedly by bike. She presented herself as a journalist, visited sights and also got to where the action was, for instance met with rebels in Columbia. During these years she acquired a good knowledge of Spanish, and later Portuguese. She visited local religious festivities, and first managed to lend a tape recorder to record festivities in Bolivia. These led to her making her first radio documentaries, first in South America and from 1967 more than twenty for the Finnish Broadcasting company.

After working as a teacher in Finland and planning her PhD studies, Rautavaara set out to Brazil, especially to the Bahia area. She stayed there for 1963-64. She got interested in and documented Afro-Brazilian religions and practices such as umbanda, candomblé and capoeira which had until recently been banned from the public. Rautavaara wanted to study also the African roots of the Afro-Brazilian religious practices and traveled to Benin and Senegal in 1966. She planned further studies in Paris 1968, but finally set out to Brazil for 1969-71 in order to collect material for her PhD thesis in comparative religion. She documented especially candomblé with photographs, drawings, recordings and films of ceremonies and interviews. Candomblé is an Afro-Brazilian religion, which was largely originated in the city of Salvador, the capital of Bahia. Candomblé draws inspiration from a variety of people of the African Diaspora, but it mainly features aspects of Yoruba beliefs. Rautavaara's academic pursuits do not find a suitable academic outlet in Finland. It remains unclear, whether it was Rautavaara's strong personality, lack of any papers written by her or her badly declining eyesight that finally led to her leaving her pursuit for a PhD in 1974. For the rest of her life she mostly wanted to identify as a researcher, and presented herself in her visiting card as cultural anthropologist to the annoyance of the anthropological faculty, who found it very difficult to describe her as such.

Rautavaara continued to travel and document. In the 1970's she spent time in Kenya, Uganda, Ghana and Nigeria. In the early 1980's she got interested in the Rastafarian movement. The Rastafarian movement and religion developed in the 1960's and 1970's among poor Jamaicans of African descent who felt they were oppressed, and provided an outlet for them. The afro-centric movement has both black separatist and religious elements, for instance the former emperor of Ethiopia Haile Selassie I is considered a "black Messiah". Helin Rautavaara met with Jamaican rastafaris in London and New York before a long trip to Jamaica, meeting with traditionalist nhyabingi rastafari elders and attending reggae musician Bob Marley's funeral (allegedly as the only white person).

Her inside information on Rastafarianism met in Finland with a new, keen audience: Jamaican reggae music had gained worldwide popularity in the 1980's as the first wave of "world music", i.e. popular music industry trend that emphasized other than North American or European aesthetics. For audience consisting mostly of the Finnish reggae-fans Rautavaara made her first exhibitions of photos, drawings and mementoes first in record shops, then in public libraries and exhibition spaces.

During the period of 1980-1995 she produced around 20 exhibitions of various content and context from her travels, most consisting of large photographs, maybe with some items of clothing.

Rautavaara, having passed her 60th birthday continued to travel: in Senegal she got interested in the religious practices Mourides, a large Islamic Sufi order most prominent in Senegal and The Gambia, with headquarters in the holy city of Touba, Senegal.

One of the most visible Mouride orders brotherhood's are the members of the Baye Fall brotherhood, who dress in colourful ragged clothes and wear their hair in dreadlocks. Helin Rautavaara photographed them and participated especially to the Baye Fall brotherhood's public liturgies of ritualized zhikr (dhikr) - Islamic devotional act of repetition of the names of God, supplications and aphorisms from hadith literature and sections of the Qur'an – which include recitation, singing, drumming dance, costumes, ecstasy, and trance. Several Baye Fall are talented musicians, and the zikhr can from the perspective of the audience be interesting performances.

In the 1980's and 1990's Helin Rautavaara travelled in Ghana and Nigeria as well as India, Nepal, Egypt, Haiti, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Yemen, Mexico, Sri Lanka, Tunis and Morocco. The photo exhibitions she had put up had increasingly been decorated with objects of material culture, but the locations – public libraries, cultural centers - were not suitable for having really valuable pieces on display.

From collection to museum

In 1991 Helin Rautavaara rented a former shop at Ruusulankatu 8, Helsinki, where she opened her first private museum. The collections she held at home had been accessible to visitors, but visiting groups had also access to the new exhibition rooms. The Baga-Zombie Museum displayed ritual objects that Rautavaara had brought back from her short trip to Haiti in 1990. In addition, there were Buddhist, Mexican and West African objects, and a wall-size glass painting made in 1885 by the Belgian glass artist Jean-Baptiste Capronnier. The cataloguing of the objects began in 1991. In 1995, Rautavaara rented more rooms for the Baga Zombie Museum from Ruusulankatu 11.

The full tour to her collections she provided for connoisseurs and students) on demand consisted finally of visits to these two rental spaces and two private apartments she owned nearby (the third, her actual home, also contained a lot of objects but was not shown to visitors). An inheritance from her parents made it possible for her to build her collection with increasing volume. In the beginning she purchased the items in her collection directly from the field but as she advanced in age and impatience, also from dealers of antiquities and auction houses. The Rautavaara collection can very well be described with the attributes given to 19th century collections: it was eclectic gathering and sporadic accumulation. Helin Rautavaara had during her early travels collected more an idea of what was desirable, and now put her insight in action. She had developed an understanding of what were "good pieces", good examples of either the object category, quality or craftsmanship and an interest in religious practices and objects used in ritual contexts. She did not, however, limit her collecting only in an area or topic she had

real background information on, but also purchased objects that just caught her fancy.

Rautavaara did not set out as a collector of ethnographic objects. She did not originally have a plan for a collection or a museum, or interest in material documentation of a specific phenomenon. She ended up wanting to accumulate a collection only later, when she saw it as means to finally get the appreciation she felt she deserved. She, however, did not talk about or seem to enjoy the collecting itself, and took no interest in describing the acquiring or locating an object. She wanted to collect the world as she wanted to see it: her being the in the centre, the maker of ultimate definitions and the connoisseur. These parameters turn out beautifully when she uses all her background knowledge on Yoruba religion, personal contacts and powers of persuasion in managing to purchase a beautiful set of ogun-gun outfits in Nigeria that normally do not circulate in the market at all. She promised to perform appropriate rites in the dresses/masks/ancestors arrival in Finland, and to present them appropriately. Where Rautavaara's world and the professional presentation of ethnographic objects run into conflict is when she has made alterations (painted, etc.) to the objects and invented stories of their origin (golden stool of the Ashanti... royal Chinese seat).

Thus, to find out about the provenance of the objects is a challenge: Rautavaara was very reluctant to give any information, and when she understood the relevance of provenance and context of use, she sometimes provided the objects with lively but not literally true stories – making no difference in whether the actual object or a similar one had been the one the story was related to. In summary: the collection contains so-called genuine pieces as well as pieces intended only for the tourist market. Whereas from the position of the curator both are as interesting examples of their particular contexts if presented correctly, the collector's plight to claim everything to be as old and as valuable as possible has caused a lot of extra work.

The collection and the museum

1995 Rautavaara was diagnosed with a fatal illness, and she set out to secure the future of her collection. She had no successors or close relatives, so she wanted to donate her collection to a museum. Her terms were however unacceptable to the National Museum's Museum of Cultures (at that point she demanded 33 rooms permanent display to her collection). Her aim was to guarantee the future of her collection, and after a drawn-out negotiation process, a foundation was founded in 1997 with representatives from the City of Espoo, the Finnish Anthropological Society, the University of Helsinki and the Finnish Museums Association.

Some prominent academic backers and the Finnish Anthropological Society saw it would be a pity if the collection would be completely dispersed. An interested party was found: the City of Espoo next to Helsinki was planning to convert a large

architecturally preserved former factory space to exhibition- and museum use, and proved interested in locating the Rautavaara collection there. Rautavaara's demands on the terms of her will were scaled down: she finally agreed to a museum that takes care of the Rautavaara collection, rather than insisted on a permanent display.

In 1998 the collection was relocated from Helin Rautavaara's private museums and home museums to Espoo, where they found a new home. The Helin Rautavaara museum was opened in 16th of June 1998. A strong emphasis was put to design the exhibition space both in highly professional manner and reflecting the characteristic view of the collection donor. The designer Jouni Kaipia won prizes on the design, and was lauded in the Finnish architectural magazines.

The Museum Foundation started managing the museum professionally from the very beginning. The Finnish Ministry of Education evaluates museums according to their level of professional practice (also following the ICOM Code of Ethics) and for a professional museum it is possible to gain eligibility for annual state subsidy. The Helin Rautavaara Museum met with these criteria in its first year of operation. The professionalism of the institution still needs to be emphasised: the collector's reputation in Finland was not only good.

The museum exhibitions consists of a long-term exhibition showing the world according to Helin Rautavaara: her collection of 3000 art, ritual and everyday objects from Africa, Latin America and Asia arranged geographically. Also on display is Helin Rautavaara's story: a the visitor is able to step into her living-room and sit down to watch a documentary on the collector. The museum aims at showing the collector and her view of the world as presented by her collection and the way she wanted it organized. The exhibition is divided into courtyards representing four different cultural spheres. The museum space is built around the concrete columns of the original industrial space, the columns forming a forest around which the museum showcases are arranged as a small village, which seems to have just sprung up. There is an elaborate system of lightning, and texts are kept to a minimum, with special attention being paid to positioning, legibility and use of language. Interactive exhibits include a tactile collection, audio-visual material and a feedback system. Helin Rautavaara also made videos and radio programmes, which the museum has incorporated into the exhibition.

The museum is not, however, an institution devoted solely on maintaining the heritage of the collection donor, but an active institution popularizing anthropological discourses and encouraging discussions on cultural diversity – the latter being a theme only slowly gaining relevance in the Finnish society in the 21st century. The museum produces annually 2-3 smaller exhibitions and focuses actively in museum education, central themes being globalization and cultural diversity. In its collection activities the museum focuses in areas and themes most prominent in the Rautavaara collection (areas: West Africa, Afro-Brazilian religion, religious practices, art/artifact production influenced by the European/tourist market). Four of the five permanent staff members are anthropologists with training in museum studies.

The museum continues to be located in the same location as it was originally opened in the City of Espoo, which is situated in the capital area of Helsinki, but the building it is situated in was converted into a large museum and exhibition complex, the

WeeGee Exhibition Centre in 2006. The WeeGee houses four other museums, the biggest of which being a museum of modern art, EMMA. The visitors are able to purchase a single ticket for all the five museums. Visitors under 18 and over 70 are free of charge. The Helin Rautavaara museum had 69.000 visitors in 2008, being the most visited ethnographic museum in Finland.

Disputes and prejudices

The reflective and educational status of the museum is every now and then being doubted by the general audience: in two separate disputes the relevance and ethics of the museum has been debated at large by evangelical Christians in letters to the Editor in the local press, even in the Board of Education of the City of Espoo (the museum is mostly funded by City of Espoo subsidies). The museum itself and museum education workshops (i.e. dance performance, handicrafts) has been suspected of pagan rituals. The colourful character of the collector, who quite happily claimed to be a priestess or sacred figure of at least umbanda, candomblé, Rastafarianism and mourid Sufism, is not easily forgotten. The prejudices expressed in the media have not affected the audiences, but are an interesting glimpse of the xenophobia Finns not very reluctant to admitting to. The total absence of political correctness might astonish you, but it's actually quite scary: the only reason there hasn't been much racism in Finland is that until recent years the population of foreign origin has been the lowest in Europe.

It needs to be said that not everyone was pleased with the guidelines of Helin Rautavaara's collecting activities and their success. For example, the public display of cult and Voodoo objects made a well-known Espoo artist publicly accuse the Helin Rautavaara object collection of connections to satanic worship. Rautavaara herself thought that art inspired by the numerous religions of the world should be respected.

The current, renewed permanent exhibition of the Helin Rautavaara Museum was opened in October 2006.

When the museum first opened, the commentaries were lively: "cult" and "voodoo"-objects being displayed in Espoo inspired a local artist very vocal in media, claiming them to be objects of Satan worship. The population in Finland being mostly Lutheran but very secular, these kinds of accusations really stood out in the media. Some headlines of the dispute (Letters to the Editor of local *Länsiväylä* newspaper) "Altar and museum" 11.11.1998, "Why are our children taken to the Rautavaara – museum?" 18.11.1998 "Still about the altar of Satan" *Länsiväylä* 18.11.1998, "Helin the Peacock" *Anna*, 24.11.1998.

The offending objects were objects depicting Voodoo –related themes from Haiti, both objects produced as works of art (naivist paintings, metal reliefs) and objects connected to ritual settings (figurines, ornaments, candles). The exhibition text contextualizes the objects like this:

"Haiti

The Spanish and French colonisers brought hundreds of thousands of African slaves to work the sugar plantations in Haiti. They were transported there to replace the native Indian population who died of the diseases introduced by the Europeans. Soon the slave population outnumbered the colonisers: the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean started in Haiti in 1804. Haiti was the first country where the former slaves took over.

The roots of Haitian culture are on the other side of the ocean, in Europe and Africa. Alongside the Catholic religion, people practice Voodoo, which combines Catholicism with West African religions. Similarly, the majority of Haiti's population are native speakers of a Creole that combines French and West African languages.

Western imagination usually connects Haiti with voodoo dolls and magic. Voodoo is not, however, "black magic" but a set of beliefs wherein spirits, healing and possession play a central role. The sequin-ornamented flags, paintings and forged reliefs on display all depict various voodoo spirits, such as Ghede, Erzulie or La Sirene. Ghede is the master of the border between life and death, the graveyard and sexuality. Erzulie is a goddess of beauty and dreams often associated with the Virgin Mary, and La Sirene is a mermaid or siren."

The objects or the presentation or the objects do not stand out in the context of ethnographic museums anywhere else. The origin of the specimens is, however, an individual collector who did not have an authoritative role in the Finnish society. If the same specimens would have been displayed at the Museum of Cultures, National Museum of Finland, the disapproving citizens would have most likely hesitated to express their prejudices against "the other". Since the Helin Rautavaara Museum was a new institution, they felt free to criticise, at the same time being publicly prejudiced, xenophobic, and even racist in their expressions.

The next public reaction emerged in 2006, when the museum offered a small travelling exhibition on the dance tradition related to Hindu mythology, which included workshops where students could try out a little on Bollywood-style dance steps in the tuition of a dance teacher with an Indian background and training in classical Kathak. A vocal parent wrote immediately a letter to the editor in a local newspaper stating this strange dance being the worst kind of pagan worship: "how can parents now protect their children when even at school they are exposed to paganism".

Again, prejudices took flight in 2007 when City of Espoo was organizing for all school children to partake in the different cultural services provided in the city. The Culture Path project provides children with visits to concerts, theatre, cinema, sport facilities – and museums. A visit to Helin Rautavaara museum was planned to be obligatory for all 25.000 children in Espoo in the age of 12 (6th grade in the Finnish school system).

An annual workshop in the theme of the Mexican *Los Dias des Los Muertes* got special attention, because the "ofrada" is a kind of altar, even though no worship is related to the celebration. The museum had arranged for the public Day of the Dead –workshop: an anthropologist specializing in Mexican tradition a Mexican actor told

about the background, and the participants would try making some of the traditional decorations. This workshop was also available for schools. Again, vocal parents claimed that "schoolchildren are forced to make pagan altars". Not much attention was paid to the fact that the whole celebration is perceived to be part of Mexican Catholic practice (but with, undoubtedly, quite a lot of pre-Christian flavour).

At this point a representative of the local council's school board got through an appeal, that the visits should be conducted only with parental permission, because the visit might be comparable to a religious ceremony. This decision was widely discussed in the media, mostly to the museum's favour. Local school administrators were abhorred, and sent supportive emails to the museum. The councilman responsible further enlightened the press that the danger in the museum visit also occurs because of the spirits residing in the museum objects.

These examples of disputes and public understanding have brought forth themes, that the Finnish society - on surface and in most perceptions modern, secular, rational, tolerant, Scandinavian - has not been keen to consider. All in all, the expressed religious and xenophobic prejudices have made it all the more meaningful for the Helin Rautavaara Museum to continue its work as an ethnographic museum in the field of global education with the Finnish public in order to promote understanding and tolerance towards other cultures and belief systems.

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ringing he ligh o i ili a ion or religion o a age or agan in he name o ome higher
in an e e i rogre or o or er . n a wha e ara e he on i i io eo
i ionario hnologi o rom he re wa ro a l onl he o erwhelming n m er o
ere monial an religio o e i o e e . owe er hi a er hall arg e ha a
e hnolog a holi o rine an m eolog all e ol e in he a ew e a e i i

re i el hi o er lowing olle ion o ere monial an religio o e ha inge o he
a holi m e m an in i e more on em la ion rom .

i well nigh im o i le o gi e an e ha i e re i ew on all he e hange in e hnologi al
heorie here i e i o a eroga or o ial Darwini m ha long een e i one an
he ol e a e on whe her o e ho l e arra e a or ing o heir e ore am le all
ow rom rimi i e l re o in riali e one or a or ing o heir geo l ral area
oa ha een re la e new on ern . owa a he e a e i lo e on whe her
oom ha en ion ha een la i he on he ae he i imen ion o he o e rogne .
ne hool o ho gh in i ha he ae he i imen ion o ili arian o e i im or an a
well a a re ia e one ear ha when orm o weigh n ion in la eling an
re en a ion e hnogra hi m e m wo l lo e i earing .

he i la o religio o e an e a m h more horn i e o a e on e e iall in
an e hnogra hi m e m wi h an e ee ingl high on en ra ion o hem. ow an religion
whi h are e en iall en ere on erna ral or ran en en ali ie e a e a el
on e e hro gh on re e e hi i r h r ill e hni i en i e ina er en l lin e o
one ar i lar religion onl an he ro o n ne o a ra elie e rea rom he
em elli hmen o angi le ar i a eer Ri o h ra orial e ion were

no om li a e eno gh or he on i i o eo i ionario hnogoli o he im a o he
e on a i an o n il rel hrow more aria le in. el rom he o n il
eli era e i e on he h r h i el an he h r h rela ion o e meni m an i eren
religion . Ye i he gro n rea ing ro o al i o e a ore in he e hi i ion o rei era e he
h r h re e o all o her i ha no arring ha he laim o ne r e o a ear one
a er ano her in i eren religion ow o n angle ra her han in religion rom he ra e
rhe ori Limi e he olle ion a han i e al or ra al o i eren religion e en
o i le r h r Doe hi ori al enmi e ween i eren religion nee o e one
own ri i i m ha an ering e ion i e e ing ereo e rein or ing an le er
mar e ing eem ine i a le.

in a i ion o he ara igm hi ing in e hnogra h an he a holi o rine m eolog
i el ha al o eg n e loring a en e o new in e iga ion. Year o ri i al e amina ion
ha e ol ha m e m o l e on en wi h heir own ha gh a a emi a a e an he
almo n e iona le ower o in er re . o a a hem el e o he mo ern ir m an e
he ha e o an are aring o mor h rom el on aine ro e ional ni o l ral
en er or he omm ni ie wi hin whi h he o era e on . he ran i ion m
ome rom el awarene o he hree R he oin rele an e re le i ene an
re on i ili . e m m e a le o on in e he omm ni o a e ha

he are engage in the rren o ial a i i ie he m e on io o how ea heir
in er re a ion an e ome i eolog la en an he m e no a rai o a re o i no
ma er how in lamma or he e o l e.

Religion when i ille o i re orm i a ea i ll or he ra e a roa h o h man
iri i an al o e a en i i e or e en e lo i e ool mani la e or a age o
i emina e n owar i ea . one hele here i no o ha religion will o en or
i i or a new i a o l ral n er an ing an m al n er an ingi he rere i i e or
m al om a ion oleran e an re e .

o e in on em orar ime ha ing an almo e l i e o on religio o e eing
ar o he mo or ere religio a mini ra ion in he worl an a e ing o e o iall
re on i le Jane o ma e he on i i o eo i ionario hnologi o one o he
mo in ere ing in i in . ha he ri ilege o ar more la he or o e e e i ing
on li an i hoo e he la er. hi i no mall ea . n hro ologi an e hnologi are
no longer a i ie wi h learning ri al an a iring ri al o e he ha e el e in o he
o ie al en ironmen in whi h he ri al are em e e an erha mo i ie e er now an
hen a . how o omm ni a e a i io anal i o he er r re o
i i or wi ho re or ing o a li an o wor an how o rea e a olemn a mo here wi ho

i ling rio i are he i i lie ha he m e m ha o o er ome. ar i larl when he
ma ori o i i or are a ome o en er aining la h me ia re en a ion a alan e
e ween en o a le an iri al nee o e r . oreo er i a e in he en er o he
ol ee en ir le rie an ma a en ee he m e m ha a eman ing o o
winning he r rom he or ho o on e or e i al li . m in orm all ha
remaining ai h l o he on i ea hing i no a o wi h gi ing o her heir e
re eren e. he mo a ion ho l e ai o a oi he e o el righ eo or gmen al
hra e an again o a eli a e oi e e ween i en i ing i eren e an ro o ing
an agoni m . ollower o an religion a holi or no an e e he o ere
in er re a ion o a e i i ri re e . while he i ergen e ma ro e a ligh
orm o aliena ion he m e m m e hone wi h hem. er im li ing own la he
en ion i al o eo ar i e he han e o in iring ialog e . mi e l he erm
m e m generall on re a ere an ien o e in h he hall e er hing la e in
i i imme ia el on igne o hi or . owe er or ho e who em ra e he logi o ew
eolog a m e m ho l e a ehi le o a e he o ie orwar i i all a o ha ing
hing ma ing noi e romi ing eo le ome hing o on er an ro i ing a la orm or
l rali o ome in o on a wi h ea h o her. Do he e e or no rn he on i io eo
i ionario hnologi o an all m e m arr ing o imilar a ea on or

he m e m ha aro n ie e in he olle ion an onl highligh rom hina

Ja an orea i e an ongolia are i la e in he re o ene area he re will

gra all e a e o i la . l ho gh in he a i an o i ion he h r h ha

am i alen eeling owar he realm ha wa no orio or mar ring mi ionarie ring

he m e m re la n h i i a ain o re ha he e area an eo le ha e ne er een

merel rea e a wo l e on er er la ing heir own l ral inheri an e. ne er rom

nstruction gi en he angeli a ion o eo le o mi ionarie o n or hina

an n o hina hang ro l near he m e m en ran e

no o a le in heir wa an or no rea on wha e er ho l o er a e he e eo le o

hange heir ri e om an wa o li e nle he e are o io l o o e o religion

an goo moral mire an rai e wha e er e o e re e e . olle anea

no. o e rom rin e .

e m o no e i in i ola ion. l ewhere in a arallel manner holar ha e a o a e

an en o n er wi h he no hingne o hi m will e e no ewor h hange in e er

re ogni a le orm o on em orar i o r e a o o il e . h arg men ma

no e a ro e on en ional hri ian heologian a lea a i ore i e hoe he

n amen al elie o he m e m new i la o en on er a ion an m al re e o

lea o im la ion o he min .

how a o he i le a eania an ri a where religio i o r e i o en ime
e e a ero m men ali e ween hri ian an lim an where in he name o o
war ha e een wage o all in erna ional on ron a ion ome rom religio
mi n er an ing religio mi n er an ing an ri he wra h o he o en e ar an
a e gra e on e en e . e m an e a ional a ili ro e e i ne ral an
amil rien l image an e a e ing iel or n a e i ea . an we o he n a e i ea
o i i or engage hem in re le ion an ho e ll allow he r an re on ilia ion o
ommen e rom here erha . we ho l ha e no ill ion ha e en in i e he ha en
a re ing ho l on e e i e nee o rage in igh an im ar iali e e iall when i i
one a m e m n er he ha ow o . e er a ili a. aalog e o o en ial
on ro er ie er i ial a ron ing or a rilegio eem in he o ing he m e m i
n e erre . n m la i i he re arrange wor wa e o e ini he i hall e a
aring ro e wor h loo ing orwar o.

ar

n a re en hi e a er en or e he o en o meri an m e m he mi h onian
n i ion a o iall re on i le m e m i e ine a a m e m a ili a ing i i
engagemen a ing a an agen o o ial hange or mo era ing en i i e o ial i e

. ho e in hi a er ha e e ll a en he e am le o he on i i o eo
i ionario hnologi o a i an o arg e wha e hnogra hi m e m an o o o er a
more n er an ing an oleran en ironmen . Religion hrea hro gh a om le ne wor
alle l re an o enime a a a o en m o l o he l ral i en i . ho gh religion
el om ge om rehen e e on he r a e le el he rong emo ion i an ir ho l
ne er e n ere ima e . here are here ore e hni al om le i ie o h in re en a ion an
in in er re a ion o i la religio i em eill . i he on i i o eo
i ionario hnologi o a a holi e a li hmen hro gh an hro gh an a hol la e
i el i willing o hol an in er religio al an a eg ar he ri hne an i er i o he
worl i er ainl e a goo re e en o ollow. n hi genre man more in ro e i e
m e m ha e ma e om ara le e or ing religion or o her elemen o a l re a he
n le o heir e hi i ion an main aining m li l ral ialog e aile . i
r ra ing ha i i or r e re ea e l ell ha m e m goer are no alwa re e i e
o he e hi i e me age . i all o r a em o n a a oo i eali o ar le a e a
lea o ai h in wha m e m an a hie e an on in e o r .

i liogra h

rin e ran i . he h r h an n erreligio Dialog e. *ournal of atholic Thought and ulture*

r h r hri . hi i ing he a re . *Godly Things Museums, b ects and Religion.* .

ri in aine. Lon on Lei e er ni er i re

a alal. n hro ologi al on e ion o Religion Re le ion on eer . *Man*

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a mgar en a l . i or an eneral De ri ion o he a i an ala e . *Vatican, ts*

istory, ts Treasures. . egni me o. ew Yor Le er an r li hing .

e er ar hall J. *The Vatican ampum Belt n mportant merican ndian rtifact and*

ts ultural rigins and Meaning ithin the ategory of Religious or

Ecclesiastical onvert Belts

[h //mi mawe . .n . a/wam m.h ml](http://mi.mawe.com/n/a/wam_m.html) on l e h J l

en amin al er. ran ille or he orl hi i ion . *harles Baudelaire yric Poet*

in the Era of igh apitalism. ran . arr ohn. . Lon on ergo .

enne on . *The Birth of the Museum istory, Theory, Politics.* Lon on Ro le ge .

oa ran . e m o hnolog an heir la i i a ion. *Museum Studies n*

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or e Ra mon . hnogra hi how a e . ultural nthropology

D lo Jean la e Jean Y e eillar . hnogra hi e m an oli i . *Museum*

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o g on Ro er ing. Lon on .

la . *Bearded Deities and Stone Buddhas Ethnology Museum Features* sia. ^r J ne

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Jane Ro er R. e m o ial Re on i ili an he re e De ire. *ooking*

Reality in the Eye Museums and Social Responsibility. . Ro er Jane eral . ona .

algar ni er i o algar re .

Jen in Da i . e Le on an hnogra hi Di la e m hi i ion an he

a ing o meri an n hro olog . *omparative Studies in Society and istory*

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on enne h. em o De ine e m . *Representing the Nation a Reader in*

istories, eritage, and Museums. . Da i o well Je i a an . Lon on Ro le ge

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lei er hwar Liliane. rom he olonial e m o he e m o he omm ni ie .

Museum ari L .

e er Jona han. *Great Exhibitions ondon Ne ork Paris Philadelphia* .

ol ni e olle or l .

i e o oli an nal i st entury Roles of National Museums onversation in

Progress

[h //www.i.e /o an a/Re or / a ional e m.](http://www.i.e/oan/a/Reor/aional.em) on le h g

eill ar . a ing i orie o Religion. *Making istories in Museums.* . a nor

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ear e an le an ra o nia. e . *The ollector s Voice ritical Readings in the*

Practice of ollecting. Vol. ncient Voices. l er ho hga e .

en ow i Jo e . on i i io eo i ionario nologi o/ *The Vatican ollections The*

Papacy and rt. ew Yor e ro oli an e m o r arri . ram n .

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Ri o J lia. Religion an he eri age in ri ain. *Godly Things Museums, b ects and*

Religion . ri in aine. Lon on Lei e er ni er i re .

R ell Ro er . . *orld of Fairs The entury of Progress Expositions. hi ago*

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The Vatican ollections The Papacy and rt. ew Yor e ro oli an e m o r

arr . ram n . li her .

a i an re Relea e *The Ne rrangement of the Missionary Ethnological Museum (hina,*

apan, olean, Tibet, Mongolian Section) ^h J ne

[h //m . a i an. a/ D / age / n o/ en i/ en i .h ml](#) on l e h J l

**Two Ethnographic Museums
in Rome as Historic Artifacts**

La rievale del uomo

Two Ethnographic Museums in Rome as Historic Artifacts

R eo l o h orea
o er

La rie e h al o mo h.D.

Rome al i home o wha i arg a l he ol e li olle ion in he worl .
he a i oline e m orme a al gi o o an ing Roman an i e mar le
ron e an Renai an e an aro e ain ing ha een o i iall o en o he li
in e . aro e no le re i en e Roman a h an gla ia orial arena an
gallerie o ar a he a i an now on i la or he li ma e he i o Rome one
o he mo im or an m e m e ina ion in he worl . i h la er o hi or li erall
il in o he ar hi e ral an r an a ri o Rome he i i a eri a le o oor
m e m or he hi or o e ern ine ar . Ra her han ir al Rome i well Rome.

o onl re ing on i an i e la rel an here are man ei her ain e or
ar e in one he i o Rome i il ing new l ral e a li hmen . in e he mi
worl la ar hi e Ri har eier ha e igne a ar ling o erni hell o
o ra er ine mar le o ho e an an i e l aro ea e rom g an Rome e eran
m e m e igner Ren o iano rea e a a ling l er o on er hall or he i
new ar o ella i a i ar an women ar hi e ra i orn Lon on a e
aha a i an ren hwoman ile De are ea h om le ing ini hing o he on he
i wo new m e m o wen ie h an wen ir en r ar .

Renai an e wor are al o re ei ing re h iew . hi i ion i la o wor
h renowne l a er ain er a in ri hio io anni ellini an n onello
a e ina are in alle wi h he la e e hi i ion e hni e a well a o hi i a e
a io gi e an in era i e e hnolog . lo er e hi i ion al o re ail wi h
an i e how o lgari eweler an Ja ane e i o e rin agawa
iro hige. on em orar i la me ho are in rea ingl e i en hro gho he i
an li / ri a e ar ner hi ommon wi h he ini r o ine r . n hi wa
li i mar e ing an ran la e i a i in orma ion are all ma ing heir wa in o an
in rea ingl o mo oli an e hi i ing le in Rome. e m o ala i an illa

Rome wo na ional e hnogra hi m e m are ho e in eo la i al Ra ionali le
r re originall il he olini i a or hi a a a i era mar le
e hi i ion me ro oli alle R. an ing or o i ione ni er ale i Roma
ni er al o i ion o Rome R wa o on i o a erie o ermanen mon men
an em orar e hi i ion a ilion o o en in ele ra ing wen ear o a i
r le an i e ear o em ire. an l m ia o i ili a ion R wo l ha e
o ere a o alo e en hree i eren e hi i ion how a ing o lar ra i ion
ien e romani a alian i ili a ion on em orar ar an a i oli i . Lo a e
e ween Rome an he e i erranean ea he D e im erial r an mon men wa o
e a om limen ar new Rome in mar le an grani e ha wo l e en he e i ing i
all he wa o he ea a h i al m olo al omina ion o he e i erranean.

History of both museums

em o rehi or an hnogra h o Rome brought to EUR in 1 , the same year as the State Archives, which were housed in a building originally intended as a Museum of Armed orces or ? look up website

- ame or aleon ologi L igi igorini . i olle ion wa
mo e o hi m e m rom .

he aleon ologi al an e hnogra hi o e in he a ional e mo rehi or
 an hnogra h were iel olle e L igi igorini an ir a ire
 or ollegio Romano he mo im or an Je i ollege in ro e. he L igi igorini
 e mwa ina g ra e in in he il ing o he Roman ollege an originall
 i la e in a gla a e o o i e a a e o a r i a rom he ir her e m. he
 igorini olle ion were ran erre rom ollegio Romano e ween an o
 heir re en i e in R an he new m e mwa e a li he in . i i i e in o
 wo e ion one e i a e o rehi or an ro ohi or an he o her o on
 ro ean in igeno l re . long wi h he o e iel olle e igorini he
 new m e m al o in l e i em rom he ^h en r Renai an e won er a ine o
 Je i rie hani ir her a r i i al olle ion ama e ring he re ien i i age
 an e en l ho e in he ollegio Romano.

- he original m e mwa ina g ra e on ar h a he ollegio Romano
 il a he en o he he om an o Je in en ral Rome
 o i la e wo olle ion o aleon olog an e hnogra h in wo
 woo en a ine a ing ea h o her.
- in e he ^h en r he ollegio Romano ho e heir olle ion o
 an i i ie wi h ho e o hani ir her or .
- he new in i ion on ei e L igi igorini wa orn rom he n le o he
 eo ir heriano oge her wi h re re en ing rehi ori alian l re an
 e hnogra hi in ere .
 o re ien e o ien e o h a holi . ha wa igorini
 a o ia ion wi h ollegio Romano
- hani ir her rio i ie whi h were ga here a or ing o e en een h
 en r a e are now on i la in an e hnogra hi m e m arrange
 a or ing o regional i i ion an ro lema i imele a egorie .
- La el o in all o r i a rea he e o e o no ill mina e heir l re
 or o ie o ro enien e are e imon o ro ean a e.
- ri ar i or na o De ero e igne he mo ai or he e erior o hi
 il ing e i ing ar o a ion an ro e ion

Curiosity cabinets

o egin i i ir im or an o e amine he hi or o e hnogra hi olle ing in Rome. he e egan wi h rin el olle ion an na rali *underkammern* or *studioli* in alian. he e gro o ari a were re mo ern whi h i o a he were ama e ring he Renai an e ge o Di o er an o en onl or emi li iewing. he hi e o o a hion wi h he eigh een h en r ri e o li in i ion . he o e he e rio i a ine on aine in l ing ar hi e ral ri al an h man ragmen o e o i non e ern l re lora a na an mineral rom i eren ar o he glo e on em orar ain ing an an i e l re a al armoire ha hel he e ari a an li a ion o he olle ion hem el e ome ime remaine in a an were a or e larger in i ion .

n Rome he mo amo o he e olle ion wa he eo ir heriano a he erogeneo gro o o ani e imen in r men h man an animal ar a m la e in he e en een h en r Je i rie hana i ir her. ir her aim wi hin a e en een h en r a holi mi ionar ramewor an o a i hi hir or nowle ge o non e ern i ili a ion wa o e a li ha ni er al igni i an e or all he worl o e . ir her li e o her olle or o rio i ie la ore har o nra el a na ral or er o hing al ei in a re ien i i re an hro ologi al age. n olle ing an e i hering non e ern o e he la ore o emon ra e he inheren om a i ili o hri iani wi h an ien agan wi om in len in re io i an arago . he e en een h en r re on e i e o en iall la magi hro gh he ri i a ion ri al o he Je i ien i i wor whi h me na ral hilo o h o hri ian heolog while ill lea ing he en lo ae i ramewor in a in len in re io i an arago .

olle or o g ian rami a well a Roman an i i ie ir her wor e a e i hering hierogl hi an i ome ime re i e a he o n er o g olog he hi . i o i ion wa o n er o he an a o he e ie al ge an on i ere man o e a re r or o mo ern ien e. e li e ring he erio o o e nno en who ommi ione ernini o ar e he o n ain o he o r Ri er in ia a a ona. ir her olla ora e wi h ernini on hi o n ain in ha he a em e o e i her he hierogl hi on he o eli e ha ernini wo l la e in he o n ain en er. e e hi ari a in a room o wall line wi h hel e an rawer ha re em le a large

a ine alle he eo ir heriano an in ee ing wi h he ime ma e hi iolo
a aila le or emi li iewing o igni ie g e .

er hi ea h in ir her olle ion remaine n er he a i e o he
ollegio Romano he large Je i hool in he en er o Rome wa i o en o he
li ow i he olle ion ge i er e . er ime an a er he e a li hmen
o a a ional e m o Rome in ir her olle ion a well a o her mo e
ho e e eral ime . o a one an in ie e rom ir her olle ion in hree o
Rome na ional m e m in l ing he a ional e m o r an r a illa
i lia he a ional e m o Rome a ala o a imo an a he a ional
hnogra hi e m o L igi igorini. ir her me ho ari a ele ion
an in elle al goal ma ha e i ere rom ho e o nine een h an earl wen ie h
en r h i al an l ral an hro ologi man o he ma erial he wor e wi h
an hi a em a la i i a ion were re r or o na ral hi or an e hnogra h
m e m .

l eo a ionale rei ori o nogra i o L igi igorini he a ional
e m o rehi or an hnogra h o Rome how a e eoli hi o e rom
La e ra iano a well a hi ori an in igeno ari a rom ia he meri a an
ri a. i name or aleo e hnologi L igi igorini who iel
olle e he rehi ori olle ion in he la e nine een h an earl wen ie h en rie .
Contemporaneous with the re-establishment of the museum has been the restoration
of the building to its original decorative plan.

he olle ion in o h he a ional e m o rehi or an hnogra h an
he a ional e m o o lar r an l re were originall olle e or o her
r o e .

opular Art and Culture Museum/Il Museoe a ionale di Arti e Tradi ioni
opolare

1 11 Exposition to Celebrate ears of Italian Unification

- egan li e in a an e hi i ion o alian e hnogra h a ar o he
ele ra ion o mar he h anni er ar o he ni i a ion o al .
- oor ina e n hro ologi Lam er o Loria g Rome an
e hnologi olle or an ra eler ir rom a a ew inea La lan an
a a ia an hen hro gho al .

- hnogra her who olle e regional re in rial ar i a e ween
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new na ional m e m.
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 - e m o hnogra h o en in o holm in
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 - La er an hro ologi an l ral hi orian aolo o hi
a e o he olle ion.

pened in 1 mention also that Museo della Civiltà Romana opened the same
year in a ascist building designed by

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e a e o .

- r i l e o e l l e r i e e l l e r a i i o n i o l a r i o i a l l o e n e e
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e m i r i r e o r l l i o e n o r i .

○ o a h e m e m h a a o l l e i o n o o e r a r i a a n
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e n r .

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o o l a r r a n l r e o e n e o h e l i a a m e m o h e r e g i o n a l l r e o
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l a e r o i n l e n e .

The uildings and their ecorations/The Exposition Halls

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m o a i a n r i m h a l a a r a n a r a i h e m e a r . h e o m i n a n m o n m e n
h a h e h r h o a i n e e r a n a l a n h e a l a e o a l i a n i l i a i o n a r e
n g a i n l a n e r i l e . h e h a e a g e o o r l a n o a a e a r a h e r R o m a n a g e
e . a r l a o n e a h o r o *The Patron State ulture and Politics in Fascist taly*

hi i ion l re i a e l o i n o e n r i n o o i a l l re e a e i
an me a hori all a well a h i all or he r re ha e ine he o n arie
e ween in i e an o i e e h o e n in one . n hi in an e
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he wo m e m we are i ing o a .

roni all he e hnogra hi m e m ha e een la e in il ing e igne
ri who e lare ha he age o m e m i ea . he i la e hni e a he e
m e m are now ea an he m e m hem el e are onl o en in he morning .
heir main enan e an ee i minimal. o o he i i or are lo al Rome
hool hil ren.

- ri ar e ora ing he e erior o he il ing . *EUR* i ll o om a i a
relie mo ai in ri ion an ri m hal a ar all e i ing a i ma he
new Rome.

ral on he il ing in erior.

a i ar hi e re
i or o olle ing.

he h r han olle ing he hi or o olle ing a ollegio Romano
orl e o i ion
a ionali m er regionali m

he an o a he e m e m are oli i all in orre . ha i le o o he e
e hi i ion he hi or o he la i ear in l ing immigra ion.

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een han le rea ona l a ano her hi ori ho e m e m in en ral Rome a he illa
orlonia he ri a e re i en e o eni o olini an hi amil or he la wen or
o ear o he i a or li e.

ha i he lanne re or he olo eo a ra o o e a m e m o me ia an
omm ni a ion hin .

or o re e o olle ion an re e o il ing he ha e a hema i oheren e.

hnogra hi a roa h o he hi or o e ern ine ar m e m

n a homogeno l re e a li hing a e a le i eren e. Ra ial ro iling

Museo della Civiltà Romana

- ene in . e ion ill ra e all a e o an ien Roman i ili a ion hro gh a olle ion o la er a a en rom original in m e m a ro he worl .
- he original ore o he olle ion a e a o he r haeologi al an hnogra hi hi i ion o organi e in ele ra ion o he^h anni er ar o he ni i a ion o al . he oli i al im or an e o he i em olle e or he o a ion le o heir ermanen e hi i ion.
- he m e m highligh he ollowing o e
 - he ronao o g em le a n ra mo ern n ara
 - Large ale mo el o Rome a he ime o on an ine
 - a o ra an ol mn ommi ione a oleon
- he m e m laim ha i i he onl m e m in he worl o gi e a om le e o er iew o an ien Roman i ili a ion.

ia a uglielmo Marconi

he large en ral are wi h m e m il ing

- l ala o elle ien e he o e o ien e il in ar hi e rman o ra ini an ar ello ia en ini or he ni er al o i ion o Rome.
- a ional hi i ion o hnogra h in Rome in o ele ra e i ear o al ni i a ion.

Re alle owing o i imen ion an om o re he roa a e o he agora o elleni i en er an he or mo om eii. he la i i m o he ar hi e re a i e rom an ien Rome an ree e al o eri e rom he Renai an e m h o he i eal i a er e i or ere an ra ional on ei e wi h ar ler an a om a wi h rigoro l geome ri al lan an e em lar ar hi e ral re i ion. wa o e an in elle al an heore i al i . la i al in ira ion wa ore he i ea ha al wa e erien ing a new Renai an e o i i ili a ion.

ascism and the cult of

- ha i Romani a
- Romani a he ali o Romanne in a i han wa an e remel mallea le an hanging i eologi al on r . he meaning an e o

romania hi e a oli i al an l ral on i ion arie e ween an

a i l re an i eolog e en e hea il on Roman im erial mo i rom Roman
mili ar an e onomi migh o he rima o la i al ae he i orm o he Roman
i ili ing mi ion.

- m erial Rome e e iall he age o g wa a a le a whi h la e a
n m er o role e ween an .
- olini lin ing him el an hi mo emen o he age o g . n he
il a ro e i e o ering o er he al ar. ow i olini e he ra a i
owar wha oli i al en

E 2

a i ar hi e re o R o i ion ni er ale i Roma ro e
era erio o on ro er o eri ar hi e re an r an lanning rin i le
he ro e o e ign were ommi i one rom ar hi e o he wori al a ion
o he iel ar ello ia en ino o re re en he rea ionarie an i e e agano
or he rogre i e .

hi i ing l re

ne hi i ion l re more han in an o her a e o o i ial l re he regime
in or ora e a e o ri m in l ing he o emen

- iolen re e ion o he e a li he in i ion o alian l re an i ear h or
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l re o m e m an o era ha o e e ro e a he remnan o a e a e
o ie .

- ha wa ri m

- ri m wa an earl ^h en r ar mo emen ha origina e in al an
oo la e al o in R ia an o ome e en rea ri ain.

- he alian wri er [ili o omma o arine i](#) wa i o n er an mo
in l en ial er onali . e la n he he mo emen in hi [Futurist](#)
[Manifesto](#) whi h he li he in he ren h ail new a er [e Figaro](#)
on e r ar . ni arine i e re e a a iona e loa hing o
e er hing ol e e iall oli i al an ari i ra i ion. e wan no ar
o i he a he wro e we he o ng an rong *Futurists* he
ri a mire [ee e hnolog](#) o han [iolen e](#) he ar he
air lane an he in rial i all ha re re en e he e hnologi al
ri m h o h mani o er [na re](#) an he were a iona e na ionali .

- arine i ani e o

- he r o re ellion whi h we era o ia e o ri eal wi h ho e o he
ri oe . he e i ea were no in en e ome ae he i li e.

he are an e re ion o a iolen e ire whi h rn in he ein o
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 en ele an no i h religion o he a a religion en o rage he
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 e er hing whi hi il h an worm ri en an orro e ime. e
 on i er he ha i al on em ore e er hing whi hi o ng new an
 rning wi h lie o e n an e en riminal.

l ho gh in or ora ing a i m in o i ae he i lang age he earl a i regime
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 an ra ae e. na ional e a e en e e ween o erni ra i ionali ri
 an eo la i i .

hro gh allowing i el o e re re en e in an ae he i all i er e manner alian
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 a i ro e .

he D e im erial r an mon men wa o e om lemen ar a new Rome in
 mar le an grani e ha wo l o h ri al an e en he e i ing i all he wa o he
 ea a h i al m o lo al omina ion o he e i erranean.

he e en i el organi e an li i e o i one ni er ale i Roma wa o
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- wa o on i o a erie o ermanen mon men an em orar e hi i ion
 a ilion .
- he lan e igne rimaril ar ello ia en ini he era grea a o a e o
 mon men al Roman in ire ar hi e re wa a e on Roman r an e ign
 o ing on a gran en ral a i ha lin e he i ola e mon men .
- he mon men were ele a e an in l e a h r h who e ome wa e on
 onl o . e er an he ala e o alian i ili a ion a are olo e m
 re le e wi h ar he .
- EUR i llo om a i a relie mo ai in ri ion an ri m hal a ar
 all e i ing a i ma he new Rome.

The asilica of Saints eter and aul

- i hi en ral lan large ome an i o i ion o ol me eri ing rom a
 Roman o Renai an e la i ale erien e i among he ine e am le o
 Roman religio ar hi e re
 - o D ilio am ello i rea e wo ron e l i re re en ing
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uilding of Italian Civili ation l olo eo a ra o

- r hi e ral i on o ^h en r Roman ar hi e re an mo el or he mon men ali o he en ire area.
- il e ween an io anni errini rne o r no La a la an ario Romano.
- wa in en e a a na ional li rar wa in err e war.
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- he il ing i el li e allo i i el a wor o ar an i gro n le el i e ora e wi h a e ill ra ing hear an ra .
 - he mea re a o . m in heigh an were ma e in om anie rom he ro in e o L a an a a arrarra.

ala o dei Congressi

- Low ome i e o a i e o he an heon
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Conclusions

o e hi i an hing in he ormer o i ion om le i in ome wa o e hi i a i m. a i m remain an a i e ar in al . n a Rome ha a a i ma or.

History of ala o delle Esposi ioni, Roma

riginall il in io ia en ini a hero a i ar hi e ar ello ia en ini o ho e he a riennale re an e hi i ion o ar e er o r ear i i a eo la i ale hi i ion ala e ha imme ia el ar e on ro er . he mon men al en ran e wa ri i i e an here were no win ow an e en o a he ligh ing all ome rom ligh .

Exhibiting ascism

ha ho e e erale hi i ion in l ing he o ra i Ri ol ione a i a hi i ion o he a i Re ol ion 1 32-3 an o ra g ea i Romani a an wa em oraril remo ele ring he a i era a i le wa on i ere o o e wi h mo ern e ign.

the history of the area. The collection was opened in 1923 and has a million items.

- The collection of Italian history from the beginning of the arch of Rome is well represented in the area and more especially in the Roman wall of the emperor Hadrian in the city. The collection of the Roman wall of the emperor Hadrian in the city is well represented in the area and more especially in the Roman wall of the emperor Hadrian in the city.

The collection of the Roman wall of the emperor Hadrian in the city is well represented in the area and more especially in the Roman wall of the emperor Hadrian in the city.

Selected bibliography

in the area. The collection of the Roman wall of the emperor Hadrian in the city is well represented in the area and more especially in the Roman wall of the emperor Hadrian in the city.

Lerario Maria Pia. *The Museum of the Roman Wall of the Emperor Hadrian in the City*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.

in the area. The collection of the Roman wall of the emperor Hadrian in the city is well represented in the area and more especially in the Roman wall of the emperor Hadrian in the city.

one of the main areas. *The Patron State. Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy*. Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1997.

Concepts of Remembrance and Commemoration.

**Comments on Musealisation of German History
and the perception of transaxial Korean parallels.**

r el er ho a er

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Concepts of Remembrance and Commemoration.

Comments on Musealisation of German History and the Perception of transaxial Korean Parallels.

The historical framework

Territorial boundaries determine the fate of Europe from the early period of its history in ancient times to the present. Three exhibitions deal in 2009 with the decisive battle between Romans and Germans at the current German territory in the year 9 AD, 2000 years ago, which excluded a further advance towards the north.¹ This is an example. But the several-hundred-years rule of the Romans on the Rhine, as elsewhere, has left its mark. They are found in the German language as well as in the course of roads or in the relics of everyday life as archaeological findings and settlement features. When I'm at home, in Bonn on the Rhine, planting flowers in my garden, it can happen that I come across with fragments of Roman pottery, for here was once a Roman settlement. The European history full of change created many contact zones and traces of cultural exchange.² That remains true till today. "United in diversity" has become the leitmotif for the European Union (EU), which currently has 27 members. The EU is the result of an unprecedented unification. Even the European countries that have not joined this organization are part of the continental pacification, which the French writer Victor Hugo (1802 - 1885) in the middle of the 19th Century still - or should we say already - formulated as a vision: "A day will come when all the nations of this continent, without losing their distinct qualities or their glorious individuality, will fuse together in a higher unity and form the European brotherhood. A day will come when the only battlefield will be the marketplace for competing ideas. A day will come when bullets and bombs will be replaced by votes."³ It should become a long and difficult way, "because during that time, two world wars and countless other conflicts on European soil caused millions of deaths and there were times when all hope seemed lost. Today, the first decade of the 21st century offers brighter prospects, but it also brings Europe new difficulties and challenges."⁴ These words written by Pascal Fontaine, who accompanied the efforts for a United Europe for decades, in the booklet "Europe in 12 Lessons", published in 22 languages and in many editions. After the bitter experiences of the German Nazi terror, of the Holocaust of six million Jews and the devastating effects of World War II (1939-1945) with millions of dead persons, in the armed forces as among the civilian population, and of

the destruction of cities to the ground the Declaration of Human Rights on 1 December 1948 by the United Nations, its 8th Secretary-General since 2007 is the South Korean Ban Ki-moon, put a clear sign to future.⁵

The peace process in Germany started 1945 with the division of the country into four occupied zones. Also the capital city of Berlin, surrounded by the Soviet occupation zone, was accordingly divided by the victorious powers (U.S., Britain, France, Soviet Union) in four sectors. The occupation forces started both, the prosecution of Nazi crimes as well as the elucidation of the population. Gravity of the post-war years was the displacement of more than ten million Germans from the eastern territories of the former German Empire, which came to the Soviet Union, (again) to Poland and Czechoslovakia.⁶ Many people died trying to escape, families were torn apart. Refugees and displaced persons, burdened with luggage, longed for a refuge in the devastated cities and country sides in West Germany. 1949, from the three western zones the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) has been founded and also in the soviet part the German Democratic Republic (GDR) closely tied to the Soviet Union Republic with a communist state regime. The onset of flight of three million people from the territory of the GDR led to its hermetic closing off. 1961 the order came to erect the Wall over a length of almost 1400 km. It was the "peaceful revolution" of the people of the GDR which led in 1989 to the overcoming. The consequences of the cold war' between East and West' and the divided country even today, twenty years after the Wall fell down, are not completely overcome. The political aim of re-emigration of Germans from Russia and Romania, where they emigrated in some centuries ago to settle there, to live and work, to build cities, industries and universities, etc. brought a lot of people back to Germany. Other migrants from southern Europe, Turkey and many other countries around the world on the German labour market is a whole chapter on migration, integration and intercultural communication that is not here meant, but it has changed society.

The question arises from this brief introduction to the underlying conditions of the present situation of Germany in an integrating Europe, after phases extremely rich in problems and repeatedly broken identity in its recent history. How does one handle the working up of the past? How museums could make a contribution? First I shall try to light up the role of museums as a depository and mediation place of history and cultural identity. Therefore I shall also discuss the role of museums as cultural memory storage between contemporary history, science and public relations. There will follow a next section that deals with the musealisation of memory and the development of museums in the context of social discourses. The final section will be confined essentially by a few historical

examples in museums or in museum sites. I would prefer to say examples of musealized history. At the same time raise up the important relationships between physical relics and their memory potential.

The museum as a memory storage

The museum as a place of collective memory of culture(s) achieved in the social discourse of the present an increased attention about its duties and possibilities. As an institution of preserving and presenting the museum in Europe has many precursors (e.g. treasuries of the churches since the Middle Ages, aristocratic cabinets of rarities and curiosities in the early modern period) until the 19th Century the history of public museums began to focus the testimonies of the past collecting, preserving, studying and exhibiting them in their showrooms. Since the second half of the 20th Cent. museums are a part of a general education campaign, but also an increased attitude to archive the past and present as a cultural heritage. Beside the collection activities the exhibit didactics and museum education were playing an important role. The object as a bearer and representative of information got a new and significant position, which took into account the environment of formation, function and meaning in people's everyday live.

Nevertheless, the object as proxy for broad relations to the past - and not only for its own sake - requires contextualization in an exhibition. Only then objects can 'tell a story'. They will become a representative for far-reaching contexts and may be the access to the highly complicated past. Because of their authenticity gives them the aura of an exemplary testimony, they will be at the museum part of the collective or cultural memory. Both do not simply exist. They are constituted as a consciousness of groups and are updated by them, even if the actors are individuals.

In the autumn of 1989, when the historical turning point by Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of perestroika and glasnost was discussed and in the Soviet bloc were coming up signs of détente became apparent, but its peaceful course end happy ending was not yet in sight in the GDR, in Göttingen (BRD) a congress of the German Society for European Ethnology took place. "Remembering and Forgetting" had been chosen for the main topic.⁷ In the wide spectrum of the Göttingen lectures were among others the importance of the demarcation line between the two German states for the lives of people (Sabine Künsting / Andreas Hartmann), such as the forced relocation of villagers after the annexation of Austria into the German Reich by the Nazis (Margot Schindler). But there were also on the program contributions to the cultural memory of the homecoming soldiers (Albrecht Lehmann), the importance of memory aids as objects or photographs (Paul Hugger, Ruth-E. Mohrmann, Andreas Kuntz) and forms of 'public' memory (Gottfried Korff). From today's perspective at this congress were pioneered by European Ethnology /

Cultural Anthropology specified themes and questions that should promote the research and the museum's work in many ways. The remembrance promoted by objects and also the change of memory by remembering were raised up as questions (e.g. Klara Löffler, Heike Müns, Bjarne Stoklund, Cornelia Brink). Themes of reminiscent-escorted workup of the past were accompanied by themes of edging out or repressing the past how to meet it in the opening speech of the President of the association, Helge Gerndt. Even more the question of the right to forget in our evocative documentary world has been raised, for "memory and forgetting processes have fundamental conditions of human life, one might say, the *breath of the cultural existence*." ⁸ "Remembering and forgetting" can be seen as cultural technologies of past coping by selection. Focusing our general theme of "Peace to Reconciliation" there is coming up the question, what remained in the storage of memory as a result of coping the trauma of war, flight, exile, isolation and overcome? What kind of selection has taken place? Familiarly, mentally and also materially? Are these not in fact primarily the objects and as a special kind of physical existence the photography, in which not only in the museum's presentation the past is concretized in one way, but is there not at the same time anchored the memory? Without the storage of things and photographs it falls into oblivion? This counts as experience teaches, for both, for the individual recollection as for the collective memory. To avoid repetitions of chapters of recent German history the mediation by museums and other places of commemoration can help to realize the thought of Siegfried Lenz, one of our significant writers of the post-war period: "To insist on memory can sometimes even be resistance", that avoids repetition. ⁹

"Museum landscape" and "Musealized landscape"

Recollection is a subject which occupies the humanities and cultural sciences as a paradigm for about three decades. Researches on remembrance and the categories of social and cultural memory have performed enormous results. They have found their precipitation in numerous publications. ¹⁰ Parallel to this development, or even as part of this is to recognize the orientation towards social environment, the living world of 'small people', how we say meaning the social and historical contribution of the lower and middle social classes in a history of everyday life. Their positioning in a new historiography was also a moving element in the numerical and substantive development of the museum and exhibition sector since the seventies of the 20th Century. This also applies to the sites of a specific commemorative culture and cultural memory storage as it is still to be described. An essential impulse for the expansion and removal of the museum landscape or museum scenery, particularly in the ethnological and cultural part since the 70s of the 20th Century is coming from a changed understanding of history that integrated the history of everyday life and respectively the history of single population groups. As a result this changed

interest led to new concepts and to the foundation of a huge number of large and smaller special museums, including also a big number which were founded to maintain the recollection in German people's homeland lost by escape and expulsion or other constraints and to support cultural their identity.

The trend towards the founding of museums was to be observed globally in recent decades. Along Waidacher the museum extension begun in the early 70s of the 20th Century, when worldwide 20.000 museums existed and in the early 80s an estimated number of 35.000. With an assumed annual increase rate of one per cent t must have been for the mid-90s of the 20th Century worldwide about 50.000 museums (Waidacher). For the line of arguments demonstrated here, however, it is particularly interesting that from the assumed 35.000 museums, more than half, namely 19.000, were situated in Europe and the highest proportion of 3.300 museums have been in Germany.¹¹

Meanwhile, the number of museums would have to lie after the extrapolation of Waidacher at nearly 5.000. Hans Joachim Klein estimated the number of museums in Germany in 2007 to around 6.000.¹² But in Bavaria, one of the 16 federal states in the southern part of Germany, there were ca. 1.250 museums around the year 2006.¹³ But museums are not static entities. In addition to the observed slowing growth of new museums is the revision of the exhibition concepts in a rapidly changing society a motive for the increasing reorganisation of existing museums.¹⁴ Following the educational mission of museums and to open access to the understanding of past of current issues resp. presence and looking at the interests of changing generations, temporary exhibitions contribute to a great extent. You may speak in view of the German museum scenery of an abundance of memory as almost an regenerated topographic survey where the past shines through or is alive in re-enactments. But also the sites which were put on the list of World Heritage of UNESCO since 1972 are numerous, and the law of conservation of monuments and historic buildings in the different German countries such as in Bavaria from 1973, is contributing a substantial part to the protection of cultural heritage even non-material.¹⁵ The question, rather rhetorically to understand, was not thrown up by Etienne François and Hagen Schulze who edited the books "German Places of Remembrance", without sense, whether Germany would not be "obviously occurred in an 'era of commemoration'" (Pierre Nora).¹⁶ 'Place' is used here as a metaphor, and remind a system of places full of notices like the "ars memoriae" of antiquity, the late medieval and early modern period to save things memorable and make them retrievable.¹⁷

However, the culture of memory extends beyond the institution of the museum and the general monuments culture, if here a connection to 'Peace and Reconciliation ' should be constructed. That is, in other words, a question of an ethical, moral and political obligation to perform a contribution to the processing of the past for the future. Not war memorials

are meant here, but places of terror and destruction in situ and the squares and streets on which the destiny of people has decided. The authenticity of the place makes it, together with the explaining media of museum presentation so strong. Already in 1965 such a commemorative place was built on the site of the concentration camp of Dachau (Bavaria).¹⁸ Since then it is to be registered an almost increasing number of memorials which have affiliated documentation centres of the Nazi period. An overview is obtained via the homepage of the memorial websites.¹⁹ There are currently registered about 180 topographical localizations of a dark and painful NS history. Further there are places of the infringement on the freedom dating from the socialist regime of the GDR which changed by 1989/1990 to a memorial for the victims of the dictatorship.

The fact that such a number of memorial sites and commemorative-places have been created is to be owed to the already mentioned fundamental change of understanding history and to the basic wish for social change which had his first climax with the "student revolution" in 1968.²⁰ A second important line of development fed itself from the unclaimed legal right of participation of the public in political decision-making. The planned stationing of Pershing II of the U.S. forces in southern Germany as a deterrent during the Cold War between East and West, brought people not only to Sit-ins as a protest reaction, but at the same time promoted the origin of peace movement, also by cultural researchers of universities, museums and other cultural institutions.²¹ Their initiative has to be seen in the context of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and was called "Cultural Researcher for Peace and Disarmament in East and West". The title already solved discussions in conservative circles because of the phrase "... and from the West" had for those an unacceptable connotation. Three international conferences and exhibitions accompanying the work of this cultural initiative sharpened the consciousness around the responsibility "for peace" and for the task "to secure cultural heritage of all peoples from further destruction".²² Whether organized or not, these discussions as other alternative discourses influenced one generation of scientists in the FRG in their commitment to the "examination of the past." In the GDR, the civil right movement and the general dissatisfaction with the living conditions led to the dynamic events of 1989 and the accession of the GDR to the FRG 1990th. Thus the German-German border that had separated the people for a length of almost 1400 miles and had become an extremely perilous line of demarcation, ceased to exist.²³ Today, twenty years after the opening of the border one must look for their traces in the inhabited areas as well in the landscape. But they are still to be found in somewhere and they are now preserved as a testimony of history. Just as in the 'post-revolution era' the remains of the Wall and other significant characters of the socialist past dividing Germany have been eliminated as quickly and thoroughly to be able to forget, now is blooming up also in folkloric items everywhere in

Berlin like the sale of (pseudo-) fragments of the Wall, (new) uniform caps of the Red Army (made in China), a student costumed as a "border guard" stamping a document, which allowed to go from West Berlin to East Berlin for one day before 1989. Are they nostalgic or economically lucrative events – street theatre for tourists 2009? Anyway, it is a kind of appropriation of the past, which is quite far away for the young people. Would it not be against its own history and against the interests of comprehension, understanding and self-assurance, if only the experience of authentic places of collective memory and the musealized construction of cultural memory spaces as forms of appropriation would find their place? There is a lot to think over and to discuss in a sensitive way.

Accesses to four resp. five examples

The huge number of memory locations, including the original memorial places, documentation centres, collections, museums and exhibitions does not allow to create an overall picture of this culture of remembrance for the period between 1933/1939 and 1989. Was there in the early 90s still complain about a deficit, the creation of museums on the history and culture of memory took then rapidly place.²⁴ But the generally situation of the museum landscape also applies here.²⁵ The heterogeneity of cause and purpose is also an incorrect base for a comparative summary. A look at museum handbooks and on the websites of museums and memorial associations reveals a diversity of affected populations, topographical conditions and ideological or political approaches that led to a reappraisal of what had happened with museological resources. Only the museum guide of Bavaria notes under "Museums of displaced people" nearly forty houses, under "Memorials" something more than thirty locations and for "Jewish culture" more than twenty institutions.²⁶ These are just examples from one federal state. Nationwide public institutions such as the "House of History of the Federal Republic of Germany", opened in 1994 in Bonn, carries out the all-German story "from the Second World War to the Present".²⁷ Temporary exhibitions everywhere are to add with appropriate themes, and they are doing a good job to create a place of learning without annoying the visitors. The frame of exhibits concerning German society in the last decades is a wide one. In 2007 there was shown in cooperation with the Jewish Museum Berlin the exhibition "Home and Exile. Emigration of German Jews after 1933" with more than 1.000 objects to see and to commemorate their owners' destiny.²⁸ In the Franconian Open-air Museum in Bad Windsheim 2008 was an exhibition to be seen of displaced people by the German army which were forced to work on the Franconian countryside during the Second World War meanwhile the farmers or their sons were warriors.²⁹ Objects, photographs, identity cards, letters etc. were found to make a personalized history of facts which long time has been

denied in the public opinion. Some of them remained at place after the end of the war and could be interviewed.

Always, however, the question arises, how does the teaching about places and objects? How it is to manage the encounter with the unknown and its affective character to be transformed into memorable recognition so that relationships can be identified and conclusions become possible? Bert Pampel in this context compares, referring Heiner Treinen, the traces left by a museum visit with a “sort of nodes to which is entwined a net-like knowledge.”³⁰ But, “indeed how does work the translation from object to the idea and from there to recognition?”³¹ And there are to find objects to be the objectivity of questions and to be incorporated to teach contents, so the museum becomes a place of learning?³² The following selection of museums and memorial places is firstly made by four examples from which the last will generate a fifth. All are based on pointed situational approaches to contemporary history. They work on the historical conflict potential. Each of them makes a specific contribution to understand the recent past and to make reconciliation possible. The first two examples deal with the expulsion of Germans from there where are now Czech and Polish territories. Two other examples are depending to the inner-German frontiers between 1949 and 1989 and give like the others before an exemplary look inside to the musealized dealing of history with the potential of authentic places and relics as testimonies of a life which has gone by and now are activated. The fourth example provides the fifth, a transaxial link to Korea.

The “Egerland Museum” in Marktreidwitz (Bavaria)³³

Opened in 1973 the Egerland Museum is today a regional museum. The reference space, the ‘Egerland’, is situated, with a small part also dealing with Germany, in the Czech Republic as a part of Bohemia. Today across the border lively economic and cultural exchanges are noticed. That was not at all like this before 1989. Without going into details on the repeated changing sovereignties until 1945, the Egerland was inhabited for 800 years by German people. The expulsion from their homeland, where their ancestors had settled the land and tilled, founded cities, industries and universities, was a traumatic turning point in their lives. They were among the nearly 10 million displaced people who were counted in 1946 by the Allies in Western Germany.³⁴ Many tried to settle near the border of the Iron Curtain till 1989. They founded “rooms of homeland” at their new places as in Marktreidwitz, a sort of haven for those displaced people. There they had meetings and there they assembled objects, which they had brought off representing their identity. 1973 the Egerland-culture-house was founded as an official meeting place. 1998/2000 the building has been enlarged with an integrated museum newly planned as a regional museum. That made a fine difference towards the reconciliation across the border. The

new presentation includes a successful mixture of multimedia, but never too much of effects, and a bilingual display (German and Czech): The permanent exhibition focuses now the cultural history of the 19th and early 20th Century of the whole Egerland, but also integrates the displacement and starting up a new existence in Western-Germany. The dramatic situation of the forced displacement is shown in a combination of a large photo of a crowded wagon – normally for goods or beasts – and a ‘disorderly’ array of real luggage boxes in which the few things have been that one could take into the unknown. This depressing sight has its counterpart in the stairwell, where is hanging a huge authentic list of thirty names of people who had been taken away in such a freight wagon.

As part of the corresponding cross-border project Union "Euregio Egrensis" funded by the European Union, which is meant as the historical territory, now succeeds in spite of this dramatic experience a cultural exchange and cooperation with Czechs living today in the former German areas. These are the new objectives of these museums.³⁵ "Time heals wounds," a German proverb says, but it is not an easy way to go. And: "What remains is the memory," another proverb says. Anyone who is currently visiting the website of the Egerland-Museum is made aware of an exhibition of "special treasures", which are hidden in the museum and which now "tell their story". These objects were often taken around by their owners in adventurous circumstances like described, or they have other exiting stories to tell in relation to this chapter of history. Therefore, they all have – or have had - a high priority in the lives of the refugees or deported people. They are "relics" from the "old homeland" and keep remembrance alive. "Many personal experiences are associated with them."³⁶ A valuable collection of drinking glasses from the spas of Bohemia, where many statesmen or poets like Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749 - 1832) have been guests, is shown. A man, born in Egerland and one of the million displaced people, gathered them a lifetime long on antiques markets as a deep reference and relationship to his region of origin. "Story telling" has become now in many variants an impressive method of teaching history. This exhibition is a methodologically successful attempt of "story telling" because things are showing their memory potential. Balloons like in comic strips bring them to talk about facts from the life of the owners and their 'fictive' meanings about. A wooden box says: "For many, I'm just a cheap box and ready for the garbage. But not for Joseph Waidhaus. Especially in his later years he looked at me again and again. I realized exactly how slipped his mind back into the past. His memories of the lost home in Egerland were alive again. ..." And the wooden military box continues to tell the story about its owner, about his family and how he carefully had set up the old chest with 30 wooden tools, he had gone off with it in 1946 at the age of 74 years further on he had earned his maintenance with these tools at the new

place, where he often had looked thoughtfully his last years to his chest, remembering his life till he died in 1962 at the age of 90 years.

The "Silesian Museum Görlitz" in Görlitz (Saxony)

Millions of people settled in the German area of Silesia fled in the last icy winter of World War II westwards. Many didn't survive. Polish people fled from the eastern parts of their country into this area because of the invading Soviets. An additional purge of all rested Germans took place. When Germany then was divided in summer 1945 into four zones of occupation and the borders were finally established, at that time Silesia after changing sovereignties (Austrian, German, Polish) about centuries came again to Poland. From then the state border formed two rivers, the Oder and the Neisse River. A dramatic situation arose in Görlitz, a city which was situated on both sides of the Neisse. From there were existing Görlitz (West) in the Soviet occupation zone and further on in the GDR Görlitz (Ost), now called Zgorzelec as a Polish border town. Only since 1989, the situation has in a cautious approach gradually normalized.

Like other displaced groups in Western-Germany the Silesians incurred "Silesian rooms". But it has grown up the idea of a central museum, but also an institution for research and educational mission. With the opening of the "Silesian Museum Görlitz " 2006, situated in a famous historic building, the long time unsettled situation then found a happy ending with a clearly defined mandate: "The museum sees itself as the central facility for the cultural history of Silesia in Germany."³⁷ Organized on 2000 m² the museum shows thousand years of history in this Central European region and the superimposing cultural influences. Cultural change and exchanges are understandable. The museum has acquired Silesian art and decorative arts, which are representing the European level. Magnificent objects of silver, dignified images of citizens or simple industrial goods and commercial graphics etc. provide a balanced picture of material culture that is embedded in historical references. The recent history is not left out. "Wounds of war and displacement" are articulated by trying to explain the political circumstances.³⁸ Texts, images and audio-visual media seem creating a quiet environment to promote an intense attention. The incorporation of memory objects is nearly to be called classically and done in an impressive way to give room to imagination. Looking lost, but neatly hung on a board, house keys seem to wait. Their owners locked the houses and took the keys with them hoping to unlock the door again. Would we be able to realize this moment of pain locking the door and to go away without these keys hanging now in the museum? Would we think about the significant fact of losing house and homeland without this sustained demonstration? Is there coming up a moment of empathy? Or, there is preserved a little sheet of paper with a written list of garments ("... four shirts, a sweater ...") preparing the

flight. One toy had been allowed by the mother to her little girl. It was a small figure, which the little girl decided to take with her. It was a figure of the legendary 'Rübezahl' from the Silesian Mountains, a souvenir of a trip. 'Rübezahl' became a lifelong companion until she went to a nursing home. This touching doubly bound memory is a significant fine notation of the personalized and materialized cultural memory, which is at the same time a part of the immaterial cultural heritage of the Silesian area.

The "German-German Museum Mödlareuth" in Töpen-Mödlareuth (Bavaria)³⁹

American soldiers in the post-war times called Mödlareuth "Little Berlin", because it was divided like the former – and now again – capital city of Germany. But there was a great difference. Mödlareuth was only a village with nowadays a population of about 50 people. A small river, the Tannbach, decided the destiny of the inhabitants. The Tannbach was an old territorial border between Thuringia and Bavaria, which is also today the border between the two federal states of Germany. For 40 years the borderline between the FRG and the GDR and like this the Iron Curtain between West and East passed by here. The old border through the middle of the village seems to have been like that of today absurd, but the one between the two German states was dangerous. It has been systematically intensified over several stages, from a barbed wire fence to a double fenced wide barrier with a minefield in-between and to a complicated wall system to protect people against the "imperialism of the West". But the truth was it should prevent them from escaping. The wall system with observation towers, searchlights, patrolling soldiers with orders to fire destroyed the peaceful coexistence of the two parts of the village and cut off economic and political cooperation for decades. Literally in the last minute before the border has been set up, men jumped from the former mill at the riverside through a window into the 'freedom', to Bavaria. What seems to be legendarily told has been a real moment of the German history.

Here, in the almost idyllic landscape of meadows, fields and forests, the situation seems even stranger today, unreal, because part of the wall and the barrier remained as an open air museum with an affiliated museum, where material relics, information panels and film screenings give an insight look to this chapter of German-German history. Every year about 60.000 visitors come, many groups are also from Korea.⁴⁰

Films by Arndt E. Schaffner are telling the story of everyday life of this border village, of curious visitors in the Western part and the opening of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and its decommissioning 1990th – and also in Mödlareuth. The photographer and filmmaker Arndt Schaffner (1946 - 2007) grew up in the region and with the division of Germany. Even as a teenager, he took pictures. When he has grown up, the German-German border in its entire course became his profession.⁴¹ His documentations have become

also a part of visual memory of Mödlareuth. He was one of the stimulators for the conservation of a section of the wall system and for the foundation of a memorial and a museum, whose first director he became. For his services to the German-German history, he was awarded with the Federal Cross of Merit. Today there are 28 museums, memorials, monuments and documentation centres who work on the German-German memory, but his personality represents an example how memory culture is funded on individual interests.⁴² Schaffner's photographic documents are an essential counterpart to the reality on the ground of nowadays. They raise the imagination of visitors, teach them to understand the abnormal situation and further inferences drawn from this German-German tragedy.

The "Berlin Wall Memorial" at Bernauer Street in Berlin⁴³

Travelling to the capital Berlin in 2009, perhaps coming from the isolation of Mödlareuth, you will find yourself confronted with an abundance of museums, exhibitions, memorial sites, open-air shows on the squares and along the sidewalks, which have picked out the recent German history as a central theme.⁴⁴ Conferences and lectures are completing the program. To enumerate all, the result would be nearly an endless list of events. A central theme is the remembrance of the year 1989, the year of the Peaceful Revolution. Twenty years later, on the 9th of November 2009, the day of the "Wall Fall", will be commemorated with a symbolic event before the Brandenburg Gate. Pseudo wall-stones decorated by people will fall down as an art action. Among them will be the exemplars of Korean artists.⁴⁵ Already months before you may have a virtual look on it in the World Wide Web - because we are living in a globalized media orientated world.⁴⁶ A theatrical event like this or the nostalgic stamping of a pseudo-laissez-passer for a one day visit to East-Berlin for tourists is due to the spirit of the time. The slogan might be "anything goes." Looking to the stamping student in his costume of the East German border control the view is fallen by accident on a trail in the pavement and would follow the former city border, if there would not be a stele with pictures and texts to explain the border line, which wants to be read.

A special memorial place was and is to visit at Bernauer Strasse, where the history of the divided city is condensed. Windows to the western part of the city have been bricked and people come to death because they did not overcome the fence and later on the wall. Tunnels were dug beneath the houses to the free part of the city, but they were revealed. In 1985 a church with the nowadays prophetically sounding name "Church of Reconciliation" and situated just on the border, fell to victim to the obsession of the communist dictatorship to seal off people with higher and higher and more dangerous barriers.⁴⁷ In 2005, a new "Chapel of Reconciliation" was built. The building is visually

protected by a 'second skin', transparently constructed of wood. In summer 2009 grew here a grain field (maintained by the university) as a "symbol of life", where destruction, fear and terror has ruled.⁴⁸ An outdoor exhibition showed the plans for the enlargement of the memorial site beside this chapel. Till now there are located at the intersection Bernauer-/Ackerstraße a visitor's centre with exhibitions, library and a book shop and with a tower from where you can get a symbolic view over some metres of the original Wall, a Wall memorial to the formerly locked neighbourhoods. The result of the enlargement will be a national monument complex with a political mandate.⁴⁹ Looking at these plans, which are accessible on the Internet, it is undeniable that the musealisation of the German-German history is going on.

A transaxial link to Korea

When in the summer of 2007 four large billboards were put at the edge of the site of the Chapel of Reconciliation to use them as advertising space, there was protest.⁵⁰ The appeal was successful. The result could be seen till July 2009. Instead of advertising products there was to be seen the result of the cooperation between the Documentation Center "Berlin Wall", the Embassy of the Republic of Korea and the Art Gallery Son (Berlin). The visitors of the Berlin Wall Memorial - each year approximately 250,000 visitors and the countless passers-by might have been surprised, but the works of art offering an opportunity to reflect. Turned to the side of Bernauer Street and Acker Street four artists were responding to the political situation in their country: Lao Jiang from China, Andrej Barov, born in Russia, Robert Schätze from Germany and Sehwi Oh from South Korea. Inside, to the side of the Chapel of Reconciliation, four remodelled photographic assemblies of Mihyun Son caught attention for the process of the Korean unification, whose division is based on the Jalta Conference in 1945 like in the case of Germany.⁵¹ Each motif was commended with an impressive but simple metaphor in Korean and German language. They received their documentary evidence by the inscription underneath :

"Hand in Hand" - 14 June 2000. The meeting between President Kim Dae-jung (South Korea) and Kim Jong-il (North Korea)

"Step by Step" - 3 October 2007. The meeting between President Roh Moo-hyun (South Korea) and Kim Jong-il (North Korea)

"Train to train" - December 2004. Connecting the North and South Korean auto route "Donghae"

"To and from" - 17 May 2007. Opening of the North and South Korean railway "Kyongui"

Photographs in general are not equivalent to each other in their testimony. But some of

them you never will forget. Regarding a motif, memories are appearing. Have you seen already the motif? In the newspaper? On television? Is it a déjà vu? In our globalized world photographs have an exposed, visualized news character. How images become icons of contemporary history and dig themselves deep into the visual memory, was to be seen on 14th August 2009, when on the occasion of the death of Kim Dae-jung, who had "finally seen the gradual approximation of no alternative".⁵² The photo "Hand in hand", published in June 2000, was back again in German newspapers.

The summer of 2009 with its abundance of permanent and temporary memory locations, which until 9 November will still increase, even brought another example of Korean and German cooperation in correlation of their political experiences. The Women's Museum in Bonn presented in collaboration with the Korean Embassy, office Bonn, and the City of Bonn an exhibition of modern art by Korean female artists. The press-release announced: "The exhibition has a special meaning, since it takes place in Germany, and Germany, as a formerly divided country like Korea understands the pain of division."⁵³ The exhibition and the catalogue was entitled: "The last Wall. Exhibition on Dream and Hope". 'Dream and hope' are an inspiring alliance of heavenly winged spheres. 'Peace and reconciliation' are earthly allies of hard work. Museums are able to make a contribution.

Notice:

Recognition and thanks to those colleagues and institutions, where I got information or/ and the permission to reproduce pictures: Embassy of the Republic of Korea, Sub-Office Bonn; Art Gallery Son, Berlin; Berlin Wall Memorial, Berlin; Egerland-Museum, Marktredwitz; German-German Museum Mödlareuth, Töpen-Mödlareuth; House of History of the Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn; Silesian Museum Görlitz, Görlitz.

¹ www.imperium-konflikt-mythos.de/ and www.hermann2009.de/ (28.8.2009)

² KERKHOFF-HADER, Bärbel: "L'Europe '93". Remarques sur le rapport entre les frontières culturelles et politiques. In: Actes des Premières Rencontres Européennes des Musées d'Ethnographie 1993, Paris 1996, p.107-110.

³ FONTAINE, Pascal: Europe in 12 Lessons. Luxembourg 2006, p. 55. Or: ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_glance/60/index_en.htm (28.8.09)

⁴ FONTAINE, Pascal: Europe in 12 Lessons. Luxembourg 2006, p. 55.

⁵ www.unesco.org/shs/humanrights/udhr_60anniversary (28.8.09)

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⁶ BRANDES u.a., (Hg.): Lexikon der Vertreibungen. Deportation, Zwangsaussiedlung und ethnische Säuberung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts. Wien/ Köln, Weimar 2009.

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⁹ Bei GERNDT (Anm.8), S. 15. – Italics by H. Gerndt.

¹⁰ A summary of research with numerous bibliographical infirmations is to be found in: ERL, Astrid: Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungsräume. Stuttgart / Weimar 2005. –

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¹¹ Waidacher, Friedrich: Handbuch der allgemeinen Museologie (= Mimundus 3). 2. erg. Auflage. Wien / Köln / Weimar 1996. S. 20-22.

¹² Korff, Gottfried: Ort der Herausforderung. Eine museologische Rückerinnerung. In: Forum für alle. Museen in Stadt und Gemeinde, hg. von der Landesstelle für die nichtstaatlichen Museen in Bayern. München 2007. S. 14 – 19; S. 15.

¹³ Landesstelle für die nichtstaatlichen Museen in Bayern, Hg.: Museen in Bayern. Das bayerische Museumshandbuch, 4. Auflage, München / Berlin 2006. S. VII.

¹⁴ Schmid-Egger, Christine: Was gibt es Neues in der bayerischen Museumslandschaft? Ein Streifzug durch die Ergebnisse der Museumsumfrage 2004. In: Fakten – Tendenzen – Hilfen. (= Museum 27, hg. von der Landesstelle der nichtstaatlichen Museen), München 2004. S. 35 – 38; S. 38.

¹⁵ www.unesco.de/welterbe.html (28.8.09) - www.archifree.de/denkmalgesetz.html (28.8.09).

¹⁶ François, Etienne ; Schulze, Hagen (Hg.) : Deutsche Erinnerungsorte. Bd. 1. München 2001. S. 9.

¹⁷ Kerkhoff-Hader, Bärbel: Die Kunst, sich zu erinnern. Zu den Bildtafeln der Ars memorativa, gedruckt bei Anton Sorg in Augsburg um 1490. In: Bayer. Jahrbuch f. Volkskunde 1996. S.121-144.

¹⁸ www.kz-gedenkstaette-dachau.de

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¹⁹ www.ns-gedenkstaetten.de/portal/index.php (29.8.2009)

²⁰ Bude, Heinz: Achtundsechzig. In: François, Etienne ; Schulze, Hagen (Hg.) : Deutsche Erinnerungsorte. Eine Auswahl. Bonn 2005. S. 418 – 430.

²¹ www.europa.clio-online.de/site/lang_en-US/mid_12198/itemID_212/40208769/default.aspx (29.8.09)

²² Hässler, Hans-Jürgen; Heusinger, Christian von: Kultur gegen Krieg. Wissenschaft für den Frieden. Würzburg 1989. S.11.

²³ Zum Beispiel: Die ZEIT, Hg.: 1989. Die geglückte Revolution (= ZEIT-Geschichte Nr. 2). Hamburg 2009.

²⁴ Stäbler, Wolfgang: Zeitgeschichte im Museum. Gedanken zu einem Defizit. In: Aspekte der Museumsarbeit in Bayern. Erfahrungen – Entwicklungen – Tendenzen (= Museums-Bausteine Bd. 5) München 1996. S. 25 – 33.

²⁵ Korff, Gottfried: Ort der Herausforderung ? Eine museologische Rückerinnerung. In: Forum für alle. Museen in Stadt und Gemeinde, hg. von der Landesstelle für die nichtstaatlichen Museen in Bayern. München 2007. S. 14 – 19; S. 15.

²⁶ Landesstelle für die nichtstaatlichen Museen in Bayern, Hg.: Museen in Bayern. Das bayerische Museumshandbuch, 4. Auflage, München / Berlin 2006. S. 552 -562.

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ar and coming to terms with the past.

The fate of a German soldier in the Affen-SS

Rainer G. Mann

"War and coming to terms with the past. The fate of a German soldier in the Waffen SS"

More than 60 years after the end of the Second World War, a former soldier from the 7th SS division "Prinz Eugen" came to the Fränkische Schweiz-Museum (Franconian Switzerland Museum)— let us call him "Hans Bauer". By taking this step he wanted to make sure that his experiences in the war would not be forgotten, on the contrary, he wanted them to reach a wider public as an example of the danger one could run into as a young person in the final years of the war.

He handed over not only handwritten reminiscences but also documents that substantiated the content of his statements.

A first look through these documents showed how explosive they were. The Museum was therefore anxious to follow up the story of Hans Bauer. At the Chair for European Ethnology at the University of Würzburg, in cooperation with the Museum, a thesis was prepared on the subject, and within the framework of this thesis numerous interviews were conducted with Hans Bauer. The results of this *oral history* were assessed and placed in their historical context, insofar as this was possible with the state of knowledge available at that time.

In a second step, a historian who was an expert in Croatian and Serbian was sent to Zagreb, Split und Belgrade with the help of the "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future" Foundation in order to verify the locations of the events reported and to find further

1 War and coming to terms with the past. substantiation for Hans Bauer's statements in the archives there.

The results of this work are being included in an exhibition planned in Pottenstein on the history of the 20th century. It must be noted here that there was a subcamp of Flossenbürg concentration camp in Pottenstein. After the liberation of the last camp inmates by the Americans in April 1945, the camp was then used for DPs (displaced persons), most of whom were preparing themselves there for a future life in Palestine.

On the life of Hans Bauer:

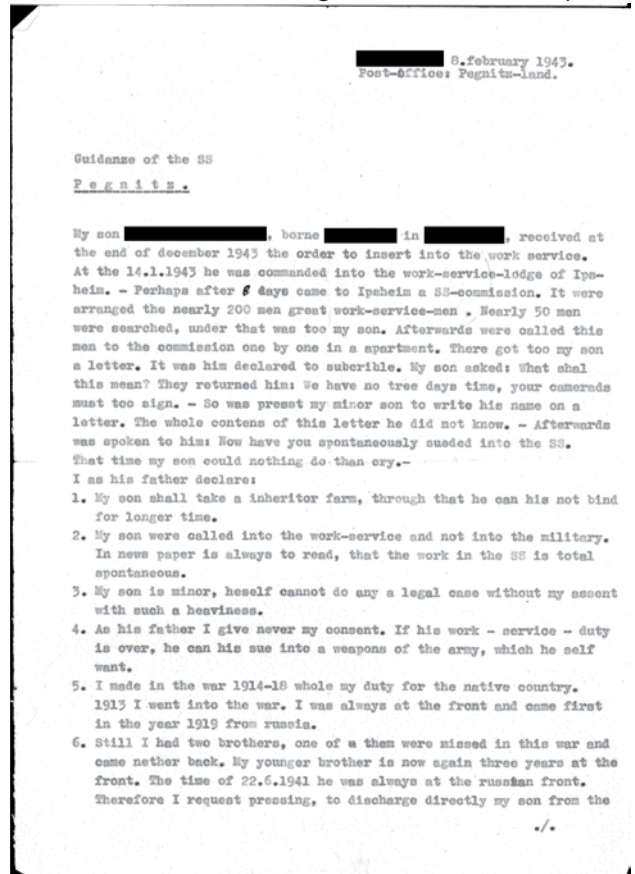
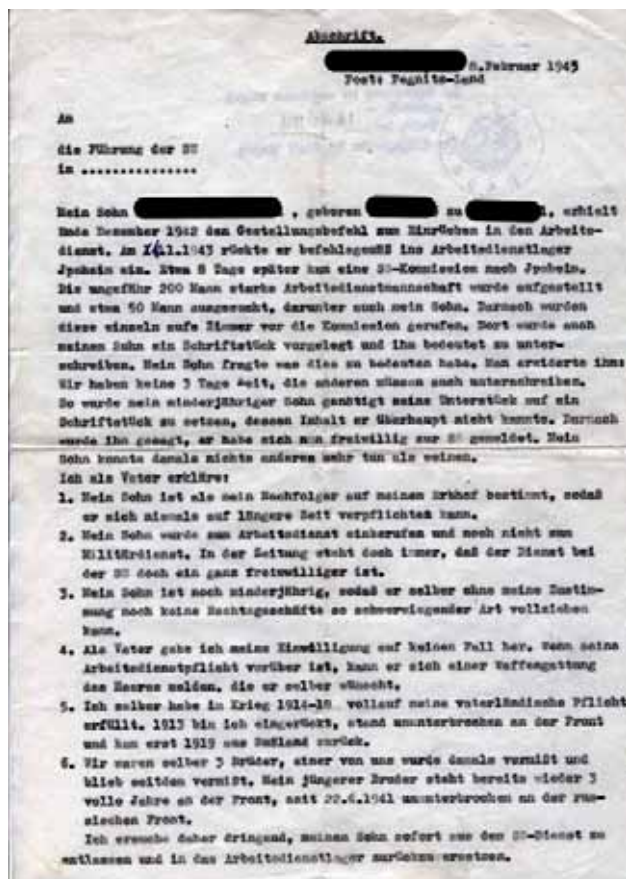
Hans Bauer, born in 1925, comes from a farm in a small village, that is, he grew up in a rural Catholic milieu. He received his schooling in the primary school in the neighbouring village. He would have liked to attend a secondary school, but he could not make this dream come true as he did not have the financial means. Moreover, the boy was needed as a worker on his parents' farm. He worked there after the end of his schooling, until he started an apprenticeship as a butcher at the age of 15 or 16. This was interrupted when he was called up to the Reich labour service in January 1943; he was not able to continue his apprenticeship until after he returned home from captivity after the war.

After only a few days' work in the Reich labour service, approx. 150 km from his home, the labour service men that had just been called up were inspected by a commission from the SS. Hans Bauer corresponded to the ideal picture:

tall, blond and slim. Together with a few other comrades he was called on to sign a document whose content he had not read. Only afterwards were he and his comrades informed that by signing the document they had volunteered for the Waffen SS. He received his marching orders the very next day.

Immediately after he had been enlisted in the Waffen SS, Hans Bauer was given the opportunity to spend a weekend at home.

There his father, with the help of the local priest, wrote a letter to the main SS office; a copy of this letter has been preserved until this day. In the letter he protested against the conscription of his son, who was still a minor, and pointed out that his consent was required for his son to be called up.



The copy of the letter of protest sent to the main SS office was one of the documents handed over to the museum. After 1945 the letter was to be translated for the American authorities. As this translation was done by an unqualified person, it can hardly be understood.

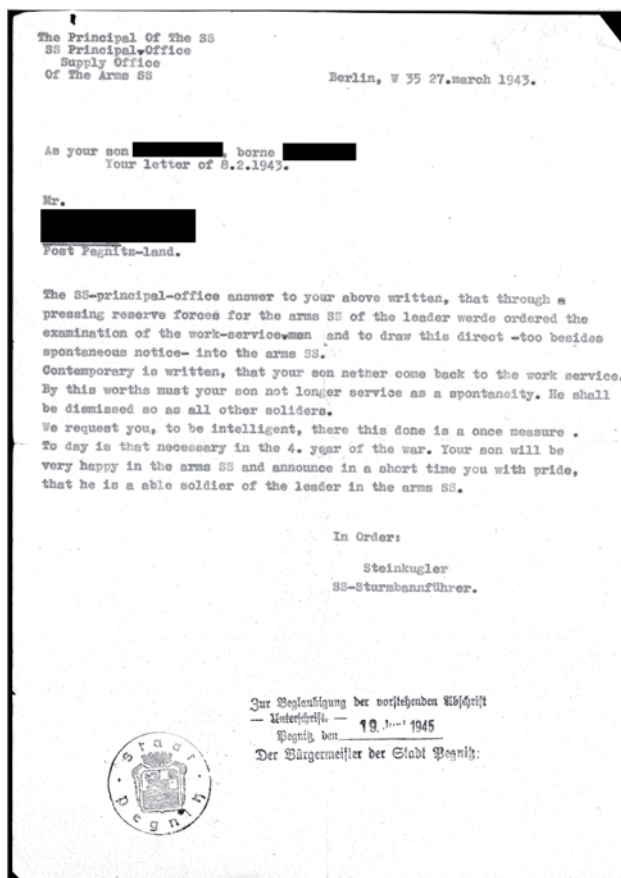
In its answer, the main SS office ignored these arguments completely. It only noted that as a result of the urgent need for replacements in the Waffen SS, the examination of Reich labour service men had been ordered, and that the order had been given to call up these men immediately, even if they did not volunteer. The letter closes sarcastically with the sentence, "Your son is sure to feel at home in the Waffen SS, and will soon be able to tell you that he has become an able soldier of the Führer in the Waffen SS."

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War and coming to terms with the past. called up even if they did not volunteer, is an important document. – Also this document was to be translated after 1945 by an unqualified person.



After three weeks of harassing training in the Waffen SS, Hans Bauer received special training to become a telephone maintenance worker, a special detachment that laid cables for telephone lines. This turned out to be a lucky break, for this meant that Hans Bauer was not directly a member of the fighting infantry. Immediately after completing his training, furthermore, he was assigned to the 7th SS division "Prinz Eugen", a second-class SS division. This saved him from the fate of being sent to the fierce fighting on the east front, for example as a member of an elite division.



The cynical answer of the main SS office, stating that Reich labour service men could be



The picture shows Hans Bauer with some of his comrades. Most of them were born in Siebenbürgen (now part of Rumania]

In his youth, Hans Bauer had never left the area of his home, and especially not for a longer period of time. His call-up, first to the Reich labour service and then to the Waffen SS, thus represented a radical change in his life. During the war, his travels took him to

Poland, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Hungary and finally to Austria, where he was a prisoner of war for more than one year and from where he was surprisingly allowed to return home as early as May 1946. There he immediately resumed his normal work on his parents' farm. He never thought of coming to terms with his experiences in the war. According to Hans Bauer himself, there were "always enough other problems or more urgent work", so that he never got round to writing down his memories of the war while they were still fresh in his mind. Perhaps, however, he was simply not yet in a position to be able to do so.

In 1959 Hans Bauer married a woman from the surrounding area. He supported the family, which had four children, by working on the farm and by earning some additional money working in the forest. Many other additional jobs also helped to guarantee their living and to improve their modest conditions somewhat.

Today, Hans Bauer lives not far from his place of birth. He takes an active part in local life, and also keeps himself mentally fit by reading the daily newspaper etc.

During a cure treatment in November 1998, Hans Bauer, of his own accord, started writing down his memories of his time in the military. The result was a 19-page, comprehensive handwritten report, and when one reads this report, one literally gets the impression that these pages truly bubbled out of him. Reading these pages, one gets the impression that the report is spontaneous and candid.



The handwritten reminiscences filing the memories of his time in the military is spontaneous and candid.

This report sticks basically to the rough but in places only fragmentary chronology of events. It seems as if many other events have been lost in his memory. For example, there are no references to everyday life in the military, or concrete, detailed descriptions of combat missions. This must be qualified, however, by the fact that Hans Bauer was practically never present in combat missions against partisans on account of his youth (18 to 19 years old) and because of his special military task as a telephone maintenance worker. It therefore remains unclear whether he was informed by comrades about details of the fighting in such missions or whether he can still remember the details of such verbal reports after so many years.

Memories of a time long past are mainly grouped around outstanding events; periods in one's life in which nothing special happened can easily be forgotten. For this reason, his handwritten reminiscences have more the character of a summary of the most important events than of a detailed description. However, this by no means detracts from their value, there are many parallels with reports by many victims of the Holocaust who experienced terrible things during the period of the National Socialist dictatorship and who were also only in a position to talk and write about their experiences some decades later.

A realistic report about the shooting of civilians on the outskirts of Split, of which he was a witness, is particularly impressive. He writes:

"When we had reached the first houses in Split, another street led to the city. A group of people was coming along this street. They were only about 200 m away from us. Suddenly one of them called, Hello you two, come over here. And we both ran, just as we had been drilled to do. When we reached them, we saw that they were civilians. Pushed on by three or four SS men. There were boys of 14 among them, and people of every age, even old men. The officer said to the two of us: You two can help us to shoot these people. My hair stood on end and I said No. The officer screamed. That is a refusal to obey orders. I'll shoot you on the spot. I didn't say anything, gave my comrade a clap on the shoulder and said, Let's go. I thought, he's going to shoot us now. But he didn't. I was 18

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War and coming to terms with the past. years old. We both carried on with our work.

The civilians were shot. I could hear their death cries for years. Soon the telephone line was out of order, and so we had to keep looking for the faults. This meant that we kept passing the place where the terrible things happened. On the first day, nothing happened. But on the second and third days the relatives came by with donkeys or wheelbarrows and carried away their dead fathers or their dead brothers. I thought to myself, if there is a God in heaven, we must not win this war."

These comments indicate how deeply the execution of defenceless civilians had affected the young soldier. Even today, he still sees this execution in his dreams. As he remembered in January 2007, he estimated that there were about 100 persons. He could not give the exact number of these civilians. In the interviews he made his statements more precise and described the situation as follows:

"And then, when we had gone away, 50, 70 or 100 m, they took the machine gun There were grandfathers among them, fathers, children, women And the screaming of these people haunts me even today We then entered the port of Split. There I told my superior, ..., out there, on the outskirts of the town, the two of us were supposed to help shoot civilians. And I said, No, we won't. And he replied, You were right. Yes"

The fact that the Waffen SS officer ordered Hans Bauer and his comrade to take part in the shooting can also be interpreted as an educational measure, for in the SS the principle

26th September 1943.

of training that stressed harshness and heartlessness still applied. The fact that Hans Bauer's hair stood on end when he heard this order, and that the screams of these people haunt him even today, show how deeply the trauma of this event, when he was only 18, have affected him until today.

According to Hans Bauer's superior, therefore, this was not a case of refusal to obey orders. On the other hand, it is clear that Hans Bauer would have been forced to participate in the shooting if the order had come from one of his superiors. Then he would have had to participate in a war crime. If he had refused to obey the order, he would have faced a summary court martial, and there a refusal to obey orders in times of war was punished with the death penalty.

The massacre was clearly a crime. This incident took place on the outskirts of Split in autumn 1943. In historical terms, what Hans Bauer experienced can be associated with the surrender of the Italians in the September of that year. By signing an armistice between Italy and the Allies, Italy left the alliance with Germany. In the territory of Yugoslavia, Italian troops were then disarmed. While this disarmament took place without any problems in many towns, fierce fighting developed in the garrison towns of Dubrovnik and Split. Near Split, the German troops met with fierce resistance and partisan units who were armed with heavy Italian weapons and who were supported by Italian volunteers. After 14 days of fighting, the "Prinz Eugen" Division, with the help of the Luftwaffe and other troops,

In the course of his research in Split, Bernd Robionek succeeded in localising the event more accurately. The massacre took place near Mravince, located on a hill above Split. There, inhabitants had been picked up from the fields by German troops and used as a human shield or as hostages on the fields. When the troops were attacked by partisans near the cemetery park, the hostages were shot on the grounds of storage barracks on the outskirts of the town. Today, an engraved stone plaque in the park as well as a wall of photos and a commemorative plaque in the buildings of the local government remind us of this crime.



In Mravince an engraved stone plaque in a small park call the victims of the massacre 1943 to mind.



In the buildings of the local government of Mravince a wall of photos commemorates the victims.

In particular, Hans Bauer was to help to fight the partisans. According to his accounts, however, he was often left behind because he was the youngest (the combat soldiers who were mainly entrusted with fighting the partisans were all a good ten years older than him). This means that his direct combat missions were reduced to a minimum, if he took part in any at all. When Hans Bauer set eyes on any partisans, they were prisoners, who he described as men aged between 20 and 25. Apparently he was also a witness of maltreatment. In an interview he reported that partisan prisoners were beaten up.

Now and then Hans Bauer also saw dead partisans, but he only spoke reluctantly about this.

In one case, Hans Bauer remembers a large number of executed partisans, probably in the region of Mostar or Dubrovnik, but he cannot remember the exact location. He was on a trip with a truck through a tree-lined avenue. During

7 War and coming to terms with the past. the trip he looked up to the trees and to his horror discovered several executed men. He was shocked and horrified at this sight and, as he said in the interview, he was ashamed of his comrades for committing such a crime. However, he wondered how it was possible to hang the men up so high and came to the conclusion that they had probably been told to stand on the roof of the cabin of a truck, the noose had been placed round their necks and the truck had simply driven off to the next tree, where the next partisan was executed in the same way.

While many members of the Waffen SS try to live as unobtrusively as possible today and to conceal their former membership of these feared units, Hans Bauer gave us the impression that in his old age (as already mentioned, he is over 80 years old today) he feels the sincere need to free himself from this continuing trauma. Our impression is that he will only be able to find peace when the rest of his reminiscences, some of which are still buried within him, break out – to his own relief or as a warning to subsequent generations.

War and coming to terms with the past. These photos of Hans Bauer as young soldier were also handed over to Franconian Switzerland Museum, as well as his military pass.



However, the story of Hans Bauer's life also shows how easily the distinction between perpetrator and victim can become blurred. Despite all the sympathy one feels for this man, weeping uncontrollably in the face of his memories, one must also ask to what extent he himself was more deeply involved than he would like to admit today.



dissemination and sharing
of the collective memory of the Congo
: The case of the audiovisual memory of the Congo

Joel R

Dissemination and sharing of the collective memory of the Congo: The case of the audiovisual memory of the Congo

Joel R

Curator

the national audiovisual memory of the Congo
D.R. Congo

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It has a long history in the world. The national audiovisual memory of the Congo is a role when anger he reo his raor inar rea re. o a he major role as a witness to his heritage in the media. It is a legacy that is in the memory of the people. It is a legacy that is in the memory of the people. It is a legacy that is in the memory of the people.

The technological evolution in the media is no longer a role when anger he reo his raor inar rea re. o a he major role as a witness to his heritage in the media. It is a legacy that is in the memory of the people. It is a legacy that is in the memory of the people. It is a legacy that is in the memory of the people.

The aim of this project is to highlight the role of the audiovisual memory of the Congo in the media. It is a legacy that is in the memory of the people. It is a legacy that is in the memory of the people. It is a legacy that is in the memory of the people.

**Building Bridges: Linking Museums and Pacific
Communities-a New Zealand Experience**

ari i ni ilo

Building Bridges: Linking Museums and Pacific Communities-a New Zealand Experience

Presented by Tarisi Vunidilo

The aim of my presentation is basically to share and inform our museum colleagues on what the 3 museums that I have worked with in New Zealand has been doing in reaching out to our Pacific community. I also like to say that these 3 museums have also extended their services to other ethnic groups that have called Aotearoa/New Zealand their home.

Disclaimer: What may work in New Zealand may not necessarily work in the Pacific due to Pacific people living in New Zealand are detached from their island home. However I want to enlighten you all on what I was part of which may encourage you to do the same in your home country.

I will start with Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

This Museum is located in Wellington, the capital city of New Zealand. There are 4 things that I learnt from this museum which I would like to share with you all today:

1. Formation of a Pacific Advisory Board-this Board are made up of representatives of the Pacific community mainly in the wider Wellington region (at times they sought membership from outside as well). This Board acts as a voice of the community, and they meet to even discuss Pacific cultural protocol issues relating to exhibitions, or to answer to any Pacific matter that may be raised by the main Museum board itself. This board is an independent body.
2. Discovery Centres-They have 4 such centres to cater for families and children. PlaNet Pasifika is the Pacific centre that caters for children from the ages of 7-12. This section is very interactive, where children can learn how to beat a Cook Island pate, Tongan skin drum and even make a tapa. Kids can also dress up in various dance costumes and are allowed to touch and learn.
3. Community Display-Every 4 months, we chose a Pacific woman's group who wants to display anything that they want to share with the general community or visitors at Te Papa. Many groups feel they are part of museum exhibition, and has encouraged repeat visitations of family members who would not have visited the museum.
4. Back of House Tour-the offering of a Collections Tour to our Pacific community who wants to visit and see their treasures. In many situations, I tend to get more stories and information from their visit. I then ask for their approval if I can add their story in our database, for use in future exhibitions.

The second Museum is the **Waikato Museum**

This Museum is located in the city of Hamilton. Its collection houses a big Maori Collection from Tainui Tribe. It also has a bigger collection from the Solomon Islands, and various other objects from other ethnic groups, including some collections from Africa and Asia. There is one highlight that I want to share from Waikato and that is the establishments of Cultural Days. The Days that I have organised were:

1. Indian Cultural Day
2. Chinese Cultural Day
3. Korean Cultural Day
4. Somali Cultural Day
5. Pacific Cultural Day
6. Maori Cultural Day (linked with Matariki or the Maori New Year)

These cultural days were associated with exhibitions. Some were developed in house, while others were touring shows. Many of the comments that were received from visitors was that they have not visited the museum before, and now they have a reason to bring their families in to visit. Some of the ones that we heard from have been living in Hamilton for many years. Some of the comments were that they did not know that there was a museum in Hamilton.

What worked?

All these cultural days (were done in a period of 3 years) has a committee comprised of dedicated community members who are committed to the cause. They were not paid to be part of the committee. Most of these people were contacted through the Migrants Centre, where we approached the community leader or President. Collaborations were done to share the costs of running the cultural days. We also receive financial and in-kind sponsorship. The Museum puts aside \$2500-\$3000 and this amount is complimented by donations and sponsorships. This amount is often to cater for part of community entertainment costs, and other incidentals.

After the opening, we have lecture series where academic people from the University of Waikato comes in on a Tuesday evening (wine and cheese) to give a talk on a topic relating to the each of these countries.

The Third example is the **Auckland Museum**.

Due to my interest in linking the Auckland Museum with our Pacific people (as Auckland is the biggest Polynesian City in the World), I worked with the Education Team to develop a Winter Lecture Series. I found out that many people were looking for things to do on a weekend during winter. I developed a series of topics ranging from Lapita discovery, to Pacific tattooing and Pacific languages. The first session had more than 100 people attending.

These lectures are inclusive of a tour of the gallery after the lecture, which to many was very worthwhile. Collaborations from these lectures were planned further, so that anthropologists or archaeologists who have worked in the Pacific islands to be invited to share their work results to those residing in Auckland. This has not come to fruition as now the Museum has a new Director who has just started, and has other priorities to think about. However, I would not mind approaching the new Education Manager to revive this project again.

Lessons Learnt

1. Start with a simple idea, and start small
2. Try things out that does not cost any money or break the bank
3. Put yourself in the shoe of a community member and ask yourself, "what would I like to see at the Museum or why should I visit the museum. Many ethnic groups have to have a purpose of visiting the museum
4. Identify someone in the community that you work well with and use him or her as a sounding board
5. Do not be shy to ask for help, there are those who are always willing to help!
6. Collaboration with other institutions in your area for eg. Archives, Libraries, University, Community College, Government Ministries
7. Touring exhibitions are quite popular in New Zealand and they pay good money for it. Think of touring it but make sure it can be packaged well and does not blow your freight budget. Also, many NZ museums plan their exhibitions 18 months minimum.
8. If your museum has a lecture theatre or veranda or even a classroom, develop some programs and link it with the exhibitions. You will be surprised how many bookings you will have from schools or from the general public
9. Link your project with an event eg. Maori New Year or Diwali or other significant days of your cultural group
10. Many NZ collections managers, conservators and exhibition designers are willing to offer their help to Pacific Museums. Some said that if anyone is willing to provide accommodation, they can fund their way to come for a week or two to help out. Maybe UNESCO can assist. The request has to come from the host institution, so they can seek leave/travel etc from their NZ Museum employer

o Space for peace makers

- Museums as places for glorifying war and the victors.

The case of Livingstone Museum in Zambia

Victoria Hiri

Title: No Space For peace makers – Museums as places for Glorifying War and the Victors. The case of Livingstone Museum in Zambia

By Victoria Phiri, Keeper of Ethnography and Art, Livingstone museum, Zambia

The Livingstone Museum of Zambia is a National Museum and its collections and exhibitions take a national approach. The country has about 73 different ethnic groups whose histories are related but are different in terms of ethnic organizations, rulership, traditional occupations etc. The Museum is devoted to preserving and presenting Zambia history as a country of different ethnic groups in one gallery called the “history of Zambia”. However, it is noticeable that the presentation approach of “the History of Zambia” is devoted to the militarily powerful and centralized ethnic groups leaving out the less militant, decentralized and often peaceful ethnic groups. My paper questions if museums in general have space for peace or is it a place designed to glorify the war mongers, the conquerors, the displacers and colonizers who make it to the pages of “history”? Using the case of Livingstone Museum, the paper questions how such an approach contributes to reconciliation and peace in places like Africa where ethnic wars are still part of its biggest problems.

The Livingstone Museum introduces Zambia’s ethnic groups to its visitors from the point of “Bantu” migration starting from the 15th century in two parts. In the first part this is shown in a map showing the great “Bantu” migration across Africa (mainly from the north), that indicates the origins and routes taken by some of the “major” ethnic groups into Zambia between 1500 and 1700 AD.



A Map showing routes taken by ethnic groups into Zambia between the 1500 and 1700 AD

In the second part the museum shows the second wave of “Bantu” migrations, of mainly military and centralized societies from both the north and South indicating some ethnic groups that entered the country through these movements. Many of these groups if not all were military groups, escaping from wars themselves and/or looking for resources to control such as the Luba-Lunda groups from the Congo and the Ngoni groups escaping from Shaka’s wars in the South. This part has been the main focus of the history of Zambia’s Ethnic groups and organization.



A Map showing some of the movement of the military societies like the Lunda of the North West, The Lunda of Luapula and the Ngoni between 1700 and the 1900 AD

The presence of ethnic groups in Zambia seem to begin with the migrations of these militarily stronger groups who had centralized kind of organizations entering the country. The Museum is silent or very brief on the Ethnic groups that seem to be outside these military groups, may not be connected to these movements and/or who were largely decentralized societies and less militant. Even though archaeological evidence and early history indicates the presence of people in Zambia prior to these movements, this exhibition of Zambia’s ethnic presence, organization and histories highlights and focuses on the groups mainly on the groups that fought wars, conquered and subdued other groupings and often had centralized kind of government.

The highlight of this exhibition comes with the presentation of Kingdom formation and establishment between the 17th and 19th centuries. Here the Museum’s focus is on the histories of the Ethnic groups that created and established Kingdoms. A map indicating the extension and coverage area of the Kingdoms is presented



A Map showing the Kingdoms of Zambia in the 18th and 19th C

However, to note is the information provided about the kingdoms and this period:

During the 18th and early 19th centuries kingdoms and empires were established and expanded in various parts of the country. More powerful groups overran and subjected others. The Northern Lunda under their chief the Mwata Kazembe expanded and established their empire in what is today the Luapula province and its fringes, the Bemba subjected the smaller and weaker groups in the North, the Chewa empire of the Undi dynasty was extended to cover most of the area in the east while the Luyi (Lozi) established their kingdom among the people they found scattered in much of today's Western province and beyond. This map shows the major centralized kingdoms found in Zambia by the time the area fell under European colonial rule.

It is noticeable that from the Map of the "Early Migration" of the 1500 AD groups, only three ethnic groups the Bemba, The Chewa and the Luyi are mentioned in this period of Kingdom formation as they formed strong and formidable kingdoms. The others such as the Lunda although although they arrived in the second wave of migration, managed to conquer and secure a powerful kingdom in the Luapula region. However, nothing is said about the other groups that are mentioned in the early migration of 1500 AD such as the Lenje, The Bisa, The Tabwa and the Ushi, or what happened to them during this period or after their entry into the country.

Another thing to note about this information is that the names of the "powerful" Ethnic groups that established Kingdoms are mentioned by name of the ethnic group and their Leader or empaire e.g The Chewa empire of the Undi Dynasty, The Lunda of Mwata Kazembe, The Lozi and The Bemba. However, the ethnic groups that were conquered or subjected to these Kingdoms are merely mentioned as the "others", "smaller" and "Weaker" groups, the "scattered people" or in the case of the Chewa, their Kingdom is said to have

“covered most areas in the east”, presumably empty land since no “people” either “scattered”, “small” and/or “weak” or “others” are not mentioned.

This information about the Kingdom period raises a number of questions. Who were the “others”? Who were the weak—those who were merely defeated or those who did not want to go to war for various reasons – could they have been the peacemakers perhaps? There is indication that some groups such as the avoided to go to war with the war like groups mainly because of economic reasons. They preferred to give tribute to the militant groups so as to have the peace of conducting their trade such as the Lungu and Mabwe who were Iron smiths and the Unga who were salt makers (Roberts, 1973). Or who were the “smaller” groups? Some groups were considered small or minor not in terms of number but in terms of concentration in one area. The Tonga and related groups for instance, lived in small family units far apart due to their herding and farming economy. (Roberts, 1973)

The terms used in this information has some negative connotation apart from the questions they raise above. To describe those with no central government systems or large kingdoms without reference to their names or what they were called diminishes them to a status of invisibility. And to describe them as the “others”, “weak”, “scattered” without qualifying these terms, gives the impression of the none Kingdom ethnic groups a negative status of general disorderliness, incapability and a negative outsider view. Worse still is to describe a land as empty prior to the occupation of the “powerful” groups without evidence or ignoring evidence that suggest otherwise as in the case of the Chewa area which is said to have been occupied by other ethnic groups prior to the Undi’s Kingdom expansion. (Udelhoven, 2006)

Another thing to note about this information is the emphasis or highlight of the extent or geographical boundaries of these kingdoms. The boundaries emphasize the “power” of the rulers and their ethnic group over the subjected peoples. Yet it is a well known factor that these boundaries were often contested by the subjected ethnic groups and some of these arguments are still going on even today and a source of rivalries between ethnic groups. A good example is that of the Lozi and the Nkoya people whose subjection to the Lozi Kingdom is still contested today calling for a separate province to emphasize the Nkoya’s independence from the Lozi rulership. (Binsbergen, 2002)

However what the Map of “kingdoms of Zambia” and the information provided seem to achieve is the legitimize the power, dominance and boundaries of certain ethnic groups even were they have been contested or rejected, apart from overshadowing the so called “weaker”, “small” “scattered” or “invisible” ethnic groups. The exhibition makes no effort to provide information of these

groups and/or their relation to the Kingdom groups or indeed to the historical development of these groups in their own rights.

The Museum goes further to provide an insight into the systems of ethnic rulership in Zambia by exhibiting instruments of power or of authority. However, these symbols of power or regalias are mainly associated with the centralized Kingdoms and are exhibited alongside photographs of some of the Kings of the prominent centralized Kingdoms. One thing to point out is that it is these same instruments of power and authority that the unnamed ethnic groups in the caption above, either embraced, rejected, contested, pacified or were subjugated to. Yet no mention of how this authorities were either embraced, pacified, rejected or contested by the “others”, “scattered” “small” or “weak” ethnic groups is given. The question is what did these symbols mean to these ethnic groupings? The instruments are displayed as though there are no other stories to these powers other than their “natural” presence.



A showcase showing the instruments of power of different kings and chiefs of Zambia

Then opposite this showcase, a Map showing around 73 ethnic groups of Zambia is displayed. Their histories or how they happen to be where they are is not mentioned or for that matter how these peoples relate or are related to the Kingdoms mentioned earlier (these kingdoms still exist today). A few of these (less than 10) are mentioned in the first wave of “Bantu” migration and the second wave of “Bantu” migration. Apart from this brief information there is nothing pertaining to these ethnic groups who seem not to exist and suddenly appear even in the areas of the demarcated Kingdoms shown earlier.



A caption below this picture reads in part:

"There are currently seventy three ethnic groups in Zambia to day. The map depicts a generalized historical spatial distribution of ethnic groups. This picture presented however, is highly simplified because many more distinct languages and dialects are recognized in the country".

This information also raises some questions. Who are these 73 or more ethnic groups? Where were they between the 1500 and 1900 AD during the "Bantu" migration, or between 1700 and 1900 during the second phase of the Bantu migration or indeed during the kingdom formation period of 18th and 19th centuries? In short, have they no histories at all, or did they just appear "now" in Zambia as the caption reads "There are **currently** 73 ethnic groups in Zambia **today**"?

This part of the exhibition ends with a showcase exhibiting traditional weapons of the time of traditional ruler ship and triumph in Zambia. Ironically the craftsmanship in iron smelting is attributed to some of the unnamed ethnic groups such as the Lungu who supplied the Bemba militant Kings with iron tools and weapons as tribute. In this way the Lungu managed to maintain peace and continued in their trade of iron implements which was one of their major economic activities. (Roberts, 1973). However, the exhibition does not provide such information or allude to such kind of relationships between the "powerful" ethnic groups and the "weak:" ones.



The showcase displaying iron tools and weapons

Discussion

This paper has analyzed the presentation of ethnic histories in a multi ethnic nation by a national Museum by way of an exhibition at Livingstone museum in Zambia. The analysis shows how selective the exhibition is in terms of representing a national history of the country's ethnic groups. The selective nature seems to favor the warriors, war victors and conquerors than the less militant decentralized societies. Even among the militant societies focus seems to be on the highly "powerful" and "highly" centralized and those who conquered large area of land. Such that at the end of the exhibition one gets impression of a history that celebrates those who fight and win wars against those who do not win or do not fight at all.

This approach legitimizes war, and war claims and overshadows peace, co existence and the fragile but delicate and complicated pacifier method of submitting to a militant group for the sake of maintaining peace and prosperity. It also overshadows or dismisses methods of keeping peace or avoiding war that certain groups of people could have employed in history. But perhaps more obvious is that it ignores the effects of such wars on the conquered or displaced groups while it seems to celebrate the feelings of the victors of the wars. In so doing, the less militant, conquered and sometimes displaced groups are denied a place in history, thereby increasing their losses of war as they also lose their place in history.

This approach which is common to most museums in Africa and elsewhere in the world, can in itself be an instigator of war as the losing groups feel the loss more as they feel that they have no place even in a presumably neutral place as a national museum.

This can be dangerous in places like Africa where wars and political instability still have very strong connections to ethnicity. The examples are numerous e.g the Biafra wars of Nigeria, the Hutu and Tutsi war of Rwanda etc. For Zambia and Zambian Museums in particular, this is a dangerous line to toe as the country has been surrounded by neighbors at war at different stages in the recent history. For instance the Namibian Caprivi strip civil war that has strong ethnic connections among the Lozi speaking peoples of Zambia, Botswana and Angola; the Angola civil war which lasted for 27 years had some links to ethnicity problems between the Kimbundu, the Bakongo and the multi racial peoples of Angola; the Zimbabwe wars of liberation which saw the major political parties divided on ethnic lines between the Shona and Ndebele who also fought each other apart from fighting the White minority. This shows how ethnicity and the histories of ethnic groups can lead to war.

Conclusion

This paper has shown how a Museum can be a place of perpetual war and glorifying the Victors of war instead of a place of reconciliation and peace. To a large extent history tends to applaud the war mongers and victors while the losers and the non fighters take a less position or no place at all in the pages of history. Museums tend to fall in this trap when exhibiting as they follow up on history, as such museums tend to be seen as places for glorifying the heroes of war: those who fought and won wars. How then can Museums be places of Peace and Reconciliation? For ethnicity and ethnographic museums, especially in Africa, this is a serious question to consider as the world seeks peace for all peoples and all times.

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