

Wem gehört die Geschichte? / Komu pripada zgodovina?

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Joanneum



Zavod za varstvo
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Komu pripada zgodovina?

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Amber and glass finds from archaeological excavations carried out by the Joanneum from 1888 to 1908 in the Western necropolis of Poetovio, photographs: UMJ / N. Lackner

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Jantarne in steklene najdbe iz arheoloških izkopavanj Joanneuma med leti 1888 in 1908 v zahodni nekropoli Poetovia, fotografije: UMJ / N. Lackner

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Vorwort

Mit „Steiermark“ wird heute im deutschsprachigen Raum das österreichische Bundesland, im Slowenischen aber eine historische Region bezeichnet, die im Nordosten der Republik Slowenien liegt. Die österreichische und slowenische Steiermark, die als Herzogtum Steiermark Jahrhunderte hindurch Teil der Habsburgermonarchie waren, gingen durch die historischen Ereignisse nach dem Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges getrennte Wege. Die Weichenstellungen für diese Auseinanderentwicklung waren schon lange vor dem „Großen Krieg“ durch den aufkommenden Nationalismus gelegt worden, der die deutsch- und slowenischsprachigen Steirerinnen und Steirer gegeneinander aufbrachte. Die neue Grenze war nicht nur eine Staatsgrenze mit weitreichenden ökonomischen Folgen – sie wurde auch zu einer sprachlichen und durch die wechselvolle Geschichte des 20. Jhs. mit der Okkupation des Königreiches Jugoslawien durch Hitlerdeutschland und der Entstehung von zwei Machtblöcken nach 1945 zu einer ideologischen Grenze, an der sich zwei weltanschauliche Systeme voller Misstrauen gegenüberstanden.

Das Leben an dieser Grenze war immer auch ein Versuch, sie zu überwinden. In den Jahrzehnten des Eisernen Vorhangs vor den EU-Beitritten Österreichs im Jahr 1995 und der neu entstandenen Republik Slowenien im Jahr 2004 war es freilich ein mühsames Unterfangen, um „aus einer Grenze des Misstrauens eine Grenze des Verstehens und der Freundschaft zu machen“, wie es Prof. Kurt Jungwirth, von 1970 bis 1991 Landesrat für Kultur der Steiermärkischen Landesregierung, formuliert hat. Eine wichtige Rolle spielte damals die Kulturpolitik mit dem „Trigon-Gedanken“, die Idee, die Räume diesseits und jenseits der politischen Grenzen der Länder Österreich, Jugoslawien und Italien durch Initiativen in Kunst und Kultur wieder zusammenzuführen.

Das neue Europa der Regionen bietet für die österreichische und slowenische Steiermark die Chance, sich als kultureller Kommunikationsraum neu auszurichten. Leider hat sich die jahrzehntelange Auseinanderentwicklung in den Köpfen der hier lebenden Menschen festgesetzt. Viele von ihnen bringen ihrer gemeinsamen Geschichte wenig Interesse entgegen.

Wie kann nun die Arbeit in der Abteilung Archäologie & Münzkabinett des Universalmuseums Joanneum einen Beitrag dazu leisten, diese gemeinsame Geschichte wieder in das öffentliche Bewusstsein zu bringen?

Predgovor

Z izrazom „Štajerska“ poimenujemo danes v nemško govorečem prostoru avstrijsko zvezno deželo, v slovensko govorečem pa zgodovinsko regijo, ki leži v severovzhodnem delu Republike Slovenije. Avstrijska in slovenska Štajerska, ki sta bili stoletja kot Vojvodstvo Štajerska del habsburške monarhije, sta zaradi zgodovinskih dogodkov po koncu prve svetovne vojne šli po ločenih poteh.

Temelji za takšen razvoj so bili položeni že dolgo pred „veliko vojno“, in sicer zaradi nastajajočega nacionalizma, ki je nemško in slovensko govoreče Štajerke in Štajerce medsebojno sprl. Nova meja ni bila zgolj državna meja z dolgoročnimi ekonomskimi posledicami, ampak je postala tudi jezikovna in zaradi pestrega zgodovinskega dogajanja v 20. stol. z vojaško zasedbo Kraljevine Jugoslavije s strani Hitlerjeve Nemčije in nastankom dveh polov po l. 1945 tudi ideološka meja. Predstavljal je bariero, ki je delila dva skrajno nezaupljiva ideološka sistema.

Življenje ob meji jo je vedno znova poskušalo tudi preseči. „Mejo nezaupanja spremeniti v mejo razumevanja in prijateljstva“, kot je to formuliral prof.

Kurt Jungwirth, deželni svetnik za kulturo pri vladi Dežele Štajerske med leti 1970 in 1991, je bilo v desetletjih železne zavese, pred vstopom Avstrije leta 1995 in novo nastale Republike Slovenije leta 2004 v Evropsko unijo, seveda težavno početje. Pomembno vlogo je takrat igrala kulturna politika s tako imenovano zamislio o „trigonu“. Šlo je za idejo, s katero bi prostore na obeh straneh političnih meja držav Avstrije, Jugoslavije in Italije ponovno povezali z iniciativami na področjih umetnosti in kulture.

Nova Evropa regij nudi avstrijski in slovenski Štajerski priložnost za novo usmeritev kot kulturnem prostoru komunikacije. Žal se je desetletja trajajoč razvoj v različne smeri usidral v glavah ljudi. Številne med njimi ne zanima njihova skupna zgodovina.

Kako lahko z delom v oddelku Arheologija in Numizmatični kabinet Univerzalnega muzeja Joanneum prispevamo k ponovnemu javnemu ozaveščanju o skupni zgodovini? Arheološke in novčne zbirke sodijo med najstarejše v Univerzalnem muzeju Joanneum. Že v ustanovitvenih aktih muzeja iz leta 1811 so „spomeniki iz pradavnine“ kot tudi „domači novci iz vseh vrst kovin“ omenjeni kot predmeti, ki jih je potrebno zbirati zaradi vzpostavitve zbirke o zgodovini Štajerske, in s tem prispevati k oblikovanju nacionalne identitete. Do konca habsburške monarhije je tako več tisoč arheoloških predmetov in novcev

Die archäologischen und numismatischen Sammlungen gehören zu den ältesten des Universalmuseums Joanneum. Bereits in den Gründungsstatuten des Museums aus dem Jahr 1811 werden die „Denkmäler der Vorzeit“ sowie die „inländischen Münzen von allen Metallgattungen“ als Gegenstände genannt, die zusammengetragen werden sollen, um eine Sammlung zur Geschichte der Steiermark anzulegen und damit zur nationalen Identitätsstiftung beizutragen. Bis zum Ende der Habsburgermonarchie gelangten dadurch auch mehrere Tausend archäologische und numismatische Objekte aus Fundorten in das Joanneum, die heute auf dem Territorium der Republik Slowenien liegen. Von 2011 bis 2014 wurden diese Objekte mit den dazugehörigen Archivalien im Rahmen eines internationalen Projekts mit Partnern aus der Steiermark und der Republik Slowenien aufgearbeitet und digitalisiert. Das aus dem EU-Programm der grenzübergreifenden Zusammenarbeit Slowenien – Österreich 2007-2013 geförderte Projekt „InterArch-Steiermark“ ist das komplexeste Unternehmen, das von österreichischen und slowenischen Archäologinnen und Archäologen bislang gemeinsam durchgeführt wurde. In seinem Umfang und seinen Zielen zeigt sich das große Potenzial, das in archäologischen Objekten für die Erforschung der gemeinsamen Geschichte der österreichischen und slowenischen Steiermark angelegt ist.

Im Rahmen dieses Projektes wurde eine Tagung veranstaltet, die unter dem Titel „Wem gehört die Geschichte?“ dem Wandel politischer Grenzen und museologischer Zuständigkeiten nachgegangen ist. Die von der Museumsakademie des Universalmuseums Joanneum organisierte Konferenz fand am 4. und 5. Oktober 2012 im Pokrajinski muzej Maribor statt. In der vorliegenden dreisprachigen Publikation sind die auf dieser Tagung gehaltenen Vorträge zusammengeführt.

Karl Peitler
Leiter der Abteilung
Archäologie & Münzkabinett

Marko Mele
Projektleiter
InterArch-Steiermark

iz najdišč, ki danes ležijo na območju Republike Slovenije, prišlo v Joanneum. Ti predmeti s pripadajočimi arhivskimi dokumenti so bili od 2011 do 2014 v okviru mednarodnega projekta partnerjev iz Dežele Štajerske in Republike Slovenije obdelani in digitalizirani. Projekt „InterArch-Steiermark“, ki je financiran iz EU-programa čezmejnega sodelovanja Slovenija-Avstrija 2007-2013, je tako najkompleksnejši podvig, ki so ga do sedaj skupaj izpeljali avstrijske in slovenske arheologinje in arheologi. Njegov obseg in cilji kažejo zaradi bogatih arheoloških predmetov veliko možnosti za raziskavo skupne zgodovine avstrijske in slovenske Štajerske.

V okviru projekta je bila izpeljana konferenca z naslovom „Komu pripada zgodovina?“, ki je sledila spremembam političnih meja in muzejskih pristojnosti. Konferenco je 4. in 5. oktobra 2012 v Pokrajinskem muzeju Maribor organizirala Muzejska akademija Univerzalnega muzeja Joanneum. V tej trojezični publikaciji so zbrana predavanja s konference.

Karl Peitler

Vodja oddelka

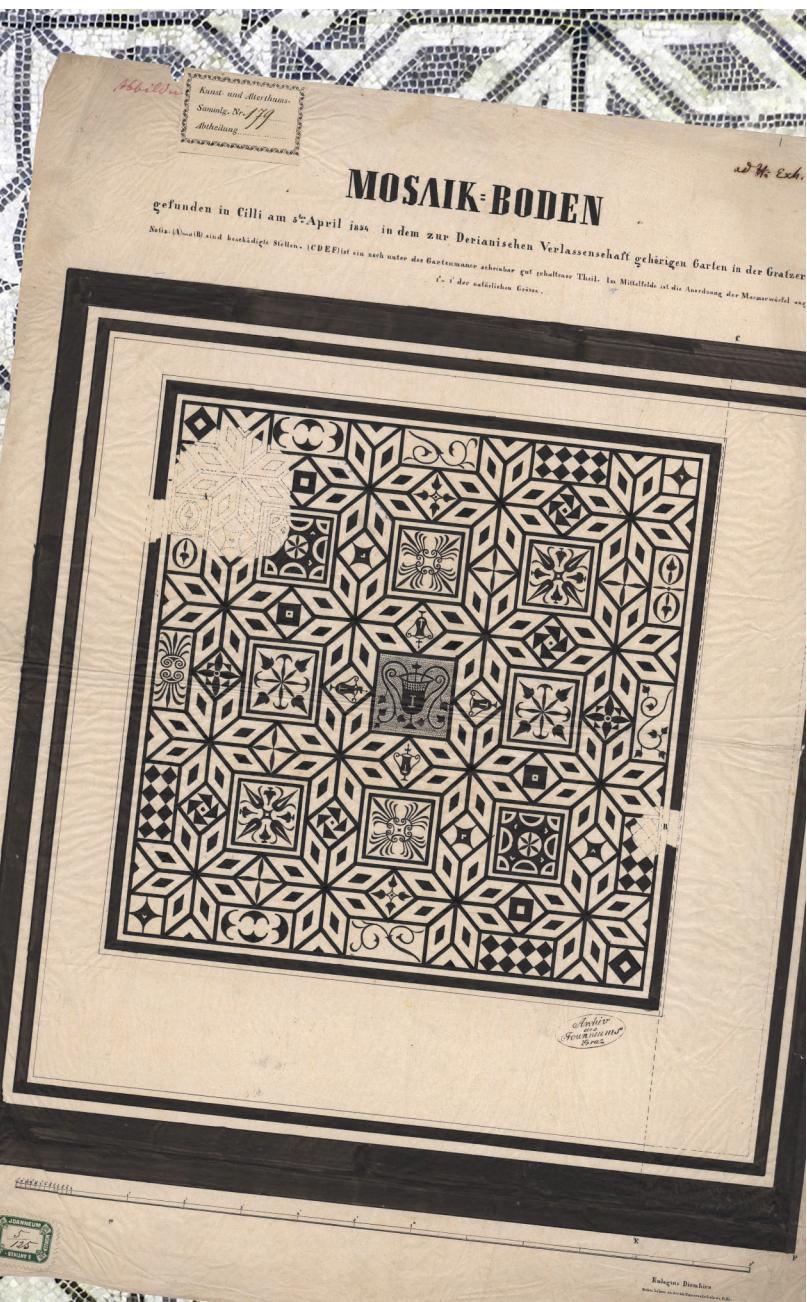
Arheologija in Numizmatični kabinet

Marko Mele

Projektni vodja

InterArch-Steiermark





Das Pavelhaus: Museum, Treffpunkt, steirisch - slowenisches Kulturzentrum

Elisabeth Arlt

Auch im österreichischen Bundesland Steiermark gibt es einen autochthonen slowenischsprachigen Bevölkerungsanteil. In den Dörfern um die Stadt Bad Radkersburg wurde von der ansässigen ländlichen Bevölkerung als Umgangssprache seit jeher Slowenisch gesprochen. Ebenso an der südlichen Grenze der steirischen Bezirke Leibnitz und Deutschlandsberg.¹

Die Stadt Radkersburg ist das Beispiel einer durch eine neuentstandene Staatsgrenze geteilten Stadt. Nach dem Friedensvertrag von St. Germain 1919/20 wurde der Fluss Mur als neu gezogene Grenze zwischen dem Königreich der Serben, Kroaten und Slowenen (abgekürzt SHS-Königreich, später SHS-Staat) und der neu gegründeten Republik Österreich festgesetzt.² Durch den damit einhergehenden Verlust der Untersteiermark wurde eine jahrhundertlange gemeinsame Geschichte abrupt unterbrochen. Das historisch gewachsene Stadtzentrum Bad Radkersburgs wurde der Republik Österreich zugesprochen, die Vorstadt (sogenannte Griesvorstadt), zu der auch das Schloss Oberradkersburg gehört, jedoch dem SHS-Staat. Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges wurden die Brücken zerstört, somit waren jegliche Verbindungen gekappt. Damit endete für die Bewohner beider Seiten ihr Teil der Stadt am Flussufer, man konnte zwar hinüberschauen, aber nicht interagieren.³ Ältere Zeitzeugen berichten, dass sie als Kinder in der Mur badeten und von jugoslawischen Soldaten mit Gewehren beschossen wurden, weil sie sich zu weit über die Flussmitte gewagt hatten. Erst im Jahr 1969 wurde eine neue, zeitgemäße Betonbrücke, mit dem bezeichnenden Namen „Brücke der Freundschaft / Most prijateljstva“, errichtet und unter großem Interesse der Öffentlichkeit von den Präsidenten beider Länder, Josip Broz Tito und Franz Jonas, eröffnet. Somit befand sich die Stadt Radkersburg in einer undankbaren Position. Abgetrennt durch den „Eisernen Vorhang“ musste man wirtschaftliche und persönliche Abstriche machen. Dass auch die auf österreichischem Staatsgebiet verbliebenen slowenischsprachigen Bewohner/innen von nun an kein leichtes Leben hatten, liegt auf der Hand. Diese waren einem starken Assimilierungsdruck ausgesetzt, der darin mündete, dass viele aus der Generation der heute 30- bis 50-Jährigen keine oder nur rudimentäre Kenntnisse der Sprache ihrer Eltern und Großeltern besitzt. Vor allem in den Jahrzehnten nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges galt es geradezu als Schande, slowenische Wurzeln zu haben, das ist auch in den vielen eingedeutschten Nachnamen in den betreffenden Regionen zu bemerken.⁴

The Pavelhaus: Museum, Meeting Place, Styrian-Slovenian Cultural Centre

Elisabeth Arlt

The Austrian Federal State of Styria also has an autochthonous Slovene speaking part of its population. In the villages near the town of Bad Radkersburg, the local rural population's colloquial language has always been Slovene. The same holds true for the southern border of the Styrian districts Leibnitz and Deutschlandsberg.¹

The town of Radkersburg is an example of a town divided by a newly established national border. Following the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye 1919/20, the River Mur was declared the newly drawn border between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (abbreviated as the Kingdom, later the State of SHS), and the newly established Republic of Austria.² Due to the accompanying loss of Lower Styria, a century-old common history was suddenly interrupted. The historically evolved town centre of Bad Radkersburg was adjudged to the Republic of Austria, the suburb (the so called Griesvorstadt) where the Oberradkersburg castle is located, however, to the State of SHS. The bridges were torn down by the end of the second world war. Thus all connections were cut. Consequently, for the inhabitants the respective sides of their parts of the town ended on the riverbanks. They could look across to the other side, but could not interact.³ Older witnesses of that time reported they had swum in the River Mur, when they were children and had been shot at by Yugoslav soldiers, because they had dared to swim too far passed the middle of the river. It was only in 1969 that a new, modern concrete bridge was built, with the telling name Bridge of Friendship (Brücke der Freundschaft / Most prijateljstva). It was opened amid great public interest by Josip Broz Tito and Franz Jonas, Presidents of the two countries.

As a consequence, the town of Radkersburg found itself in an ungrateful position. Separated by the Iron Curtain, people had to experience economic and personal curtailments.

It is evident that, from then on, Slovene-speaking residents that remained on Austrian national territory did not have an easy life. They found themselves under severe pressure to assimilate, which resulted in the generation of the currently 30 to 50-year-olds having no or only rudimentary knowledge of the language spoken by their parents and grandparents. Above all, during the decades after the Second World War, being of Slovene origin was regarded as downright shameful. This can also be noticed in the many Germanised family names in the regions concerned.⁴ After the Ten-Day War from 26 June until 7 July 1991 that ended with the

Nach dem 10-Tage-Krieg vom 26. Juni bis 7. Juli 1991, der mit der Gründung des eigenständigen Staates Slowenien endete, begannen sich erstmals Änderungen im Verhältnis zwischen Österreich und Slowenien abzuzeichnen.⁵ Die deutliche Abgrenzung der Slowenen von ihren „südlichen Brüdern“ brachte ihnen große Sympathien von Österreich, aber auch von anderen europäischen Ländern ein.⁶ Dieser Krieg, der zum ersten Mal seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges Österreicher und nicht nur die Grenzbewohner unmittelbar betraf, löste zugleich auch ein unglaubliches Medienecho aus. Noch nie zuvor waren beispielsweise Radkersburg und dessen Umgebung medial so präsent wie im kurzen Zeitraum dieser kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen. Belastend war auch die Unsicherheit, wie es nach dem Zusammenbruch Jugoslawiens und der Gründung einzelner Nationalstaaten weitergehen sollte. Dazu muss bemerkt werden, dass die Situation an der gemeinsamen Grenze von Österreich und Jugoslawien nie so verschärft gewesen ist, wie beispielsweise an anderen Grenzen entlang des „Eisernen Vorhangs“.⁷

Das Pavelhaus als zweisprachiges Kommunikationszentrum

Ein erster Versuch, die Grenze zu überwinden, wurde 1998 mit der Eröffnung des Pavelhauses in Laafeld, slowenisch Potrna, einem Dorf unweit der Stadt Bad Radkersburg, unternommen. Ein vom Artikel-VII-Kulturverein erworbenes desolates Bauernhaus wurde vollständig renoviert und wird seither als Kultur- und Kommunikationszentrum für „Steirer und Štajrer“ mit einem breitgefächerten Kulturprogramm bespielt. Der Artikel-VII-Kulturverein wurde 1988 in Graz mit dem Ziel gegründet, die im österreichischen Staatsvertrag von 1955 verbrieften Rechte der slowenischen Volksgruppe auch im Bundesland Steiermark durchzusetzen. Diese Rechte umfassen unter anderem das Recht auf muttersprachlichen Schulunterricht und das Recht auf Verwendung der slowenischen Sprache in öffentlichen Ämtern. Im Gegensatz zu Kärnten sind diese Rechte in der Steiermark auch im 21. Jahrhundert nicht völlig exekutiert. Als kleiner Erfolg kann die Eröffnung eines Sendemastes auf der Soboth⁸ im Mai 2012 und in Leutschach 2013 verbucht werden. Somit wird der Empfang eines slowenischen Radioprogramms zumindest den Bewohnerinnen und Bewohnern in der Nähe dieser Sendemasten ermöglicht. Weitere sollen folgen. Man wird sehen, wann.

Avgust Pavel (1886–1946), Namensgeber und großer Europäer

Als Namensgeber des Pavelhauses fungierte der 1886 in Cankova / Vashidegkút / Kaltenbrunn⁹ geborene Sprachwissenschaftler und Dichter Avgust Pavel, dessen Familie in den 1920er-Jahren das Haus bewohnte. Grund, sich für diesen Namen zu entscheiden, war, dass sich der dreisprachige Pavel schon in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts bemüht hatte, trotz der neugezogenen Grenzen als „Brückenbauer“ zwischen Österreich, Slowenien und Ungarn aufzutreten. Es war seine Absicht, den durch politische Ereignisse voneinander getrennten Ländern ihre gemeinsame Geschichte vor Augen zu halten und trotz aller nationalistischen Tendenzen zu bewahren. Das Dreiländereck Österreich, Slowenien und Ungarn sollte, seiner Meinung nach, trotz aller Sprach- und politischen Grenzen zumindest kulturell als gewachsene Einheit gesehen werden.¹⁰ Auch wenn durch politische Ereignisse und Grenzziehungen dieses Vorhaben über fast ein halbes

founding of Slovenia as an independent country, changes were evident for the first time in the relations between Austria and Slovenia.⁵ The clear Slovene dissociation from its “southern brothers” was met by great sympathy not only in Austria but also in other European countries.⁶ This war that, for the first time since the Second World War, affected Austrians, and not only the residents of the border areas, directly triggered an incredible media response. For example, never before was Radkersburg and its surrounding area covered by the media to such an extend as over the short period of the armed conflict. Uncertainties with regard to subsequent developments in the aftermath of the collapse of Yugoslavia and the founding of individual nation states were of concern as well. It must, however, be noted that the situation at the common border between Austria and Yugoslavia had never become as aggravated as along other borders of the Iron Curtain.⁷

Pavelhaus as a bilingual communication centre

A first attempt to overcome the border was made in 1998 with the opening of Pavelhaus in Laafeld, Potrna in Slovene, a village near the town of Bad Radkersburg. Once a desolate farmhouse, the building was bought and completely renovated by the Artikel-VII-Kulturverein and has since been used as a cultural and communication centre with a wide-ranging cultural programme for “Steirer and Štajrer” [Styrians] from Austria and Slovenia. The Artikel-VII-Kulturverein was founded in 1988 in Graz with the purpose to enforce the rights of the Slovene ethnic group guaranteed in the Austrian Independence Treaty of 1955 in the Federal State of Styria as well. These rights encompass, among other things, the right to school education in mother tongue and the right of the use of the Slovene language in government offices. Contrary to the situation in the Federal State of Carinthia, these rights have not been fully enforced in Styria in the 21st century. A minor success was achieved in May 2012 with the construction of a transmitting mast on the Soboth⁸ and of another one in Leutschach in 2013. As a consequence, at least people living near the transmitting masts can receive a Slovene radio programme. More masts are to follow. We shall see when.

Avgust Pavel (1886–1946), name giver and great European

Pavelhaus was named after the linguist and poet Avgust Pavel, who was born in Cankova / Vashidegkút / Kaltenbrunn⁹ in 1886, and whose family lived in this house in the 1920s. The reason for the trilingual Pavel to be chosen as the name giver for Pavelhaus originated in his effort to “build bridges” between Austria, Slovenia and Hungary despite the newly drawn borders as early as in the first half of the 20th century. His goal was to make the three countries, separated by political events, aware of their common past and to preserve it in spite of all the nationalist tendencies. According to him, the three-country-region of Austria, Slovenia and Hungary was to be regarded at least as a historically-grown cultural unit despite linguistic and political borders.¹⁰ Although, for almost over a half a century, his goal was regarded as seemingly unrealistic due to political events and drawing of borders, he did significantly impact people's awareness. This is also true for the border region.



Das Pavelhaus in
Laafeld,
Foto:
David Kranzelbinder

Jahrhundert hindurch als scheinbar undurchführbar angesehen werden musste, hat es doch im Bewusstsein der Menschen einiges bewirkt. Das trifft auch auf die Grenzlandregion zu.

War die Meinung einiger Dorfbewohner/innen die Idee eines grenzenlosen Kulturaustausches betreffend anfangs ablehnend und skeptisch, so hat sich das Pavelhaus in den letzten Jahren erfolgreich etabliert. Auch was die regionale Verankerung und Akzeptanz angeht. Die „Grenzen in den Köpfen“ abzubauen war und ist stets Bestreben des Vereines und seiner Mitarbeiter/innen.

Heute sind es für viele Bewohner/innen der grenznahen Gebiete nicht nur wirtschaftliche Motive, sie sehen es auch als persönliche und kulturelle Bereicherung an, gute Kontakte nach Slowenien zu pflegen, und einige erinnern sich auch ihrer Zweisprachigkeit.¹¹ Mehrsprachigkeit gilt heute als Mehrwert und viele Grenzlandbewohner/innen sind stolz, dass sie die Sprache des Nachbarn sprechen. Dass das Interesse an Mehrsprachigkeit in den letzten Jahren stark gestiegen ist, kann auch am Beispiel des seit dem Jahr 2004 bestehenden zweisprachigen Chors des Pavelhauses belegt werden. Dieser gemischte Chor, bestehend aus Mitgliedern aus Österreich und Slowenien, wird äußerst positiv angenommen und hat bereits seine dritte CD produziert. Auftritte in der Region dies- und jenseits der Grenze fördern die regionale Verankerung. Auch die regelmäßig im Pavelhaus angebotenen Slowenischkurse erfreuen sich bei der lokalen Bevölkerung größten Interesses, was an der jährlich steigenden Zahl der Anmeldungen ersichtlich ist.

Die Überwindung der Grenze – Schlussbemerkungen

Nach dem EU-Beitritt Sloweniens am 1. Mai 2004 sowie der Erweiterung der Schengenaußengrenze am 20. Dezember 2007 – Ereignisse, die sowohl von Österreich als auch von Slowenien mit großen Feierlichkeiten begangen wurden

Augst Pavel
(1886–1946),
photograph: privately
owned



Though, at first, locals rejected the idea of a borderless cultural exchange, Pavelhaus has established itself successfully in the last years. This also holds true in terms of strengthening its regional presence and acceptance. To dismantle “barriers in the heads” has been and will remain the goal of the association and its local staff.

Today, many residents of the border areas regard maintaining good contacts with Slovenia not only as an economic but also as a personal and cultural enrichment; some have even discovered their bilingual heritage.¹¹ Nowadays, multilingualism is regarded as an additional asset and many residents of the border areas are proud to speak the language of their neighbour. One of the testimonies of increased interest in multilingualism is the bilingual Pavelhaus choir founded in 2004. The mixed choir consisting of members from Austria and Slovenia has become very popular and has already produced its third CD. Performances on both sides of the border promote regional identity. In addition, Slovene courses offered regularly by Pavelhaus have raised great interest among the local inhabitants, which is reflected in an annually increasing rate of attendance.

Overcoming the Border – Conclusion

After the Slovene accession to the European Union on 1 May 2004 as well as the enlargement of the Schengen area on 20 December 2007 that were marked

- ist das Thema „Grenze“ im südsteirischen Raum ein eher vernachlässigbarer Begriff geworden. Slowenien hat schon im Frühjahr 2009 damit begonnen, die Grenzgebäude abzureißen, heute erinnert auf slowenischer Seite kaum mehr etwas daran. Die auf österreichischer Seite wurden 2010 geschleift und die beiden noch bestehenden vom Kulturverein Zollamt aus Graz angekauft und für kulturelle Zwecke genutzt (www.zollamt.tv).

Rund um das einstige Niemandsland zwischen den Grenzbalken hat der Kapitalismus in Form eines großen Einkaufszentrums, das vornehmlich Österreicher/innen ansprechen soll, Einzug gehalten. Aber die Zeiten, wo Benzin und Zigaretten noch billig waren, sind auch in Slowenien vorbei.

Endnoten

1

Bei der letzten Volkszählung im Jahr 2001, in der auch die Sprachzugehörigkeit erhöhen wurde, gaben 2192 Personen an, Slowenisch als Umgangssprache zu verwenden. Vgl. Arlt 2014.

2

Siehe dazu: Schober 2009, 24–63.

3

Engelke 2013.

4

Beispielsweise wurde aus Črnčič Tscherntsitsch, aus Čeppe Tscheppé oder aus Zemljič Semlitsch.

5

Vgl. Busek 2007/2008, 11–22.

6

„Südliche Brüder“ oder auch „Brüder aus dem Süden“ ist eine leicht abschätzige Bezeichnung (in jugoslawischen Zeiten) der Slowenen für die Südslawen. Nach Titos Leitspruch „Bratstvo i jedinstvo – Brüderlichkeit und Einheit“ wurden so vor allem Serben, Bosnier und Mazedonier, aber auch Kroaten benannt.

7

Siehe dazu: Vidic 1991; Švajncer 1993.

8

Gebirge, bildet die Grenze zwischen den Bundesländern Steiermark und Kärnten.

9

Cankova liegt unweit von Radkersburg, heute auf slowenischem Staatsgebiet. Zur Zeit der Geburt Pavels gehörte das Dorf zum Königreich Ungarn, zwischenzeitlich zum Deutschen Reich (nach der Okkupation Jugoslawiens durch Hitlerdeutschland am 17. April 1941).

10

Pavel 2006.

11

In den grenznahen Gebieten gibt es viele Doppelbesitzer. Im sogenannten Gleichenberger Abkommen von 1953 wurde festgelegt, dass Grundbesitzer, deren Weinberge und Felder über der Grenze liegen, Erleichterungen im Grenzverkehr bekommen, um ihren Besitz bestmöglich bearbeiten zu können.

by great celebrations in Austria as well as in Slovenia, the topic “border” has acquired a somewhat secondary meaning in the region of Southern Styria. As early as in spring of 2009, Slovenia began demolishing its border crossing buildings; today, there is hardly any sign of it ever having been there. The Austrian border crossing buildings were demolished in 2010 except two of them which were purchased by the Kulturverein Zollamt from Graz and are now used for cultural purposes (www.zollamt.tv).

Capitalism has found its way to the area around the former no-man's-land between the border posts in form of a big shopping mall primarily aiming at Austrians. However, the times when gas and cigarettes were still cheap have also come to an end in Slovenia.

Endnotes

1

In the last census in 2001, that also surveyed language affiliation, 2192 people stated Slovene being their colloquial language. Cf. Arlt 2014.

2

See: Schober 2009, 24–63.

3

Engelke 2013.

4

For example Črnčič became Tscherntsitsch, Čeppe Tscheppé or Zemljič Semlitsch.

5

Cf.: Busek 2007 / 2008, 11–22.

6

“Southern brothers” or also “brothers from the south” is a slightly derogatory term used by Slovenes for Southern Slavs (in the times of Yugoslavia). In accordance with Tito’s motto “Bratstvo i jedinstvo” [Brotherhood and Unity], the term was used especially for Serbs, Bosnians, Macedonians and occasionally also for Croats.

7

See: Vidic 1991; Švajncer 1993.

8

The mountain range is the border between the Federal States of Styria and Carinthia.

9

Today, the village of Cankova is located near Radkersburg on Slovene territory. When Pavel was born, the village was a part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Temporarily it was part of the Third Reich (after Hitler’s occupation of Yugoslavia on 17 April 1941).

10

Pavel 2006.

11

In the border areas, there are many so-called double owners. The Agreement of Gleichenberg of 1953 stipulates that the landowners of vineyards and fields located across the border were subject to a less restricted border traffic regime in order to be able to work on their property under optimal conditions.

Inge Morath's Last Journey

Branko Lenart

Inge Morath wurde 1923 als Inge Mörath in Graz geboren. Ihre Mutter stammte aus dem damaligen Windischgrätz, heute Slovenj Gradec. Ihr Großvater war zur Zeit der Monarchie Bürgermeister dieser Bezirkshauptstadt, die heute zur Koroška, dem slowenischen Kärnten, gehört. 1950 ging sie mit ihrem Kollegen Ernst Haas als Texterin für Robert Capa und Henri Cartier-Bresson zur legendären und elitären Fotoagentur Magnum nach Paris und begann 1952 zu fotografieren. Ab Mitte der 1950-er Jahre machte sie weltweit Reportagen im Sinne der Live Photography, darunter in der Sowjetunion und in China. 1962 heiratete sie Arthur Miller und wurde 1966 Staatsbürgerin der USA.

2001 entstand das von Regina Strassegger geleitete Projekt „Grenz.Räume – Obmejni prostori“, welches zu Inge Moraths achtzigstem Geburtstag 2003 in Graz im Rahmen der Veranstaltungen zum Kulturhauptstadtjahr präsentiert werden sollte.

Inge Morath kam 2001 einige Male für jeweils mehrere Wochen in die Steiermark und die Štajerska. Sie fotografierte an ausgewählten Orten Menschen, Ereignisse und Landschaften, die in Beziehung zu ihrer eigenen Geschichte oder der ihrer Vorfahren standen. Dabei wurde sie von einem Filmteam begleitet. Die Szenen und Orte wurden von dem in Ptuj lebenden Fotografen Stojan Kerbler und mir fotografisch dokumentiert. Die Aufnahmen erstreckten sich von der Süd- und Weststeiermark, dem Grenzland, Ptuj und Umgebung, über Maribor bis Slovenj Gradec. Die letzten Dreharbeiten wurden im Oktober mit einem Fest auf dem Schloss von Slovenj Gradec abgeschlossen. Dabei wurde die latente und von Inge Morath verdrängte Krankheit akut. Sie verstarb Ende Januar 2002 in New York.

Aus den 360 Minuten Filmaufnahmen wurde eine neunzigminütige Dokumentation, die im ORF und auf 3Sat zu sehen war. An ihrem ersten Todestag wurde die Ausstellung „Grenz.Räume: Inge Morath – Letzte Reise“ im Grazer Künstlerhaus eröffnet und zählte in wenigen Wochen mehr als 10.000 Besucher. Über Wien und mehrere Orte in Slowenien gelangte die Ausstellung nach New York und Tokyo. Dazu erschien das Buch „Grenz.Räume – Obmejni prostori“ mit einem Vorwort von Arthur Miller in einer deutsch/englischen sowie einer deutsch/slowenischen Ausgabe im Prestel Verlag.

Inge Morath's Last Journey

Branko Lenart

Inge Morath was born in 1923 as Inge Mörath in Graz. Her mother originated from Slovenj Gradec, called "Windischgrätz" at time. At the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, her grandfather was the mayor of this district capital that is part of the Koroška region today (Slovene Carinthia). In 1950, she went to Paris along with her colleague Ernst Haas to work in the legendary and elite photographic agency Magnum as a copywriter for Robert Capa and Henri Cartier-Bresson, and began to take photographs in 1952. Beginning in the mid-1950s, she did live photography coverage worldwide, in countries such as the Soviet Union and in China. In 1962, she married Arthur Miller and became a US citizen in 1966.

In 2001, a project, called "Grenz.Räume – Obmejni prostori" [Border.Spaces], was created and headed by Regina Strassegger. It was to be presented in 2003 in Graz, within the framework of the European Capital of Culture, on the occasion of her eightieth birthday.

In 2001, Inge Morath came for several weeks at a time to the Austrian region of Styria and the Slovene region of Štajerska. In selected locations, she photographed the people, events and landscapes that were connected to her own or her ancestors' history. She was accompanied by a film team. I and Stojan Kerbler, who lives in the Slovene town of Ptuj, documented the scenes and locations photographically. The shots covered the regions from southern and western Styria, the border area, to Ptuj and its surroundings, to Maribor and to Slovenj Gradec. The last shots were wrapped up in October with a celebration at the castle of Slovenj Gradec. At the same time, the latent disease Inge Morath had suppressed became acute. She died at the end of January 2002 in New York.

The 360 minutes of film footage were made into a ninety-minute documentary that was shown on the Austrian channels ORF and 3Sat. The exhibition was opened on the first anniversary of her death at the exhibition hall "Künstlerhaus" in Graz and attracted over 10,000 visitors in a few weeks' time. After having been presented in Vienna and in several towns in Slovenia, the exhibition was shown in New York and Tokyo.

In addition, the book "Grenz.Räume – Obmejni prostori", with a foreword by Arthur Miller, was published in a German/English and a German/Slovene edition by Prestel Publishing.

An der Grenze bei
St. Pongratzen,
Foto: B. Lenart



Dass dieses Projekt zum Vermächtnis Inge Moraths werden würde, konnte am Beginn des Projektes niemand ahnen. Ihre letzte Arbeit wurde zugleich ihre letzte Reise, die „Last Journey“. Die von Stojan Kerbler und mir gemachten Fotografien sind eine Hommage an diese außergewöhnliche Frau und Fotografin. Sie war eine faszinierende Persönlichkeit und trotz ihrer zierlichen Erscheinung hatte sie eine unglaubliche Vitalität und Energie. Wenn es für sie Grenzen gab, waren sie dazu da, um sie zu überschreiten und damit in Frage zu stellen. Ihr Credo war ihre ungebrochene Neugierde, das Beherrschende von sieben Sprachen, ihr Zugang zu den Menschen, ihrem Schicksal und ihrer Kultur.



Musicians at Novi Vrh,
photograph: B. Lenart

At the beginning of the project, no one could have anticipated that it would become Inge Morath's legacy. Her last work was, at the same time, her "Last Journey". The photographs Stojan Kerbler and I took are an homage to this remarkable woman and photographer. She was a fascinating personality with tremendous vitality and energy despite her delicate physique. If she was faced with boundaries, they were there to be pushed and challenged by her. Her credo was her undaunted curiosity, her mastering of seven languages, her access to people, her fate and her culture.

Die Erschaffung der verlorenen Zeit

Aleš Šteger

Fotografie als Suche nach der verlorenen Zeit? Oder vielmehr als Inszenierung einer utopischen Ganzheitlichkeit, die verloren gegangen sein soll? Einer Ganzheitlichkeit, die erst im Bewusstwerden ihres eigenen Verlustes entsteht? Ein Junge, der von Laub bedeckt auf einem Wagen schläft, ein Schnitter, Bauern beim Melken, Musikanten, Märkte, Bauernkinder auf einer Wiese, ein Volksfest, Kühe, Ziegen und ein Schlachtfest. Szenen einer Landschaft, Szenen einer verlorenen Zeit dieser Landschaft, einer Zeit, die zerbrochen ist und vor unseren Augen in einer eigenen Form wieder aufersteht. Prüfstein für diese Form ist die Frage, ob es dem Fotografen und dem Veranstalter der Ausstellung, das heißt demjenigen, der auswählt und durch seine Auswahl konstruiert, gelingen wird, die Ganzheitlichkeit einer ländlichen Utopie herzustellen. Warum einer Utopie? Weil sich hinter dem Verwischen zeitlicher Grenzen, geografischer, politischer, nationaler etc. Unterschiede eine bestimmte Absicht verbirgt, um nicht zu sagen, eine Strategie. Vor uns sehen wir nebeneinandergestellte Fotografien aus Orten der südlichen österreichischen Steiermark und der nördlichen slowenischen, damals jugoslawischen Steiermark vom Beginn der Siebzigerjahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts. Einen Unterschied in der Darstellung der einen und der anderen Steirer gibt es nicht, oder besser gesagt: eines der Ziele von Lenarts Steirern ist gerade die Konstruktion eines universalen Einsseins der ländlichen Idylle auf beiden Seiten der einst eisernen oder zumindest blechernen Grenze, eine Art Aufhebung des Politischen zugunsten des Universellen. Um dies zu erreichen, muss er die Zeiger der Uhr möglichst weit zurückdrehen, eigentlich muss er sie aus der Uhr reißen in eine Art Zeitlosigkeit, wo Menschen vom Rand der Gesellschaft, Menschen aus ländlicher Armut (und Letztere sieht sich überall auf der Welt ähnlich) aus ihren zeitlichen und gesellschaftlichen Koordinaten in einen Raum der Zeitlosigkeit übergehen. Dort beginnen ihre Gesichter zu sprechen, die Müdigkeit ihrer Gesichter, die Spur der Zeit darin, dieses radikal inszenierte und zugleich vereinfachte Leben. Die bildliche Ausdrucksform der Ursprünglichkeit, die die Aufnahmen wiedergeben, wird durch die Komposition mit einer reinen, zeitlosen Szenerie wie Wiesen, gesprungenen Mauern, ländlichen Horizonten oder Menschengruppen unterstrichen.

Doch gerade die Gesichter, ganz besonders die Münster inmitten dieser Gesichter, bilden Lücken in diesen Fotografien, Übergangsstellen in eine Dimension jenseits eines konkreten Bildes, die von den Bildern der Fotografien überdeckt und gerade

The Creation of Lost Time

Aleš Šteger

Photography as a quest for lost time? Or, rather, as an enactment of a utopian whole that is said to have been lost? A whole that is only being created when it realizes its own loss? A boy covered by leaves sleeping on a wagon, a reaper, farmers milking, musicians, markets, peasant children on a meadow, a folk festival, cows, goats, and a pork feast, scenes of a landscape, scenes of a lost time of this landscape, a time that has been broken and is being constructed before our eyes in a form of its own. Touchstone for this form is the question if the photographer and the organizer, that is to say, the person that will choose and, by doing so, will construct, will succeed in creating this whole of a rural utopia. Why utopia? Because behind the blur of time borders, geographical, political, and national differences, a specific intention hides, if not a strategy. Before us we can see juxtaposed photographs from places in southern Austrian Styria and north-eastern Slovenia, at the time Yugoslav Styria, from the beginning of the 1970s. There is no difference in the depiction of Styrians of either side. To be more precise, one of the goals of Lenart's Styrians is, in particular, the construction of a universal unity of a rural idyll on both sides of what was once the iron, or at least tin, border. It is a kind of elimination of the political in favor of the universal. To this end, the hands of time have to be turned back as far as possible, or, rather, have to be pulled out in order to create a timelessness. Here, people who live on the edge of society, people who live in rural poverty (and the latter looks the same all over the world) move from their temporal and social coordinates into a space of timelessness. There, their faces begin to speak, the weariness of their faces reveal the traces of time, this radically staged and, at the same time, simplified life. The pictorial form of expression of the nativeness displayed in the photographs is emphasized by the composition of pure, timeless scenery, such as meadows, broken walls, rural horizons or groups of people.

However, especially the faces, most notably the mouths in the middle of these faces, form holes in the photographs, crossing points in a dimension beyond concrete pictures that are being overlayed by the pictures of the photographs which is enabled precisely by this insufficient, pitted overlap. A glance of the portrayed persons' teeth, daemonic smiles of the elderly whose mouths have been corroded by time, the sleeping boy's lips pressed together, the incisors of another boy showing himself at a folk festival, the tightly pressed lips of

Branko Lenart,
Styrians 1970 - 1974



durch dieses mangelhafte, löchrige Überdecken ermöglicht wird. Der Blick auf die Zähne der Porträtierten, das dämonische Lächeln der Alten, deren Münder die Zeit angefressen hat, die zusammengepressten Lippen des schlafenden Jungen, die Schneidezähne eines anderen Jungen, der sich auf einem Volksfest zur Schau stellt, die fest geschlossenen Lippen der Harmonikaspielerin, die Münder der Klarinettenspielerinnen, mit denen sie ihre Instrumente festhalten. Der Mund ist in Lenarts Fotografien kein Artikulationsorgan. Auf den vorliegenden Aufnahmen sprechen die Münder nicht, sind nicht um Artikulation bemüht, aus ihnen dringen keine Worte, vielleicht deshalb, weil es einfach keine Zeit gibt, von der die Münder berichten könnten. Diese Münder sind eher dunkle, von Zahnstummeln bewachte Eingänge, Übergänge. Durch sie gelangt man irgendwohin, meist in die verhüllt oder unverhohlen dunkle, manchmal schon geradezu groteske Aussagekraft dieser Bilder. In die Fratzenhaftigkeit der Utopie der steirischen Landbevölkerung. Es war einmal, vor langer Zeit ... Doch die Münder auf Lenarts Fotografien sagen nicht einmal das. Mitten in schweigende Gesichter gesetzt, lösen sie die dokumentarische Dimension dieser Bilder auf. Was auf den ersten Blick wie ein idyllischer Zyklus vermeintlicher Dokumente der vergangenen Zeit einer Grenzregion wirkt, entpuppt sich nach und nach als genaue und geschickte Konstruktion eines Wunsches nach einer elementaren Dimension von Zeitlichkeit, die außerhalb dieser Bilder nicht existiert. Aus dieser Perspektive der Steirer als wohldurchdachte Konstruktion ist natürlich eine Parallele sehr interessant, vielleicht der Dialog, der zwischen Lenarts Steirern und den Haložani, den Bewohnern von Haloze, des Fotografen Stojan Kerbler entsteht. Beide Zyklen sind etwa zur gleichen Zeit entstanden und weisen nicht nur Verwandtschaften, geradezu überraschende Übereinstimmungen in den porträtierten Motiven, teilweise sogar eine Überlagerung bei der technischen Ausführung auf, sondern vor allem auch eine gemeinsame Intention. Als deckten beide Fotografen hinter dem Paravent der Dokumentation einer fast völlig verschwundenen Welt

Branko Lenart,
Styrians 1970 - 1974



a female accordionist, the mouths of female clarinetists holding on to their instruments. In Lenart's photographs, the mouth is not an organ of articulation. In the takes, mouths do not speak. They are not anxious to articulate. There are no words that are trying to get out. Perhaps as there is no time these mouths could report on. These mouths are rather dark entrances, transitions, guarded by tooth stumps. Through them, one gets somewhere, mostly to a veiled or blatantly dark, sometimes downright grotesque expressiveness of these pictures – into the grotesqueness of the utopia of the Styrian population. Once upon a time, a long time ago, there was ... However, the mouths in Lenart's photographs do not even say this. Placed in the middle of the silent faces, they trigger a documentary dimension of these pictures. What at first seems to be an idyllic cycle of alleged documents of a time gone by in a border region gradually turns out to be a precise and skilful construction of a wish for an elementary dimension of timeliness that does not exist outside of these pictures. From this perspective of Styrians as a sophisticated structure, a parallel is naturally very interesting. Perhaps it is the dialogue of the photographer Stojan Kerbler that develops between Lenart's Styrians and the Haložani, the residents of the Slovene region of Haloze. Both cycles were created at approximately the same time and feature not only a kinship, downright surprising agreements with regard to motives portrayed, partially even an overlap in terms of their technical execution, but, above all, there is also a joint intention. As if both photographers uncovered dimensions of something that is fundamentally human behind the documentation screen of a world that has almost entirely disappeared. The question of how potential reciprocal influences might have taken place is less interesting. If nothing else, in quest for a potential model for a related handling of a camera lens, we may return to the early beginnings of photography. Strictly speaking, the Styrians lead directly to a blind trail in pursuit of a photographic genealogy when enacting lost time. Much more decisive, however, is the

Dimensionen von etwas menschlich Elementarem auf. Die Frage danach, wie etwaige wechselseitige Beeinflussungen abgelaufen sein mögen, ist weniger interessant, nicht zuletzt können wir auf der Suche nach einem potenziellen Vorbild für einen verwandten Umgang mit dem Kameraobjektiv zu den frühen Anfängen der Fotografie zurückkehren. Eigentlich lenken die Steirer direkt auf die blinde Spur der Verfolgung einer fotografischen Genealogie in den Inszenierungen der verlorenen Zeit. Aber ungleich entscheidender ist die Frage nach der Konstellation der Motive, die Anfang der Siebzigerjahre des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts einen solchen fotografischen Blick und eine Intention hervorbrachte, wie wir sie bei den Steirern verfolgen können. Dass man auf dem Lande die Antwort nicht im Duft von Madeleines suchen kann, muss wohl nicht eigens hinzugefügt werden.

question of a motive constellation that at the beginning of the 1970s created such a photographic perspective and an intention we can trace in the context of the Styrians. It goes without saying that the answer cannot be found in the countryside, in the fragrance of madeleines.

From the German by Blaž Slana and Valeska Nygren

Zwischen Reifikation und Dynamisierung – Zur Problematik des Raumbegriffs in der Geschichts- und Kulturtheorie

Stephan Günzel

Raum ist ein Begriff, der sich durch eine doppelte Ambivalenz oder Antinomie auszeichnet: Die erste Doppelheit oder Widersprüchlichkeit ergibt sich aus der Möglichkeit, den Raum als aktiv oder passiv zu betrachten, wobei Letzteres zumeist auf eine Reifikation, d.h. Verdinglichung, hinausläuft und Erstes eine Aktivität betont. Auf diesen Umstand hat in rein sprachlicher Hinsicht bereits Fritz Mauthner hingewiesen, der in seinem Eintrag zu „Raum“ von 1911 im „Kritischen Wörterbuch der Philosophie“ diesen gar überhaupt nur als einen Effekt der Grammatik, nämlich der Substantive, bezeichnet und die Vorstellung von Zeit dagegen als ein Resultat der Verwendung von Verben.¹ Die vermeintlich bloß semantische Differenz beschreibt jedoch nichts weniger als die ontologische Gegenüberstellung von Zeit als Lebendiges, das in der neuzeitlichen Philosophie – maßgeblich in der Behauptung zweier Anschauungsformen durch Immanuel Kant – meist „innen“ verortet wird, und dem gegenüber den Raum als Totes und „Äußerem“. Von daher erhellt, dass die Kulturphilosophie des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts sowohl von der Überwindung der Differenz zwischen Raum und Zeit als auch Aufhebung in der relativitätstheoretischen Raumzeit beeinflusst war, also sie sich auch an einer Umkehrung der Wertigkeiten versuchte, indem sie – wie etwa Oswald Spengler – den Raum als etwas Aktives und weitergehend auch nicht mehr als Etwas, sondern selbst als Aktivität darstellte. In semantischer Hinsicht auf den Punkt bringt dies die Formel Martin Heideggers, wonach der „Raum räumt“. Dem entgegen steht die in den Sozialwissenschaften lange vorherrschende Ansicht, wie sie von Max Horkheimer und Theodor W. Adorno auf den Punkt gebracht wird: „Der Raum ist die absolute Entfremdung.“

Der zweite Widerstreit in der Kulturtheorie des Raums kann daraus abgeleitet werden, betrifft aber dezidiert die Frage nach der Kultur: Es sind die Ansichten von Possibilismus und Determinismus oder von Raum als Möglichkeit und Raum als Bedingung. Als Lager werden die beiden Positionen erstmals in der Anthropogeographie namhaft und können geradezu als Unterscheidungsmerkmal eines „französischen“ von einem „deutschen“ Ansatz in der Geographie gelten, einschließlich der divergierenden Kulturauffassung: Während der vormalige Historiker Paul Vidal de la Blache 1905 in „Tableau de la Géographie de la France“ die Gestaltungskraft der „Zivilisation“ gegenüber der Natur betont,² unterstreicht der Zoologe Friedrich Ratzel in „Anthropogeographie“ von 1882 deren Wirkung auf die „Völker“.³ In der Folge etabliert sich mit Ratzel das

Between Reification and Dynamisation – The Issue of Spatial Concepts in Historical and Cultural Theory

Stephan Günzel

Space is a concept characterised by a double ambivalence or antinomy: The first duality or inconsistency arises out of a possibility to regard space as active or passive. The latter, however, is usually tantamount to reification, i.e. objectification, and the prior emphasizes an activity. From a purely linguistic perspective, this fact has already been pointed out by Fritz Mauthner, whose entry on “space” in the “Critical Dictionary of Philosophy” published in 1911 characterised space as merely an effect of grammar, namely of nouns, and the concept of time, by contrast, as a result of verb use.¹ The alleged merely semantic difference describes nothing less than the ontological comparison between time as that what is living, which is being located in the contemporary philosophy – significantly in Immanuel Kant’s assertion of two forms of perception – as an “inside”, and, in contrast to it, space as that what is dead and an “outside”. This sheds light on the fact that cultural philosophy of the early 20th century was thus influenced by an overcoming of the difference between space and time as sublation in the theory of relativity’s space-time, that is to say, an attempt – like for example by Oswald Spengler – to create a reversal of valences in presenting space as something active and going further not as a “something” but as an activity itself. From a semantic point of view, Martin Heidegger’s formula “space spaces” gets to the heart of it. In contrast, there is the long prevailing view in social sciences as encapsulated by Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno: “Space is absolute alienation.”

The second antagonism in the cultural theory of space can be derived from it, but it concerns decidedly the question of culture: There are views of possibilism and determinism or of space as a possibility and of space as a condition. As camps, the two views have become renowned for the first time in anthropogeography and may be regarded virtually as a distinguishing characteristic of the “French” approach from the “German” one, diverging cultural concepts included. While the former historian Paul Vidal de la Blache has emphasised the creative power of “civilisation” as opposed to nature in his “Tableau de la Géographie de la France” published in 1905,² the zoologist Friedrich Ratzel has stressed civilisation’s effects on the “peoples” in his “Anthropogeographie” published in 1882.³ Consequently, with Ratzel, the idea of “Lebensraum” (German for “habitat” or literally “living space”), takes root, according to Ernst Haeckel, and becomes the basic concept of German

Konzept des „Lebensraums“ nach Ernst Haeckel, welches zu einem Grundbegriff der deutschen Geopolitik sowohl in der Theorie bei Karl Haushofer als auch in der Propaganda und Praxis der Nazis als „Erweiterung des Lebensraums im Osten“ bzw. Heinrich Himmlers „Generalplan Ost“ werden wird.

Ratzels Position ist jedoch keineswegs singulär, sondern hat seine Entsprechungen in der zeitgenössischen Ethnologie, so etwa in der Kartierung von „Kulturrealen“ („cultural areas“) durch den US-amerikanischen Anthropologen Alfred Kroeber in „Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America“ von 1939⁴ oder in der sich bis heute haltenden Annahme von „Kulturkreisen“, welche auf den deutschen Völkerkundler Leo Frobenius und seinen Aufsatz über den „Ursprung der afrikanischen Kultur“ von 1898⁵ zurückgeht. Alle raumdeterministischen Positionen wiederum stehen in der Tradition der neuzeitlichen Naturrechtslehre mit Montesquieu, der seinerseits an die antike Geomedizin mit Hippokrates anschließt und damit den Rassendiskurs der Aufklärung und Moderne vorbereitet hat.

Im 20. Jahrhundert sind jedoch auch Mischpositionen oder Radikalisierungen anzutreffen: So geht der Geohistoriker Ferdinand Braudel in seiner Untersuchung „La Méditerranée“ von 1949 von einem „gemäßigten Determinismus“ aus, indem er die französische Geographie mit derjenigen Ratzels versöhnen und für eine Geschichtsschreibung der „langen Dauer“ fruchtbar machen will.⁶ Als Radikalisierung und gleichfalls Pervertierung des Possibilismus kann die zeitgleiche Position Carl Schmitts in „Der Nomos der Erde“ von 1950 bezeichnet werden, der die Unterscheidung von Natur und Kultur zugunsten der antiken Dichotomie von „physis“ und „nomos“ aufgibt (wo also in Ermangelung eines Plurals von „Kultur“ diese gleichbedeutend ist mit „Gesetz“); wobei Schmitt unter Letzterem ausdrücklich eine „Nahme“ des Raums versteht und mit dem Neologismus die geostrategische (legitimate) Okkupation des Erdraums durch die Weltmächte seit der Neuzeit bezeichnet.⁷

Eine andere Relativierung des Widerstreits von Determinismus und Possibilismus ergibt sich daraus, dass beide Positionen zunächst im Blick auf unterschiedliche Epochen entwickelt wurden: Während Vidal de la Blache vornehmlich über das Zeitalter der Industrialisierung (oder der Entstehung des modernen Frankreich) spricht, in der Raumgestaltung und -veränderung tatsächlich eine kulturelle Möglichkeit sind, sprechen Ratzel und die zeitgenössische Anthropologie zunächst von archaischen Epochen, wenngleich diese Auffassung als Folie für die Betrachtung der Gegenwart nahegelegt wird.

Einen Ausweg aus der doppelten Dichotomie der klassischen Kulturphilosophie des Raums bietet die dialektische Position Henri Lefebvres in „La production de l'espace“ von 1974, worin die Theorie einer Produktion des Raums vorgebracht wird, welche die Iteration, also das Bestätigen kultureller Strukturen, ebenso berücksichtigt oder beschreibbar sein lässt wie den Prozess und die Veränderung solcher Relationsgefüge.⁸ Lefebvre nimmt dabei nicht nur den historischen Materialismus auf, der die Reproduktion der (gesellschaftlichen) Bedingungen ebenso analysiert wie deren Produktion, sondern bahnt damit zugleich auch eine Verbindung zu der daraus hervorgegangenen Soziologie an:

geopolitics, both in Karl Haushofer's theory and in Nazi propaganda and practice as the "Expansion of Lebensraum (living space) in the East" or Heinrich Himmler's "Master Plan East" (Generalplan Ost).

Ratzel's position is by no means unique. Analogies can be found in contemporary ethnology: in the mapping of cultural areas by the US-American anthropologist Alfred Kroeber in his "Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America" published in 1939⁴, or in the still standing hypothesis of "Kulturkreis" (cultural circle) dating back to the German ethnologist Leo Frobenius and his essay on the "Origins of the African Culture" published in 1898⁵. All space deterministic positions, however, are in the tradition of the contemporary law of nature of Montesquieu, who, for his part, affiliated with the geomedicine of Hippocrates and, thereby, prepared for the discourse on race of the Enlightenment and Modernity.

In the 20th century, however, we can find mixed positions or radicalisations: In his research "La Méditerranée" published in 1949, the geo-historian Ferdinand Braudel speaks of a "moderate determinism". His goal is to reconcile French geography with Ratzel's geography and to lay the seed for a "long-term" historiography.⁶ Carl Schmitt's contemporary position in his "Der Nomos der Erde" published in 1950 can be regarded as the radicalisation and, at the same time, perverseness of possibilism. Schmitt abandons the differentiation of nature and culture in favour of the ancient dichotomy of physis and nomos (where, therefore, in the absence of the plural of "culture", the latter is synonymous with "law"). Schmitt sees the latter distinctly as a "Nahme" of space and uses the neologism to describe the geostrategic (legitimate) occupation of earth space by world powers since the modern times.⁷

Another relativization of the antagonism between determinism and possibilism comes from the fact that the two positions were initially developed in view of different eras: Whereas Vidal de la Blache primarily speaks of the age of industrialisation (or of the founding of modern France) where space formation and changes are actually possible, Ratzel and his contemporary anthropology initially speak of an archaic epoch even though this point of view is suggested as a transparency for an observation of the present.

The dialectic position of Henri Lefebvre, published in his "La production de l'espace" in 1974, offers a way out of the dual dichotomy of the classical cultural philosophy. Here, he presents his theory of space production which allows for a consideration and a description of iteration, that is to say a confirmation of cultural structures, as well as the process and the change of such relation structures.⁸ Thereby, Lefebvre does not only include historical materialism, which analyses the reproduction of (social) conditions as well as its production, but also initiates a connection to the sociology that originated from it: Even if the name has not been mentioned by Lefebvre, next to Cassirer, Georg Simmel's cultural sociology is still a central approach of the rethinking of space in the first part of the 20th century: Simmel supported a projection thesis with a tendency towards possibilism, according to which space is not simply a natural phenomenon where cultures integrate but also a result of its constitution:

Auch wenn der Name bei Lefebvre nicht fällt, so ist die Kulturosoziologie Georg Simmels ein zentraler Ansatz des Neudenkens von Raum in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts neben Cassirer: Simmel vertrat eine zum Possibilismus tendierende Projektionsthese, der zu Folge Raum nicht einfach ein natürliches Vorkommen ist, in dem sich Kulturen jeweils einfügen, sondern das Ergebnis deren Verfasstheit: So ist der zentrale Aufbau eines Landes, einer Stadt oder eines Hauses für Simmel nicht die Folge geographischer Gegebenheiten, sondern wiederum Ausdruck einer Gesellschaftsform. Die Kulturosoziologie liest den Raum daher als sichtbares Indiz der selbst nicht sichtbaren „sozialen Geometrie“, sprich: eines kulturellen Relationsgefüges.

Simmel ist nicht nur deshalb relevant, weil er wie Cassirer eine strukturelle Kulturanalyse anbahnt, sondern auch, weil er wie später Lefebvre die Übertragung oder Wirkung imaginärer Relationen auf den physischen Raum zum Kern einer Kulturphilosophie des Raums erhebt. Genau genommen schlägt Lefebvre nicht nur eine Dialektik vor, in der der zunächst gesellschaftlich produzierte Raum reproduziert oder verändert wird, sondern ist der Ansicht, dass daraus auch Räume mit symbolischer Relevanz hervorgehen. In Anlehnung an einen zentralen Begriff der postkolonialen Raumkritik Homi Bhabhas kann von einem Drittraum (thirdspace) gesprochen werden: Bhabha selbst meint damit noch den Umstand, dass gegenwärtige hybride Kulturen nicht verstanden sind, wenn sie auf zwei sich vermischende Ursprungskulturen zurückgeführt werden (etwa der Islamismus als Mischung aus „traditionellem“ Islam und „westlicher“ Moderne), sondern eine eigene, neue Kultur ausbilden. Raum wird damit auch konzeptionell gedoppelt, wenn Bhabha in der Folge von einer „Location of Culture“, so der Titel einer Aufsatzsammlung von 1994, spricht und damit sowohl eine geographisch-materielle wie – im Sinne des „Orientalismus“ nach Edward Said – auch ideologisch-relationale Lokalisierung meint.⁹

Bhabhas Begriff des Drittraums wird schließlich in der Lektüre Lefebvres durch den US-amerikanischen Sozialgeographen Edward Soja zu einer umfassenden Raumtheorie erweitert: Soja meint, dass Lefebvre eben nicht nur eine Dialektik der Raum(re-)produktion erkannt hat, sondern daneben die Hervorbringung symbolischer Räume. Diese werden von Soja in „Postmodern Geographies“ von 1989 auch mit Michel Foucaults (wiederum an die Religionsethnographie Arnold van Genneps und Victor Turners erinnernde) Begrifflichkeit der Heterotopie gleichgesetzt, mit der Gegen- oder Ausnahmeräume einer Kultur bezeichnet werden können, durch die diese Stabilität gewinnt.¹⁰ Bei Foucault jedoch sind diese Räume stets konkret und – darin liegt ein Grund für die inflationäre Verwendung des Begriffs in den Kulturwissenschaften – letztlich auch nur ein anderes Wort für den besonderen (kulturellen) „Ort“ im Unterschied zu einem als indifferent angesehenen (physischen) „Raum“.

Ein Drittraum ist demnach vielmehr ein räumlicher Modus, in dem etwas, das auch als Erst- oder Zweiträumlichkeit vorkommen kann, eine Bedeutung über das Materielle oder Darstellende hinaus hat. Im Näheren unterscheidet Lefebvre den Raum als 1. wahrgenommen, 2. konzipiert, und 3. gelebt. Eine (Re-)Produktion findet in ihnen jeweils auf unterschiedliche Weise statt: Im Ersträum

Therefore, according to Simmel, the central structure of a country, a town or a house is not a result of a geographic situation but, in turn, an expression of a social system. As a result, cultural sociology considers space as a visible indication of the invisible “social geometry”, i.e. of a cultural relation structure.

Simmel is not only relevant because he, like Cassirer, initiates a structural cultural analysis, but also because he, like Lefebvre later, makes a transfer or impact of imaginary relations to physical space the essence of his cultural philosophy of space. Strictly speaking, Lefebvre does not only suggest a dialectic, in which initially socially-produced space is reproduced or changed, but, also, that spaces with symbolic meaning originate from it. Following a central concept of Homi Bhabha’s postcolonial criticism on space, we may speak of “thirdspace”: Bhabha himself suggests with this that present hybrid cultures are not understood if they are traced back to two mutually mixed cultures of origin (like for example Islamism as being a mix of “traditional” Islam and “western” Modernity), but that they form a distinct, new culture. When Bhabha subsequently speaks of a “Location of Culture”, the title of his essay collection published in 1994, and, thus, refers not only to a geographically-material – according to the orientalism of Edward Said – but also to an ideological-relational localisation, a conceptual duplication of space takes place.⁹

Bhabha’s concept of the thirdspace in Lefebvre’s texts is eventually developed into a comprehensive space theory by the US-American social geographer Edward Soja: Soja suggests that Lefebvre does not only devise a dialectic of the (re)production of space but also the creation of symbolic spaces. In Soja’s “Postmodern Geographies”, published in 1989, the latter are synonymous with Michael Foucault’s definition of heterotopia (in turn, reminding us of the religious ethnography of Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner) which can be used to describe opposite or exceptional spaces of culture by which they gain stability.¹⁰ With Foucault, however, these spaces are always tangible and, – here, we can also find the reason for the inflationary use of this term in cultural sciences – ultimately, merely another word for a special (cultural) “place” in contrast to (a physical) “space” regarded as indifferent.

Consequently, a thirdspace is rather a spatial mode where something, which can occur as the first- or secondspace, has a meaning beyond the material or the representative. In particular, Lefebvre differentiates space as 1. perceived, 2. conceived and 3. lived. There, (re)production takes place in a different manner in each case. In the firstspace, biologically, in the secondspace, ideologically, and, in the thirdspace, socially. However, everything together makes up culture, which, in turn, for this reason, consists of an interplay of individual space perceptions, experts’ space knowledge (such as geographers, architects and politicians) and the jointly lived “spaces” or, more specifically: An individually experienced space and thereby a reproduced space is, at the same time, also a space that is produced in the course of planning and is socially important.

biologisch, im Zweitraum ideologisch und im Drittraum gesellschaftlich. Alles zusammen aber macht „Kultur“ aus, die damit wiederum aus dem Wechselspiel von individuellen Raumwahrnehmungen, dem Raumwissen von Experten (wie Geographen, Stadtplaner, Architekten, Politiker) und den gemeinsam gelebten „Räumen“ besteht oder genauer: ein individuell erfahrener Raum und dadurch reproduzierter Raum ist zugleich auch ein in der Planung produzierter und ein gesellschaftlich bedeutsamer Raum.

Endnoten

1
Mauthner 1911.

2
de la Blache 1905.

3
Ratzel 1882.

4
Kroeber 1939.

5
Frobenius 1898.

6
Braudel 1949.

7
Schmitt 1950.

8
Lefebvres 1974.

9
Bhabha 1994.

10
Soja 1989.

Endnotes

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7
Schmitt 1950.

8
Lefebvres 1974.

9
Bhabha 1994.

10
Soja 1989.



egauer Helme.

Arffsmid

Am
Das Röhl. Kreisamt.

Ein neue Notiz, dass im Landkreis eine Haushaltsschule begann
das alte System zu verwirren, und in der Stadt Mündung
holt Lernzugnissnachweise den Jahr für

Wem gehört das Kulturerbe? – Ein Überblick zu den rechtlichen Grundlagen

Christoph Bazil

Die Frage, wem denn die Geschichte gehört, oder noch konkreter, wem jene Gegenstände gehören, die wir als deren Relikte deuten, mag gerade hier in Mitteleuropa besonders gut gestellt sein. Gerade dieser Raum mit seiner über die Jahrhunderte, wenn nicht Jahrtausende gewachsenen Kultur der Vielfalt birgt jedenfalls für mich, der ich hier in diesem Raum, nämlich in Wien, aufgewachsen bin und lebe, bis heute regelmäßige Überraschungen an tiefen Gemeinsamkeiten, aber auch wichtigen Unterschieden.

Es kann uns daher nicht überraschen, dass Kulturgüter, gleich ob sie in öffentlichen oder privaten Sammlungen verwahrt sind, von unterschiedlichen Nationen, sozialen Gruppen oder anderen Gemeinschaften, aber auch von Individuen beansprucht werden. Diese Ansprüche können aus unterschiedlichsten Gründen erhoben werden, aus geschichtlichen, nationalen, ethisch-moralischen, sozialen und wohl noch vielen mehr. Wie in vielen anderen Lebensbereichen auch versuchen die Rechtsordnungen diese Ansprüche zu klassifizieren und in unterschiedlichen Verfahren zu bewerten.

Ich habe bewusst von „Rechtsordnungen“ gesprochen und möchte diesen Plural unterstreichen. So einfach es auch ist, einen Anspruch zu erheben, so schwierig kann es sein, über diesen abzusprechen. Wie in anderen Disziplinen gilt auch in der Juristerei, dass eben der Standpunkt die Perspektive bestimmt. Damit will ich keineswegs dem Vorurteil, dass wir Juristen alles weg- und wieder herargumentieren könnten, das Wort reden, aber doch deutlich machen, dass das „Recht“ keineswegs ein in sich geschlossener, logischer Komplex ist, sondern rechtliche Regelungen zueinander durchaus widersprüchlich sein können.

Vor allem ist zwischen dem Recht, das zwischen den Staaten gilt, also dem Völkerrecht, dem Recht, das Ansprüche zwischen Einzelpersonen regelt, also den Eigentumsrechten, und den öffentlich-rechtlichen Vorschriften der Staaten gegenüber ihren Bürgern, wie etwa den Ausfuhrverboten für Kulturgüter, zu unterscheiden.

Bei geschichtlichen Sachverhalten, die ja gerade beim Kulturerbe oft diskutiert werden, kommt hinzu, dass nicht nur das heutige Recht, sondern auch Rechtsauffassungen vergangener Epochen relevant sein können. Die Sache ist also durchaus kompliziert und ich werde versuchen, im Folgenden einen Überblick über die unterschiedlichen Rechtsquellen zu geben.

Who Owns Cultural Heritage? - An Overview of the Legal Bases

Christoph Bazil

The question who owns history or, more specific, who owns the objects we interpret as its relics is a well formulated one, particularly here, in Central Europe. Especially this region with its culture of diversity, developed over centuries, if not millennia, holds, at least for me, who grew up in this region, that is to say, in Vienna, and who still live here, periodic surprises to this very day, with its profound commonalities but also its important differences. That is why it comes as no surprise to us that cultural goods have been claimed by different nations, social groups, or other communities, but also by individuals, regardless of whether they have been held in public or private collections. These claims may be raised based on most diverse criteria: on historical, national, ethical and moral, social, and probably on many more. As in many other spheres of life, legal systems try to classify these claims and evaluate them based on different methods.

I have deliberately spoken of “legal systems” and would like to underline the plural form. As easy as it may be to raise a claim, as difficult it may be to deny it. Like in other disciplines, it is also the case with law that it is the standpoint that determines the perspective. With this, I would like, by no means, make a case for the prejudice that we jurists are able to argue everything away and back. However, I would like to make it clear that “law” is, by no means, a self-contained logical complex, but that legal provisions may very well be contradicting. Above all, we need to differentiate between the law that applies to relations between and among countries, that is to say international public law, the law that settles claims arising between individuals, thus above all property rights, and rules of public law of countries with regard to their citizens, like a ban on exports of cultural goods.

Above all with regard to historical facts, which are often discussed especially in connection with cultural heritage, not only current law but also, in addition, the legal opinions of past eras may be relevant. Thus, the matter is definitely complicated. And in the following I will try to give an overview of different legal sources.

Allow me to use an example of a transaction of cultural goods taken from Austrian literature, from the somewhat sentimental and nostalgic novel “The Emperor’s Tomb” by Joseph Roth.

Lassen Sie mich mit einem Kulturguthandel beginnen, den ich der österreichischen Literatur entnommen habe, nämlich Joseph Roths etwas sentimental-nostalgischem Roman „Die Kapuzinergruft“: Kurz vor Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs trifft der in Wien als wohlhabender Mann lebende Franz Ferdinand Trotta seinen Vetter Joseph Branko Trotta, der noch Bauer in einem slowenischen Dorf („Sipolje“) ist und den Winter über als Maronibrater durch die Monarchie reist. Franz Ferdinand Trotta ist bei diesem Treffen von der Erscheinung seines Vetters und vor allem von einer goldenen Uhrkette, die er trägt, fasziniert: „Er trug einen glänzenden Satinrock, eine geblümte Plüschweste mit bunten Glasknöpfen und, um den Hals geschlungen, eine edel geflochtene goldene schwere Uhrkette. Und ich ..., der dazu neigte, jede folkloristische Attrappe für ein Symbol zu nehmen, verliebte mich sofort in diese Kette. Ich wollte sie haben. Ich fragte meinen Vetter, wie viel sie kostete. ‚Ich weiß es nicht‘ – sagte er. ‚Ich habe sie von meinem Vater, der hatte sie von seinem Vater, und man kauft dergleichen nicht. Aber, da du mein Vetter bist, will ich sie dir gerne verkaufen.“¹ In der Folge erwarb Franz Ferdinand Trotta die begehrte Kette um 25 Kronen.

Sie werden meinen, dass es sich um eine simple Sache handelt, ein Geschäft zwischen einem Verkäufer und einem Käufer, wie es täglich geschieht. Als Jurist muss ich Ihnen aber sagen, dass es auf mancherlei ankommt, ob es sich wirklich um eine „simple Sache“ handelt: Es kann beispielsweise darauf ankommen, ob Joseph Branko Trotta überhaupt Eigentümer der verkauften Kette war. Er sagt ja selbst: „Man kauft dergleichen nicht“. Woher hatte also sein Großvater die Kette? Hatte er sie etwa gestohlen? Oder: Wir wissen ja auch aus dem Roman „Radetzkymarsch“, dass die Angehörigen der Familie beim alten österreichischen Militär dienten. Hatte also der Großvater die Kette als Kriegsbeute aus einem der Feldzüge Radetzkys im damaligen Lombardo-Venetien erhalten? Oder vielleicht gab es ein denkmalschutzrechtliches Verbot, Gegenstände der slowenischen Volkskunst über die Grenze des damaligen Kronlands zu verbringen? Denkbar wäre auch, dass nach dem Zerfall Österreich-Ungarns im Friedensvertrag von St. Germain Bestimmungen über Rückgaben von Kulturgütern geschaffen wurden. Wenn also diese Uhrkette noch immer in Österreich wäre, wem gehört sie? Ich möchte dieses Beispiel nicht noch weiter spinnen, doch möchte ich Sie darauf aufmerksam machen, dass bei der Beantwortung der Frage, wem die Uhrkette gehört, der Standpunkt die Perspektive bestimmen wird. Sie könnten also glauben, dass es sich um eine Kriegsbeute aus Lombardo-Venetien handelt und es daher an Italien geben; sie können meinen, dass es sich um ein Stück geschützten slowenischen Volkskulturerbes handelt und daher Slowenien seine Rückführung fordern sollte; Sie könnten aber auch vertreten, dass die Uhrkette im Jahr 1914 von Franz Ferdinand Trotta gekauft wurde und sie daher als deren Eigentum bei seinen Erben bleiben soll. Alle drei Lösungen haben eine gewisse Plausibilität, aber allen fehlt vor allem eines, welches jeder rechtlichen Lösung vorangehen muss: Eine klare, nachvollziehbare Feststellung des Sachverhaltes, über den rechtlich zu entscheiden ist, also über die Herkunft der Uhrkette, über ihre Provenienz.

Shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, the affluent Franz Ferdinand Trotta, who lives in Vienna, meets his cousin Joseph Branko Trotta, who is a farmer in a Slovene village (“Sipolje”) and who is travelling the monarchy as a chestnut roaster throughout the winter. At this meeting, Franz Ferdinand Trotta is fascinated by the appearance of his cousin and, above all, by the gold chain of his watch: “He wore a shimmering satin jacket, a flowery velvet waistcoat with colored glass buttons and a heavy, braided gold watch chain looped round his neck. And I [...], who was therefore apt to take any sort of folkloric detail for a totem, straightaway fell for the chain. I wanted to have it. I asked my cousin how much it cost. ‘I don’t know,’ he said. ‘I got it from my father, and he got it from his father, it’s not the sort of thing you can buy. But seeing as you’re my cousin, I’ll sell it to you.”¹ Thereafter, Franz Ferdinand Trotta buys the desired watch for 25 crowns.

You will think it insignificant, a simple trade between a seller and buyer, something that happens every day. However, as a jurist I have to tell you that whether this is really a “simple matter” will depend on a number of factors. For example, it may be important if Josef Branko Trotta is the actual owner of the chain sold. He himself does say: “[...] it’s not the sort of thing you can buy.” Where then did his grandfather acquire the chain? Had he, by any chance, stolen it? Or: We do know from the novel Radetzky March that members of the family served in the old Austrian military. Did the grandfather thus receive the chain as a spoil of war during one of Radetzky’s campaigns in what was then Lombardy-Venetia? Or, perhaps, was there monument protection legislation prohibiting the transfer of Slovene folk art across the borders of the former Crown land? It is also conceivable that, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, provisions were made in the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye with regard to a restitution of cultural goods. Thus, if this watch chain were still in Austria, who would it belong to?

I do not want to continue to spin this tale any further, however, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that in answering the question, who does the watch chain belong to, the standpoint shall determine the perspective. Thus you could believe it is a spoil of war from Lombardy-Venetia and would therefore give it to Italy. You may think it is a piece of protected Slovene folk cultural heritage and therefore Slovenia has the right to claim it. However, you could also allege that Franz Ferdinand Trotta’s heirs should keep the watch chain since he had bought it in 1914 and it became his property. All three solutions are partly plausible. But they all lack, above all, one thing that has to precede every legal solution: A clear, comprehensible establishing of facts that are the basis of a legal decision, that is to say, the origin of the watch chain, its provenance. However, I do not want to digress into this important area, but I will try to introduce some order into the chaos I’ve created. With the three solutions I have offered, I have drawn, above all, conclusions pertaining to three different areas of the law that I have already mentioned. Thus, the question of, where a cultural good relocated due to armed conflict should be, is typically covered by international public law; monument protection legislation bans on exports

Ich will jedoch nicht in dieses wichtige Gebiet abschweifen, sondern versuchen, ein wenig Ordnung in das von mir angerichtete Chaos zu bringen. Mit den drei Lösungen, die ich Ihnen angeboten habe, habe ich vor allem Schlüsse in drei unterschiedlichen Gebieten des Rechtes gezogen, die ich bereits vorhin erwähnt hatte. So ist die Frage, wohin ein Kulturgut gehen soll, das in Folge eines bewaffneten Konfliktes seinen Standort verändert hat, typischer Weise eine Frage des Völkerrechts; Denkmalschutzrechtliche Ausfuhrverbote sind vor allem Rechtsakte, die ein Staat gegen seine Bürger setzt, und daher dem öffentlichen Recht zuzuordnen. Die Beurteilung, wer Eigentümer eines Kulturgutes ist, ist jedoch zwischen den Bürgern zu klären, und dafür ist das Zivilrecht maßgeblich. Lassen Sie mich mit dem Zivilrecht beginnen. Es gibt wohl heute in Europa keinen Gegenstand, der nicht irgendeinen Eigentümer hat; das gilt natürlich auch für kulturell und materiell wertvolle Güter, auch dann, wenn wir glauben, dass sie „uns allen“ gehören. So gehört zum Beispiel der Wiener Stephansdom dem Wiener Domkapitel und das Schloss Leopoldskron in Salzburg, das in meiner Kindheit sogar auf der damals wertvollsten österreichischen Banknote abgebildet war, einer amerikanischen Stiftung.

Nun ist das Eigentum ein sehr mächtiges Recht: Nach den Worten des immer noch geltenden österreichischen Allgemeinen Bürgerlichen Gesetzbuches von 1812 ist es die „Befugnis, mit der Substanz und den Nutzungen einer Sache nach Willkür zu schalten, und jeden anderen davon auszuschließen“ (§ 354 ABGB). Es ist ein Recht, das einerseits in unseren europäischen Verfassungstraditionen einen hohen Schutz genießt, sogar auf der Ebene der Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention geschützt wird, das aber andererseits auch aus öffentlichen Interessen, wie dem öffentlichen Interesse an der Erhaltung des kulturellen Erbes, beschränkt wird. Darauf komme ich noch zu sprechen. Da das Eigentumsrecht eben sehr mächtig ist, greift die staatliche Ordnung oft im Zusammenhang mit politischen Umbrüchen in dieses ein. In Österreich kam es zwar weder nach dem Zusammenbruch der Habsburgermonarchie noch nach 1945 zu staatlichen Enteignungsmaßnahmen oder Kollektivierungen wie in anderen Staaten Mitteleuropas, jedoch fanden in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus tiefgehende Eingriffe in Eigentumsrechte statt, die auch bedeutendes Kulturerbe betrafen.

Gerade hier zeigt sich, dass staatliche Eingriffe in das Eigentumsrecht, auch wenn man sie eindeutig als Unrecht versteht, nur sehr schwer wieder rückzuführen sind. Zwar hat Österreich nach 1945 in mehreren Rückstellungsgesetzen versucht, den früheren Eigentümern Ansprüche auf Rückgaben einzuräumen, doch stießen und stoßen hier die individuellen Eigentümer rasch an faktische und rechtliche Grenzen. Derartige tiefe staatliche Eingriffe lassen sich in der Regel nur durch sondergesetzliche Gegenmaßnahmen beheben, weil das allgemeine Zivilrecht zwar Raub und Diebstahl nicht als Modus eines Eigentumserwerbs anerkennt und Verkäufe oder Schenkungen unter Zwang oder Angst missbilligt, zumeist aber Verjährungs- und Ersitzungsfristen oder ein inzwischen eingetretener gutgläubiger Erwerb durch einen Dritten den Eigentumsanspruch undurchsetzbar macht. Hinzu kommt, dass es vielen Eigentümern bzw. deren Erben unmöglich ist, Nachweise

are usually legal steps a country takes against its citizens, and thus they are a matter of public law. The assessment of who the actual owner of a cultural good is, is, however, to be settled between and among citizens, and it is therefore subject to civil law.

Let me begin with civil law. Today, in Europe, there is hardly an object without an owner. Naturally, this is also true for cultural and valuable tangible goods, even if we think they belong to "all of us". For example, St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna belongs to the Vienna Cathedral Chapter and Castle Leopoldskron in Salzburg, which was depicted on the most valuable Austrian banknote when I was a child, belongs to an American foundation.

Now, property is a very powerful right: According to the still applicable Austrian General Civil Code of 1812 (AGBG), it is the "right to wilfully utilize the substance and benefits of a property and to exclude everybody else" (Art. 354 AGBG). On the one hand, it is a right that enjoys a high level of protection in our European constitutional tradition, even on the level of the European Convention on Human Rights. On the other hand, however, it is also limited by public interest, for example by the public interest in the conservation of cultural heritage. Later, I shall come back to this point.

Since the right of property is a very strong right, governments often encroach on it in connection with radical political changes. It is true that neither after the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy nor after 1945 have there been expropriation measures nor collectivizations in Austria, as was the case in other Central European countries. However, at the time of National Socialism, far reaching encroachments on property rights took place that also affected important cultural heritage.

Here, in particular, we can see that state interventions in property rights are hard to reverse, even if they are clearly considered as unjust. After 1945, by passing several restitution acts, Austria, indeed, tried to grant former owners their claims for return. However, individual owners have quickly reached factual and legal limitations. Even though the General Civil Code, as a general rule, does not recognize robbery and larceny as a mode of acquiring ownership, and condemns purchases and gifts made under threat or out of fear, such severe state interventions can only be reversed by special legal counter measures, because ownership claims become unenforceable by statutes of limitations and periods of acquisitive prescription or by an occurred bona fide purchase by a third person. In addition, for many owners and their heirs, respectively, it is impossible to submit ownership documents of their lost property. That is why there are numerous cases of property rights of persecutees and their heirs, respectively, to objects of art and other cultural goods that have not been restored in Austria to this day despite restitution acts of the post-war years. Due to the fact that other countries once belonging to the Nazi territory are faced with similar problems, solutions are also being sought on an international level, for example in accordance with the Washington Conference Principles of 1998 or within the framework of the Prague Holocaust Era Assets Conference, which took place in June 2009.

über ihr verlorenes Eigentum vorzulegen. In Österreich gibt es daher trotz der Rückstellungsgesetze der Nachkriegsjahre bis heute zahlreiche Fälle, in denen die Eigentumsrechte der Verfolgten bzw. ihrer Erben an Kunstgegenständen und anderen Kulturgütern nicht wieder hergestellt sind. Da auch andere Staaten, die zum NS-Herrschaftsgebiet zählten, mit ähnlichen Problemen konfrontiert sind, werden Lösungen hierfür auch auf internationaler Ebene, etwa durch die Washingtoner Prinzipien von 1998 oder im Rahmen der internationalen Holocaustkonferenz von Prag im Juni 2009 gesucht.

Da also jedes Kulturgut einem Eigentümer gehört und dieser damit schalten und walten darf, ist es nicht überraschend, dass der Staat dieses Eigentumsrecht auch aus dem Titel des Kulturerbeschutzes regulieren will. Alle europäischen Staaten haben dafür Denkmal- oder Kulturgüterschutzgesetze geschaffen, die die Ausfuhr von Kulturgütern, soweit sie diese als Teil „ihres“ kulturellen Erbes ansehen, beschränken. Der Gedanke, dass Kulturgüter – unabhängig von den Eigentumsrechten der Bürger – auch einem bestimmten Staat zuzuordnen sind, der über ihre Ausfuhr bestimmen kann, ist heute wohl weltweit anerkannt. Selbst im Rahmen der Europäischen Union, die als eine ihrer drei Grundfreiheiten die Freiheit des Warenverkehrs nennt, ist der Schutz des Kulturerbes durch Ausfuhrbeschränkungen in Artikel 30 des Vertrages verankert. Darüber hinaus bietet das Europarecht durch eine Richtlinie und eine Verordnung seit Verwirklichung des Binnenmarktes die Möglichkeit, die Rückführung von Kulturgütern, die ohne Ausfuhr genehmigung in einen anderen Mitgliedsstaat exportiert wurden, auch gerichtlich durchzusetzen. Auf internationaler Ebene ist es vor allem die UNESCO-Konvention von 1970, die Rückgabeansprüche schaffen soll, wenn Kulturgüter rechtswidrig in einen anderen Staat verbracht wurden. Diese Rechtswidrigkeit setzt aber voraus, dass die Staaten bestimmte Kunstgegenstände als ihr kulturelles Erbe bestimmen, sozusagen ihrer Nationalität zuordnen. Eine Rückgabe des rechtswidrig ausgeführten Kulturguts aus einem anderen Staat bedingt aber, dass dieser die Rechtswidrigkeit der Ausfuhr und damit die Zuordnung zum Kulturerbe des Herkunftsstaates anerkennt.

Erik Jayme, emeritierter Universitätsprofessor an der Heidelberger Juristischen Fakultät, hat sich mit der Zuordnung von Kunstwerken zu nationalen Kulturerben mehrfach auseinandergesetzt, unter anderem auch vor einigen Jahren bei einem später publizierten Vortrag in Wien.² Als wesentliche Kriterien dieser Zuordnung arbeitete er die Nationalität des Künstlers, die Nation / den Ort, wofür das Kunstwerk geschaffen wurde, und die „Annahme“ des Kunstwerkes durch eine Nation heraus. Lassen Sie mich nur eines seiner Beispiele herausgreifen: Das von Albrecht Dürer im Jahr 1506 für San Bartolomeo in Venedig gemalte „Rosenkranzfest“. Das Gemälde wurde 1606 von Rudolph II. für Prag erworben und befindet sich noch heute dort. Erik Jayme meint, dass das Gemälde wegen der schon lange dauernden Verbringung aus Italien kein italienisches Kulturgut sei; sollte das Werk daher einmal in Italien gezeigt werden, so könnte Italien – auch wenn es für eine Kirche in Venedig geschaffen wurde – seine (Wieder-) Ausfuhr nicht beschränken.

Then, since every cultural good belongs to an owner, and he or she is allowed to utilize it at will, it comes as no surprise that the state wants to regulate this property right in order to protect cultural heritage. Therefore, all European countries established laws on the protection of historical buildings and monuments or cultural goods that limit exports on cultural goods if they are regarded as a part of “their” cultural heritage. The notion that cultural goods – irrespective of property laws of citizens – may also be assigned to a certain country controlling their export is probably recognized throughout the world today. Even within the framework of the European Union that states free movement of goods as one of its three fundamental freedoms, the protection of cultural heritage is enshrined in Article 30 of the Treaty imposing export restrictions. Moreover, since the creation of the European Single Market, European law provides a legal possibility, established by a directive and a regulation, to restitute cultural goods that were exported to another member state without an export license also through judicial enforcement. On an international level, the UNESCO Convention of 1970 is the main legal instrument regulating restitution claims if cultural goods have been unlawfully transferred into another country.

However, this unlawfulness presupposes that countries define certain objects of art as their cultural heritage, assigning them, so to speak, their nationality. A restitution of an illegally exported cultural good from another country requires, however, that the country acknowledges the unlawfulness of the export and thus the assignment of the cultural good to the cultural heritage of the country of its origin.

Erik Jayme, the retired university professor of the University of Heidelberg’s Faculty of Law, dealt with the assignment of works of art to cultural heritage on several occasions, also at a subsequently published lecture given in Vienna a few years ago.² Key criteria of his assignment are the nationality of the artist, the nation / the place for which the work of art was created, and its “acceptance” by a nation. Allow me to single out one of his examples: in 1506, Albrecht Dürer painted the Feast of the Rosary for San Bartolomeo in Venice. In 1606, the painting was bought by Rudolph II for Prague where it is still today. Erik Jayme is of the opinion that the painting is not an Italian cultural good since it was transferred from Italy a long time ago. If the painting were to be shown in Italy at one point, the country could not restrict it being (re)exported – even if it had been created for a church in Venice.

However, subsequently, the question arises, whose cultural heritage is it? Germany’s because Albrecht Dürer was a German painter? Or the Czech Republic’s since it has been hanging in Prague for over 400 years? Or even Austria’s if Rudolph II is claimed as an Austrian emperor? But let us stop here and merely acknowledge that, ultimately, neither European law nor the UNESCO Convention can help us define with certainty those cultural goods that are to be assigned to a certain national cultural heritage. It is always a combination of factors that establish a claim of a cultural good being part of a cultural heritage. It is essential, however, that a cultural good originates from a certain country; only that country may claim restitution of a cultural good from which it was exported contrary to its regulations. So, if the

Daran lässt sich allerdings die Frage anschließen, wessen Kulturerbe es denn dann ist. Deutsches, weil der Maler – Albrecht Dürer – ein Deutscher war? Oder tschechisches, weil es seit mehr als 400 Jahren in Prag hängt? Oder gar österreichisches, wenn ich Rudolf II. als österreichischen Herrscher reklamiere? Aber lassen Sie mich hier abbrechen und nur festhalten, dass letztlich weder das Europarecht noch die UNESCO-Konvention uns weiterhelfen, mit Gewissheit jene Kulturgüter zu bestimmen, die einem bestimmten nationalen Kulturerbe zuzurechnen sind. Es bleibt stets ein Bündel von Faktoren, das den Anspruch, ein Kunstgegenstand sei Teil des Kulturerbes, begründet. Entscheidend aber ist, dass das Kulturgut aus einem bestimmten Staat stammt. Nur der Staat kann seine Rückgabe verlangen, aus dessen Gebiet das Kulturgut entgegen seinen Vorschriften ausgeführt wurde. Wird daher die Rosenkranzmadonna aus der Tschechischen Republik illegal ausgeführt, so kann die Tschechische Republik das Gemälde mit Sicherheit zurückverlangen. Verlässt das Gemälde jedoch legal das Land, gelangt es dann nach Italien und wird viel später von dort illegal ausgeführt, so könnte möglicherweise Italien die Rückführung als sein nationales Kulturgut verlangen. Entscheidend für den Anspruch eines Staates, die Ausfuhr zu regeln, scheint mir daher weniger, ob das Kulturgut „nationale“ Eigenheiten aufweist, sondern vielmehr, ob es sich in dem betreffenden Staat für eine gewisse Dauer befand und von diesem „angenommen“ wurde.³

Welche Kulturgüter sich in einem Staat befinden, hängt von vielen Faktoren ab, von der künstlerischen Produktion der Vergangenheit, von Sammlerinteressen und von vielem mehr. Von diesen „positiven“ Faktoren abgesehen ist aber auch entscheidend, ob das kulturelle Erbe im Zusammenhang mit bewaffneten Konflikten respektiert wurde. Die Vergangenheit bietet uns zahlreiche Beispiele, dass die Verbringung und Zerstörung von Kulturgut als legitimes Recht des Siegers angesehen wurde, wobei dieses Recht zum Teil den einzelnen Soldaten zugestanden wurde, zum Teil aber die Verbringungen auch systematisch geordnet verliefen. Vielfach ist die systematische Plünderung auch ein Mittel, um den besiegten Gegner in seiner kulturellen Identität zu treffen. Das Völkerrecht, also das zwischen den Staaten geltende Recht, hat eine klare Entwicklung genommen, die Raub und Plünderung von Kulturgut ächtet. So wurde bereits im Wiener Kongress von 1814/15 die Rückführung des größten Teils der von Napoleon während seiner Kriegszüge nach Paris verbrachten Kulturgüter angeordnet, vor allem sind es aber die Haager Friedenskonferenzen von 1899 bis 1907, die mit der Haager Landkriegsordnung Bestimmungen zum Schutz und zur Respektierung des gegnerischen Kulturgutes schufen. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wurden diese Bestimmungen durch die Genfer Protokolle im Rahmen des Roten Kreuzes und der Haager Konvention von 1954 weiter ausgebaut.

Wenn es heute weithin anerkannt ist, dass auch dem Sieger kein Beuterecht zukommt, so war es zumindest im 20. Jahrhundert noch denkbar, dass ihm Ersatz für das durch gegnerische Kriegshandlungen verlorene Kulturgut zu geben ist. Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg wurde beispielsweise Deutschland verpflichtet, für die während der Kämpfe mit Frankreich zerstörten Bücher der Bibliothek von Löwen (Leuven / Louvain, Belgien) Ersatz aus seinen eigenen historischen

Madonna of the Rosary were illegally exported from the Czech Republic, the latter could certainly claim its restitution. If, however, the painting were legally transported from the Czech Republic to Italy and illegally exported from Italy at a much later date, Italy could thus, perhaps claim its restitution as its national cultural good. In my opinion, key factor for a country's right to control the export of a cultural good is therefore, less based on the "national" characteristics of a cultural good but rather based on the fact that it has been located in that particular country for a considerable amount of time, and that the latter has "accepted" it.³

What cultural goods are located in a country depends on many factors: on the artistic production in the past, on the collectors' interests, and on much more. Apart from these "positive" factors, it is, however, also essential if cultural heritage had been respected in connection with armed conflicts. The past offers numerous examples of victors having a legitimate right to take possession of and transfer or destroy cultural heritage. Whereby, in part, this right was granted, to some extent, even to soldiers, and the transfer was, in part, also organized systematically. Often systematic plundering is also a mean of impairing the defeated opponent's cultural identity.

International public law, that is to say, the law applicable between and among states, has shown a clear development towards penalizing robbery and plundering. As early as at the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15, it was ordered that the majority of the cultural goods Napoleon had transferred to Paris during his military campaigns to be restituted. Above all though, there were the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 that, together with the Hague Convention on the Laws and Customs of War on Land, established provisions to protect and respect cultural goods of opponents. After the Second World War, these provisions were further expanded by the Geneva Protocols within the framework of the Red Cross and the Hague Convention of 1954.

Whereas today it is widely accepted that victors are not entitled to a right of plunder, it has still been considered conceivable during the 20th century that they are entitled to compensation for cultural goods lost due to an opponent's act of war. For example, after the First World War, Germany was required to provide compensation for books of the library of the Belgian town of Leuven that were destroyed during the battles with France with replacements from its own historical collections. And even the peace treaties, signed with Hungary and Romania after the Second World War, provided for a possibility of a compensation ("restitution in kind") to what was then the Soviet Union. A few years ago, UNESCO tried to react to transfers and abductions of cultural goods dating back to the Second World War that continued to have effects with a general declaration that provided for a restitution of cultural goods to their locations before the outbreak of the War. In my opinion, it seems important that cultural goods are to be returned to those places and not to their respective countries of origins. This aspect is particularly important due to the shifting of borders after the Second World War. However, the attempt met with opposition not least on the part of Russia and failed. Eventually, it was merely "acknowledged" at the General Conference in 2008.

Beständen zu leisten, und noch die nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg geschlossenen Friedensverträge mit Ungarn und Rumänien sahen die Möglichkeit einer Ersatzleistung („restitution in kind“) gegenüber der damaligen Sowjetunion vor. Die UNESCO versuchte vor einigen Jahren, auf die immer noch nachwirkenden Verlagerungen und Verschleppungen von Kulturgütern in Folge des Zweiten Weltkrieges durch eine allgemeine Deklaration zu reagieren, die eine Rückführung der Kulturgüter an jene Orte vorsah, an welchen sie sich vor Kriegsausbruch befanden. Wichtig erscheint mir der Gedanke, dass die Rückführung an die Orte und nicht an die jeweiligen Herkunftsstaaten erfolgen sollte, was gerade wegen der Grenzverschiebungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg von Bedeutung ist. Der Entwurf ist jedoch an Widerständen, nicht zuletzt von Seiten Russlands, gescheitert und wurde schließlich durch die Generalkonferenz im Jahr 2008 lediglich „zur Kenntnis“ genommen.

Wem das Kulturerbe „gehört“, ist also nicht ohne weiteres zu beantworten, aus rechtlicher Sicht gibt es unterschiedliche Zuordnungskriterien, die in sich jedoch widersprüchlich sein können. Wesentlich ist, ob die Frage nach der Zuordnung aus einer zivilrechtlichen, völkerrechtlichen oder öffentlich-rechtlichen Perspektive gestellt wird. Versucht man eine Tendenz auszumachen, so kann man feststellen, dass der Bereich eine zunehmende Verrechtlichung erfährt, die einerseits den Schutz bzw. die Wiederherstellung verlorener Eigentumsrechte von Privaten zum Inhalt hat, andererseits auch anerkennt, dass die Staaten selbst ein Recht haben, ein kulturelles Erbe zu definieren und gegen eine Ausfuhr zu schützen. Dem ist als dritter Punkt noch hinzuzufügen, dass dieses kulturelle Erbe zunehmend auch von anderen Staaten zu respektieren ist, womit man letztlich zu einer gemeinsamen Verantwortung aller Staaten für das Kulturerbe gelangt.

Endnoten

1
Roth, Kapuzinergruft.

2
Jayme 2001.

3
Jayme 2001.

The question, who “owns” cultural heritage, is difficult to answer. From a legal point of view, there are different assignment criteria that may, however, be conflicting. It is essential to ask the question with regard to an assignment according to perspectives based on civil, international public or public law. In trying to identify a trend, we can see that the area is experiencing an increasing juridification which, on the one hand, involves the protection and restitution of lost property rights of individuals, and, on the other hand, recognizes that countries themselves have a right to determine cultural heritage and to protect it against export. To this we must add a third point, that is, that this cultural heritage has to be increasingly respected by other countries as well. And this will ultimately lead to a joint responsibility of all countries for cultural heritage.

Endnotes

1
Roth, Emperor's Tomb.

2
Jayme 2001.

3
Jayme 2001.

Mobility of Collections

Mateja Kos

“Mobility of collections” was and is still an European action which gathered useful tools and the forms of good practice examples and recommendations to enable easier access to international exhibitions, artifacts and artworks exchange. Because of that it is also a useful tool to make borders of the states and those in the heads easier to cross.

The action presented in my text ended in 2010. But there is a new one, with a new name, but with similar topics: recently, the report and the toolkit on practical way to reduce the cost of lending and borrowing of cultural objects between member states of the EU were published.¹

I would like to present just the outcome of the Mobility of Collections European action (2009–2010), because I think that some issues and assessments could be used also in the broad area of the role of cultural heritage in the time of political changes.

In 2007 the Communication from the European Commission on a “European agenda for culture in a globalizing world” launched a wider reflection on the role of culture as a key element of European integration process, based on common values and a common heritage as well as on cultural diversity.

The three objectives of the Agenda were: the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue; the promotion of culture as a catalyst for creativity in the framework of the Lisbon Strategy for growth and jobs; and the promotion of culture as a vital element in the Union’s international relations.

Some years before, the “Action Plan for the EU Promotion of Museum Collections’ Mobility and Loan Standards”² saw daylight. The general objectives were listed, as well as the key areas that need extra care and attention. Implementing the Action Plan required gathering the basic information about collection practices in the member states. The work started in working groups that concentrated on

- Loan administration and loan standards
- State indemnity schemes
- Valuation, selfinsurance and non-insurance of cultural objects
- Immunity from seizure

- Loan fees and long term loans
- Building up trust / networking
- Digitization

Inquiries were sent to the member states and results analysed. These groups worked in 2006 and 2007 and produced a set of guidelines, recommendations, surveys, declarations, definitions and model agreements. These were the foundations that the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) Working Group on Mobility of Collections started working with.

The working group was organized according to Open Method of Coordination (OMC) system. This means that all the members had equal status, not being lead and guided by the EU representative. In this way, a more democratic way of decision making is ensured.

The mobility of collection is a very complex cluster of various activities in the fields of legislation and various aspects of museum work. The issues connected with mobility and enabling it should be solved, its requirements should be met and its foundations must be implanted in everyday's museum work. Not only theoretical foundations but also guidelines of procedures needed should be prepared and tested.

The working group was divided into five subgroups, each of them addressed a different priority identified by member states in relation to mobility of collections in Europe.

The sub-groups were dealing with:

1. Long-term loans
 2. Prevention of theft and illicit trafficking
 3. Immunity from seizure
 4. State indemnity and shared liability agreements
 5. Mobility of museum professionals / Exchange of expertise.
- Experts from 25 Member States participated in this working group.

The mobility of collection is based on those foundations:

1. The objects are stored and are not exhibited because of their extreme value or rarity or fragility. However, a lot of the objects are stored because they are not conform to museum acquisition policy, museum philosophy, permanent exhibition context, etc. These objects could be lent to other museums to enrich their permanent (or temporary) collection and thus expand their accessibility to general public.

2. Long term loans are very sensitive in various aspects. We must be aware of certain advantages and challenges or even problems connected with them. Those challenges are:

- Illicit traffic, theft, forgeries, everything that affect the object in an illicit way. There are useful databases dealing with stolen objects and offering some help in preventing. But the ultimate help is digitalization of cultural heritage objects and its accessibility.

- Immunity from seizure is tightly connected with due diligence and thorough checking of object's or artwork's provenance. Some countries have immunity from seizure included in their legislation, the others issue the so-called letter of comfort.
- Insurance is demanded whenever the object leaves its domicile museum. There are different opportunities how to ensure it, from state indemnities to no-insurance policy of the museums.

The OMC Working Group on Mobility of Collections provided several key recommendations and good practice examples. They could be found in the Final Report and recommendations to the Cultural Affairs Committee on improving the means of increasing the Mobility of Collections.³

Some recommendations are:

- a) Promoting due diligence in order to prevent illicit trafficking
- b) Exploring possibilities of overcoming problems related to introducing immunity from seizure
- c) Promoting the use of state indemnity schemes as a standard procedure
- d) Promoting long term loans and associated activities
- e) Promoting the mobility of professionals as an essential activity to the mobility of collections by creating shared trust and knowledge between museums
- f) Ensuring that the highest possible standards of security underpin all borrowing and lending activities.

More detailed recommendations are addressed to different target audiences such as Cultural Affairs Committee representatives; Member States, in particular officials working in ministries with responsibility for Culture; also Finance and Justice and Foreign affairs ministries; politicians; museum workers (especially directors, heads of collections, curators, registrars and exhibitions staff) and professional networks including NEMO, ICOM, European Registrars Group, International Exhibitions Organisers group; and the Bizot Group of Museum Directors.

We hope that at least some of them will be implemented in all EU countries and that Mobility of Collections will not live only on paper.

Endnotes

1
OMC Working Groupe 2012.

2
Ministry of Education / Finland (ed.) 2006.

3
OMC Expert Working Groop 2010.



VICARIUS
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Die Ausstellung „Tür an Tür. Polen-Deutschland. 1000 Jahre Kunst und Geschichte“ im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin - Ein Bericht aus der Museumspraxis

Gregor H. Lersch

Mein Beitrag stellt ein Ausstellungsprojekt vor, das im besonderen Maße mit der Komplexität der Zugehörigkeit von Kulturgütern und der Kooperation von Museen über Grenzen hinweg in Zusammenhang steht.

Im Folgenden werde ich über die Ausstellung „Tür an Tür. Polen-Deutschland. 1000 Jahre Kunst und Geschichte“ berichten, die von September 2011 bis Januar 2012 im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin stattfand.¹ Es handelte sich dabei um das größte bi-nationale Ausstellungsprojekt, das es jemals zwischen Deutschland und Polen gegeben hat. Ausführende Partner waren der Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin und das Königsschloss in Warschau (Zamek Królewski w Warszawie). Ab September 2009 entstanden in beiden Städten Projektbüros, welche die Ausstellung unter Federführung einer polnischen Kuratorin, der Kunsthistorikerin Anda Rottenberg, erarbeiteten. Anlass der Realisierung der schon seit 2005 existierenden Projektidee war die erste EU-Ratspräsidentschaft Polens in der zweiten Jahreshälfte 2011.

Bis heute stellen der Zweite Weltkrieg und seine Folgen, dabei vor allem die Konsequenzen der Westverschiebung Polens und die damit einhergehende Überschreibung von vormals deutschen Gebieten an Polen, auch in Bezug auf deutsche und polnische Museen und deren Sammlungen, ein kompliziertes Thema dar. Neben dem immobilen Kulturerbe wechselten auch zahlreiche Kunstgegenstände und Archivalien durch die Änderung der deutsch-polnischen Grenze nach 1945 ihre nationale Zugehörigkeit. Zudem hat der große Verlust polnischer Kulturgüter während der Besatzungszeit und des Krieges die Beziehungen nachhaltig beschädigt. In vielen strittigen Fällen wurden bereits zufriedenstellende und beiderseitig akzeptierte Lösungen gefunden, dennoch bleiben auch bis heute noch einige Fragen bezüglich des Verbleibes von Kulturgut ungeklärt.

Grundidee der Ausstellung war es, eine 1000-jährige deutsch-polnische Kulturgeschichte durch Kunstwerke zu erzählen. Den Ausgangspunkt des chronologischen Rundgangs bildete das historische Ereignis des Aktes von Gnesen im Jahr 1000 n. Chr. Im letzten Raum der Ausstellung war schließlich ein Ausblick in die Zukunft der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen zu sehen. Auch hier wurde auf die Aussagekraft der Kunst gesetzt und ein Künstler damit beauftragt,

The Exhibition “Side by Side. Poland-Germany. 1000 Years of Art and History” at the Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin – A Museum Practice’s Report

Gregor H. Lersch

My article introduces an exhibition project that is to a particular extent connected to the complexity of ownership of cultural possessions and cooperation among museums across borders.

In the following, I shall report on the exhibition “Side by Side”. Poland-Germany. 1000 Years of Art and History” that was shown at the Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin from September 2011 until January 2012. It has been the biggest bi-national exhibition project of Germany and Poland to date. Exhibition partners were the Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin and the Royal Castle in Warsaw (Zamek Królewski w Warszawie). Beginning in September 2009, project offices had been established in both cities that designed the exhibition under the leadership of a Polish curator, the art historian Anda Rottenberg. The occasion for realizing the project idea, which had already existed since 2005, was the first Polish EU Council Presidency in the second half of 2011.

Until today, the Second World War and its aftermath, the westward shift of Poland, in particular, and, as a consequence thereof, the transference of former German territory to Poland, are difficult subjects also with regard to German and Polish museums and their collections. Along with immovable cultural heritage, numerous antiques and archive documents also changed their national identity after the German-Polish border had been redrawn in 1945. In addition, the great loss of Polish cultural possessions during the time of occupation and the War itself had a lasting negative effect on the relations between Germany and Poland. In many controversial cases, satisfying and mutually acceptable solutions have been reached. However, certain issues regarding the whereabouts of cultural possessions still remain unclear to date.

The basic idea of the exhibition was to tell a 1000-year-old history of German-Polish cultural history through works of art. Starting point of the chronological tour was the historic event of the Congress of Gniezno in the year 1000 AD. In the last room of the exhibition, there was, in conclusion, an outlook into the future of German-Polish relations. Here as well, the expressiveness of art was the focus, and an artist was assigned to create a work of art as a concluding part of the exhibition. Numerous renowned international artists participated in the exhibition, like among others Gregor Schneider, Miroslaw Bałka,

ein Werk als Abschluss der Ausstellung zu schaffen. An der Ausstellung beteiligt waren zahlreiche namhafte internationale Künstler, wie u.a. Gregor Schneider, Miroslaw Bałka, Luc Tuymans oder Jochen Gerz. Etwa die Hälfte der 6000 m² Ausstellungsfläche wurde dabei für die Darstellung der Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts genutzt. Im Laufe des Parcours durchlief der Besucher 20 Ausstellungsräume, in denen insgesamt etwa 800 Ausstellungstücke zu sehen waren. Da der Martin-Gropius-Bau ein Ausstellungshaus, also ein Ort temporärer Ausstellungen ohne eigene Sammlung ist, wurden alle diese Ausstellungsobjekte von Museen und Sammlungen bereitgestellt. Über 200 verschiedene Leihgeber aus ganz Europa stimmten letztendlich einer Ausleihe nach Berlin zu. Etwa die Hälfte der Objekte stammte aus deutschen und internationalen Museen, darunter Institutionen wie das British Museum in London, das Kunsthistorische Museum Wien oder die Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Dresden. Bemerkenswert ist, dass über die Hälfte der Objekte aus polnischen Museen und Sammlungen stammte. Knapp 100 große und kleinere Leihgeber, darunter Museen, Archive, Bibliotheken und Privatpersonen, beteiligten sich bereitwillig an der Ausstellung in Berlin. Neben der hohen Anzahl von Kunstwerken wurden zudem zahlreiche äußerst kostbare Archivalien und Handschriften nach Berlin ausgeliehen. Selbst der Balthasar-Behaim-Codex aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert und im Besitz der Jagiellonen-Bibliothek in Krakau, eines der kostbarsten Werke aus polnischen Bibliotheken überhaupt, war für einen Monat in Berlin zu sehen.

Der Symbolwert, der in dieser großen Bereitschaft von polnischen Institutionen zur Kooperation gesehen werden kann, ist dabei auch im Jahr 2012 nicht zu unterschätzen. So befanden sich unter den aus Polen ausgeliehenen Objekten auch Kunstwerke, die in der nationalsozialistischen Besatzungszeit nach 1939 von den deutschen Besatzern gesucht wurden, um diese zu zerstören. In diesem Zusammenhang ist vor allem das Monumentalgemälde aus dem 19. Jahrhundert von Jan Matejko „Die Preußische Huldigung“ aus dem Wawel in Krakau zu nennen, das den Zweiten Weltkrieg nur versteckt überdauern konnte. Es zeigt die Huldigung von Albrecht von Preußen vor dem polnischen König Sigismund I. im Jahr 1525 – also eine vermeintliche „deutsche Niederlage“ – und zählt zu den bekanntesten Gemälden Polens. Die Präsentation dieses Bildes in Berlin stellt in Polen immer noch einen Streitpunkt dar, denn rechtskonservative Kreise stehen engen Kooperationen mit dem deutschen Nachbar teilweise auch heute noch sehr skeptisch gegenüber.

Im Folgenden werde ich kurz auf die organisatorischen und rechtlichen Hintergründe eingehen, die aus museumspraktischer Sicht solch ein bi-nationales Kooperationsprojekt überhaupt erst möglich machen. Neben dem üblichen Procedere des Leihverkehrs zwischen Museen (bestehend aus Leihanfrage und -zusage, Leihvertrag und Versicherung) waren aufgrund der komplexen deutsch-polnischen Vergangenheit weitere Schritte notwendig. Um die Ausleihe polnischer Objekte nach Deutschland auch rechtlich abzusichern, stellte die deutsche Seite eine „Verbindliche Rückgabeszicherung“ (engl. Immunity from seizure) aus, die dem Leihgeber aus Polen vor dem Transport nach Deutschland zuging. Dies ist ein durchaus üblicher Vorgang im

Luc Tuymans and Jochen Gerz. About half of the 6000 m² exhibition space was used for the presentation of 20th century history. Throughout the exhibition, visitors saw 20 exhibition rooms with about 800 exhibits on display. Since the Martin-Gropius-Bau is an exhibition hall hosting exhibitions without having its own collection, all exhibited objects were provided by museums and collections. Over 200 different lenders from all over Europe eventually agreed to loans to Berlin. About half of the objects originated from German and international museums, among them institutions like the British Museum in London, the Museum of Fine Arts Vienna, and the Dresden State Art Collections. It bears mentioning that over a half of the exhibits originated from Polish museums and collections. Almost 100 big and smaller lenders, among them museums, archives, libraries, and private individuals, willingly participated in the exhibition in Berlin. In addition to high number of works of art, numerous extremely precious archival documents and manuscripts were given on loan to Berlin. Even the Balthasar Behem Codex dating from the early 16th century, one of the most precious works held by a Polish library ever, owned by the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, was on display in Berlin for a month.

The symbolic value that may be seen in the readiness of Polish institutions to cooperate is not to be underestimated even in 2012. Among the objects on loan were even works of art the German occupying forces had sought to destroy during the Nazi occupation period after 1939. Above all, in this context, the monumental 19th century painting "Die Preußische Huldigung" [The Prussian Homage] by Jan Matejko from the Wawel Castle in Krakow that could only survive the Second World War in hiding. It depicts the homage paid by Albrecht of Prussia to the Polish King Sigismund I. in the year of 1525 – therefore an alleged "German defeat" – and counts among one of the most renowned Polish paintings. The presentation of this painting in Berlin is still a contentious issue in Poland, as still today, some right-wing conservative circles are very skeptical towards close cooperation with the German neighbor.

In the following, I shall briefly elaborate on the organizational and legal background that makes such a bi-national cooperation project at all possible from a museum's practice point of view. Next to the standard loan procedure among museums (consisting of a loan request and confirmation, loan contract and insurance), additional steps were required due to the complex German-Polish history. In order to legally protect a loan of Polish exhibits to Germany, the German side issued a binding legal document called "Immunity from Seizure" that was sent to the lender from Poland before the forwarding to Germany. This is a perfectly standard process within international museum operations which, however, received an additional component in the example provided here. A condition for issuing Immunity from Seizure was, in addition, the examination if the respective exhibit had been registered with the Lost Art Database (www.lostart.de). The Lost Art Database is part and result of a large-scale project for provenance research. It collects information on cultural possessions having been lost during the Second World War or registered as having been lost by their

internationalen Museumsbetrieb, der im hier vorliegenden Beispiel allerdings noch einen weiteren Zusatz erhielt: Bedingung für die Erteilung dieser Rückgabezusicherung war zusätzlich die Prüfung, ob das jeweilige Objekt in der Lost Art Database (www.lostart.de) eingetragen wurde. Die Lost Art Database ist Teil und Resultat eines groß angelegten Projektes zur Provenienzforschung und sammelt Informationen zu Kulturgütern, die im Zweiten Weltkrieg verloren gingen, beziehungsweise von vormaligen Besitzern als verloren gemeldet wurden. Objekte, die in dieser Datenbank eingetragen sind, können bis heute nicht ohne weiteres nach Deutschland ausgeliehen werden, da eine rechtsverbindliche Rückgabezusicherung von deutscher Seite nicht gegeben werden kann. Es könnten auch heute noch rechtsverbindliche Ansprüche bestehen und geltend gemacht werden. Im Fall von „Tür an Tür“ gab es so tatsächlich einige wenige Objekte, die trotz der Bereitschaft der polnischen Leihgeber nicht in Berlin gezeigt werden konnten. Über 400 Objekte, die auch aus den vormals deutschen Gebieten wie Schlesien stammten, wurden gezeigt und erfreulicherweise kamen in Deutschland keinerlei Stimmen auf, die forderten, dass eine oder andere Kunstwerk nun in Deutschland zu behalten.

Der vorausgehende kleine Exkurs in die organisatorische Praxis des Kooperationsprojekts zeigt, welche große Bedeutung Forschungsprojekte zur Provenienz von Sammlungen und Objekten haben.

Die Grenzverschiebungen in Europa im 20. Jahrhundert stellen dabei eine besondere museologische Herausforderung dar. Seit der politischen Wende 1989/90 in Europa lassen sich allerdings in zahlreichen Grenzregionen, wie auch hier im österreichisch-slowenischen Grenzgebiet, enorme Fortschritte in der Zusammenarbeit beobachten.

Ergänzend berichten möchte ich zum Abschluss noch von einem Pilotprojekt im Bereich der bi-nationalen, multiperspektivischen Vermittlung von Geschichte, das im Rahmen der Ausstellung „Tür an Tür“ entwickelt und durchgeführt wurde. In Kooperation mit der Europa-Universität Viadrina in Frankfurt/Oder und den Kulturprojekten Berlin, der Agentur für Vermittlung des Landes Berlin, wurden Führungen entwickelt, in welchen polnische und deutsche Studierende gemeinsam in Zweier-Gruppen durch die Ausstellungen führten. Der Ansatz der Führungen war dabei, dass die Führungskräfte verschiedene nationale Perspektiven auf ein historisches Ereignis aufmachten und im Dialog mit den Besuchern erörterten. Die deutsch-polnische Geschichte eignet sich aufgrund der teilweise großen Unterschiede in der nationalen Geschichtsschreibung hierfür sehr gut.

Den Führungen ging ein einsemestriges Seminar an der Universität voraus, in welchem die Studierenden sich mit den theoretischen Grundlagen von Ausstellungen und deren Analyse beschäftigten. Im Anschluss erhielten sie zusätzlich Dialogschulungen und Einführungen in die Theorie und Praxis der Vermittlung im Museumsbereich. Schlussendlich war es dann jedem Paar freigestellt, wie sie die Führung gestalteten, d.h. an welchen Objekten sie die multiperspektivische Sichtweisen ausprobierten und inwieweit sie die Besucher

former owners. Objects registered in the database cannot be readily loaned to Germany as a legally binding Immunity from Seizure cannot be issued by the German side. Even today, legally binding claims could exist and could be enforced. In the case of the “Door to Door” exhibition, there were, indeed, a few objects that could not be shown in Berlin despite the readiness of the Polish lenders. Over 400 objects were shown which also originated from the former German territories such as Silesia and, fortunately, no voices were heard in Germany that demanded that the one or other work of art should now remain in Germany.

The previous short excursion into the organizational practices of this cooperation project shows the great significance research projects into the provenance of collections and objects have.

In this regard, the shifting of borders in Europe during the 20th century represents a special museological challenge. However, since the political changes of 1989/90 in Europe, enormous progress has been made with regard to cooperation in numerous border areas as, for example, here, in the Austrian-Slovene border region.

In addition, I would like to mention a pilot project in the field of bi-national, multiperspectival communication of history that was developed and performed within the framework of the “Side by Side” exhibition. In cooperation with the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) and “Kulturprojekte Berlin”, the Agency for Mediation of the Federal State of Berlin, guided tours were developed in which a Polish and a German student guided visitors through the exhibition together. Here, the approach of the guided tour was that guides would speak about a historical event from different national perspectives and discuss them in a dialogue with visitors. Due to the in part great differences in points of views, German-Polish history is very well suited for such an approach.

Prior to guiding the tours, students participated in a one-semester seminar where they were introduced to the theoretical bases of exhibitions and their analysis. Following this, students received additional dialogue training and introductions in the theory and practice of communication in the field of museums. In conclusion, each pair was free to decide how to structure the guided tour, i.e. which objects they would choose for the application of multi-perspectival points of view and to what an extent they should include visitors in a dialogue and participation. Here, the term participation was understood in a broad sense. Next to visitors taking part in the guided tours, students and the staff from the University, the Agency for Mediation and the exhibition hall were also a part of the participatory process. Insights gained in the process of the tandem guides are currently being collected and will be presented in May 2013.² The complexity of the national ownership of objects, locations and persons can also be presented very clearly and vividly to an audience in a multiperspectival manner. The guided tours were very popular with visitors and were a frequent topic in German and Polish media coverage of the exhibition.

dialogisch und partizipativ einbanden. Der Begriff der Partizipation wurde hierbei sehr breit verstanden. Neben den Besuchern der Führungen waren auch die Studierenden und die Mitarbeiter/innen von Universität, Vermittlungsagentur und des Ausstellungshauses Teil des partizipativen Prozesses. Die Erkenntnisse des Projektes der Tandemführungen wurden zusammengestellt und im Jahr 2013 veröffentlicht.² Auch die Komplexität der nationalen Zugehörigkeit von Objekten, Orten und Personen ließ sich durch den multiperspektivischen Ansatz dem Publikum sehr anschaulich darstellen. Die Führungen waren bei den Besuchern sehr beliebt und zudem häufiges Thema in der deutschen und polnischen Berichterstattung über die Ausstellung.

Die erfolgreiche Realisierung, die gute Rezeption der Ausstellung und vor allem die große Beteiligung von polnischen Museen manifestiert, auf welch selbstverständliche Art über nationale Kooperationen selbst vor dem Hintergrund einer höchst komplexen jüngeren Vergangenheit heute möglich sind. Zudem hat sich gezeigt, dass die von den Grenzziehungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg betroffenen Kulturgüter von vielen Polen und Deutschen inzwischen ganz selbstverständlich als ein gemeinsames europäisches kulturelles Erbe betrachtet werden. Weiterhin hat sich die gemischte Präsentation von Kunstwerken und kulturhistorischen Objekten in „Tür an Tür“ bewährt. Besonders in Bezug auf die schwierige Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, können durch Kunst jenseits von Dokumenten und Objekten emotionale Zugänge ermöglicht werden, welche die Perspektive der jeweils anderen Nation gut sichtbar machen. Allerdings hat der Vorfall um die Abschaltung eines Videokunstwerkes von Artur Żmijewski auch deutlich gemacht, welch große Differenzen es im Umgang mit der Vergangenheit auch im Jahr 2011 noch gibt.

Aus diesem Grund ist es besonders wichtig, zukünftige bi-nationale Ausstellungsprojekte multiperspektivisch zu gestalten. Das beschriebene Tandemprojekt ist hier nur ein kleiner Schritt auf dem Wege zu einer breiter angelegten Einbindung des Besuchers bei der Gestaltung von „partizipativen Erinnerungsräumen“.

Endnoten

¹
Omilanowska 2011.

²
Ackermann – Boroffka – Lersch 2013.

The successful realization of the exhibition and, above all, the extensive participation of Polish museums show how naturally supranational cooperation can be possible even before a background of a highly complex recent history. In addition, it has become apparent that, by now, as a matter of course, many Poles and Germans regard cultural possessions affected by the shifting of borders after the Second World War as their common European cultural heritage.

The successful realization and good acceptance of the exhibition and, above all, the extensive participation of Polish museums show how naturally supranational cooperation can be possible, even before a background of a highly complex recent history. In addition, it has become apparent that, by now, as a matter of course, many Poles and Germans regard cultural possessions affected by the shifting of borders after the Second World War as their common European cultural heritage.

Furthermore, the mixed presentation of works of art and cultural-historical objects “side by side” has proven itself. Particularly in regard to the difficult history of the 20th century. Emotional approaches beyond documents and objects may be possible by art, that makes the perspective of the other nation clearly visible. However, the incident of the shutdown of a video art installation by Artur Żmijewski has also made it clear, what great differences in dealing with the past are still present in 2011.

For this reason, it is particularly important to ensure further bi-national exhibition projects from multiple perspectives in the future. This tandem project was only a small step on the way to a broader involvement of the visitors in the design of “participatory spaces of memory”.

Endnotes

1
Omilanowska 2011.

2
Ackermann – Boroffka – Lersch 2013.

Dreiländermuseum Lörrach. Das Museum für die deutsch-französisch-schweizerische Dreiländerregion

Markus Moehring

Im Dreiländereck von Deutschland, Frankreich und der Schweiz liegt das Dreiländermuseum Lörrach. Sein Name ist Programm: Das Museum hat den Anspruch, mit seinen Angeboten nicht an nationalen Grenzen zu enden, sondern diese Grenzen gezielt zu überwinden.

Das Museum befindet sich in der trinationalen Agglomeration Basel in der Innenstadt von Lörrach. Der zusammenhängende städtische Siedlungsraum der Agglomeration erstreckt sich rund um das Dreiländereck mit Basel als wichtigstem Zentrum auf Schweizer Seite, Lörrach auf deutscher Seite und St-Louis auf französischer Seite. Das Museumsgebäude ist ein Barockbau von 1755, die Anfänge der Sammlung gehen auf das Jahr 1882 und bürgerschaftliches Engagement zurück. Träger des Museums ist die Stadt Lörrach, der Ausbau des Museums erfolgte aber auch wesentlich über Förderprogramme der Europäischen Union.

Die Sammlung des Museums umfasst rund 50.000 Objekte zur regionalen Geschichte, Kultur, Kunst und Volkskunde. Seit 15 Jahren wird die Sammlung gezielt zur politischen Geschichte der drei Länder Frankreich, Deutschland und Schweiz vor allem im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert am Oberrhein und zum Thema „Leben mit der Grenze“ ausgebaut.¹

Die Dreiländerregion am Oberrhein

Bezugsrahmen für das Dreiländermuseum ist das Oberrhein-Gebiet mit der breiten Ebene des Rheins in seinem Zentrum. Begrenzt wird die Region von drei Gebirgen: im Osten durch den Schwarzwald in Deutschland, im Westen durch die Vogesen in Frankreich und im Süden durch den Jura in der Schweiz. Der gemeinsame Naturraum hat über Jahrhunderte hinweg auch zu einem gemeinsamen Kulturräum geführt. Das Gebiet ist räumlich etwa so groß wie Slowenien, hier leben rund 6 Millionen Menschen.

Prägend für die Bevölkerung ist zugleich aber auch ihre Zugehörigkeit zu drei verschiedenen Staaten. Der Rhein bildet fast überall auch eine Grenzlinie. Die nationale Zugehörigkeit zu drei Nationen ist keine neue Entwicklung, sondern Tradition seit Jahrhunderten. Bereits um 1500 traten große Teile der Nordwestschweiz der Eidgenossenschaft bei. Die Entwicklung des Elsass ist seit dem 17. Jahrhundert geprägt durch seine Zugehörigkeit zum französischen

The Three Countries Museum Lörrach. The Museum for the German-French-Swiss Three Countries Region

Markus Moehring

The Three Countries Museum Lörrach is located in the border triangle of Germany, France and Switzerland. Its name is its mission: The aim of the museum and its program is not to end at national borders but to cross them.

The museum is located in the center of the town of Lörrach, in the Tri-national Agglomeration of Basel. The interconnected urban area of the agglomeration extends to the border triangle with Basel as the most important center on the Swiss side, Lörrach on the German and St-Louis on the French side. The museum building is a baroque building dating from 1755. The beginning of the collection goes back to the year 1882 and the civil engagement period. Trustee of the museum is the town of Lörrach. The Museum's extension, however, was mostly financed by development programs of the European Union.

The collection of the museum includes around 50,000 objects connected with regional history, culture, art and folklore. For fifteen years the collection has been specifically extended with a focus on the political history of the three countries, France, Germany and Switzerland, above all the 19th and 20th century in the Upper Rhine region and on the subject of "Living with the border".¹

The Three Countries Area in the Upper Rhine region

The frame of reference of the Three Countries Museum is the Upper Rhine region with its broad plain of Rhine River at its heart. The region is confined by three mountain ranges: in the east, by the Black Forest in Germany, in the west, by the Vosges Mountains in France and, in the south, by the Jura Mountains in Switzerland. Over the centuries, the common natural environment has developed into a common cultural region. Geographically, the area is approximately as big as Slovenia and has a population of six million.

Belonging to three different countries has also been formative for its population. The Rhine River also forms a borderline almost everywhere. The national affiliation to three different nations is not a new development but a centuries-old tradition. As early as around 1500, large parts of the Northwestern Switzerland joined the Swiss Confederation. Since the 17th century, the development of the Alsace region has been characterized by its affiliation to France. In contrast, on the right bank of the Rhine River, a uniform political

Staat. Im Gegensatz dazu entstand rechts des Rheins mit dem Großherzogtum Baden erst um 1800 ein einheitliches politisches Gebilde und erst 1871 entstand ein deutscher Nationalstaat. Die unterschiedliche historische Prägung der Bevölkerung in den drei Staaten spiegelt sich auch in sehr unterschiedlichen regionalen politischen Strukturen. Für die französische Region Elsass, bestehend aus zwei Departements, fallen viele Entscheidungen in Paris. Baden ging 1951 im neu geschaffenen deutschen Bundesland Baden-Württemberg auf, dessen Hauptstadt Stuttgart in Württemberg liegt. Die fünf nordwestschweizerischen Kantone Basel-Stadt, Basel-Landschaft, Solothurn, Aargau und Jura besitzen eine weitgehende Eigenstaatlichkeit und ein System der direkten Demokratie. Das Dreiländermuseum hat sich zum Ziel gesetzt, am Beispiel stets wechselnder Themen immer wieder beides auszuleuchten: die gewachsenen und natürlichen Gemeinsamkeiten der Bevölkerung am Oberrhein ebenso wie die deutlichen nationalen Unterschiede, die sich in einem langen Prozess herausgebildet haben und sich in vielen Lebensbereichen nachhaltig auswirken.

Die Dreiländerausstellung

Als permanentes Angebot beleuchtet die Dreiländer-Ausstellung, die Dauerausstellung des Dreiländermuseums, auf 1000 m² mit 2000 Exponaten Gemeinsamkeiten und nationale Unterschiede am Oberrhein. Diesem Ziel dient auch die Gliederung der Ausstellung in vier große Themenblöcke nach strukturellen Gesichtspunkten. Zu jedem Themenblock gehören mehrere Abteilungen.

Themenblock 1: Gemeinsamkeiten

Hier werden vier Landschaftsräume vorgestellt:

- Der Rhein und seine Ebene (der Rhein erscheint hier nicht als Grenzfluss, sondern als Mitte der Dreiländerregion)
- Die anschließende Hügelzone in den drei Ländern
- Die drei Gebirge Schwarzwald (Deutschland), Vosges (Frankreich), Jura (Schweiz)
- Dreiländerstadt – die Agglomeration rund um das Dreiländereck

Außerdem verweist ein erdgeschichtlicher und ein archäologischer Exkurs auf grenzunabhängige Gemeinsamkeiten. So stehen Funde aus der Zeit der Alamannen wie z. B. ein erhaltener Bart aus dem 7. Jahrhundert exemplarisch für die Besiedelung des ganzen Oberrheingebietes durch diesen germanischen Stamm im frühen Mittelalter. Weil in allen drei Ländern am Oberrhein bis heute ein Dialekt gesprochen wird, der auf die Sprache dieses Stammes zurückgeht, spielt er für eine alte gemeinsame Identität am Oberrhein eine wichtige Rolle. Diese Gemeinsamkeit wurde nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg zunehmend zurückgedrängt: Heute wird im Elsass überwiegend die französische und in Deutschland hochdeutsche Standardsprache gesprochen, während sich die Bevölkerung in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz wieder verstärkt ihrem Dialekt als Ausdruck eigener nationaler Identität zuwendet.

entity first appeared around 1800 with the Grand-Duchy of Baden and, as late as 1871, a German nation-state was founded. The three different historical influences on the populations of the three countries are also reflected in the very diverse regional political structures. For the French region of Alsace, consisting of two administrative departments, many decisions are made in Paris. In 1951, Baden became part of the newly created German Federal State of Baden-Württemberg with its capital of Stuttgart located in Württemberg. The five cantons of Northwestern Switzerland, Basel-Stadt [Basle-City], Basel-Landschaft [Basle-Country], Solothurn, Aargau and Jura, are largely independent and have a system of direct democracy.

The Three Countries Museum's objective is to illuminate two aspects by means of examples of continuously changing topics: the grown and natural similarities of the population of the Upper Rhine region and the distinct national characteristics that have developed over a long course and that impact many spheres of their lives significantly.

The Three Countries Exhibition

As a permanent program with 2,000 exhibits on 1,000 square meters, the Three-Countries Exhibition, the permanent exhibition of the Three Countries Museum, shines a light on the similarities and the national differences of the Upper Rhine region. To this purpose, the exhibition was partitioned into four major topic groups according to structural points of views. There are several sections belonging to each topic group.

Topic group 1: Similarities

Here, four landscapes are presented:

- *The Rhine River and its plain (the Rhine River is not represented as a border river but as the center of the Tri-Countries Region)*
- *The adjacent hill region in the three countries*
- *The three mountain ranges: Black Forest (Germany), Vosges (France) and Jura (Switzerland)*
- *The Three Countries City – the agglomeration surrounding the border triangle*

In addition, a geo-historical and archaeological excursion refers to the border-independent similarities. Finds dating back to the Alemannic period, such as a preserved beard from the 7th century, are exemplary for the settlement of the entire Upper Rhine region by this Germanic tribe in the Early Middle Ages. Since in all the three countries of the Upper Rhine region a dialect is spoken up to the present day that can be traced back to this tribe, this dialect plays an important role for an old common identity of the region. This common identity was increasingly repressed after the Second World War: Today, French is predominantly spoken in Alsace and standard German in Germany. In the German speaking part of Switzerland, however, the population is increasingly returning to their dialect as an expression of their own national identity.

Bart eines Alamannen,
Anfang 7. Jh. n. Chr. Er
steht für eine alte
gemeinsame Identität
am Oberrhein: der bis
heute in allen drei Län-
dern gesprochene Dia-
lekt geht auf diesen
germanischen Stamm
zurück,
Foto: Dreiländermuseum
Lörrach



Themenblock 2: Drei Nationen

Der Themenblock behandelt die Entwicklung der drei Nationen seit der Territorialstaatsbildung im Spätmittelalter bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges, als die heutigen Grenzen zwischen den drei Nationen entstanden. Der Rundgang erfolgt dabei chronologisch rückwärts:

- Drei Nationen: Symbole und Klischees heute
- Der Erste Weltkrieg
- Frankreich
- Deutschland
- Schweiz
- Die frühen Territorien

Dreiländerausstellung:
Mitmachstation zur Ent-
stehung der drei Natio-
nen,
Foto: Dreiländermuseum
Lörrach



Three Countries Exhibition: View at the common natural area at the Upper Rhine,
photograph:
Three Countries Museum
Lörrach



Topic group 2: The Three Nations

This topic group deals with the development of the three nations after the creation of the territorial states in the Late Middle Ages until the end of the First World War, when the current borders of the three nations were established. Chronologically, the tour takes place in a reverse order:

- *The Three Nations: Symbols and Stereotypes Today*
- *The First World War*
- *France*
- *Germany*
- *Switzerland*
- *The Early Territories*

Three Countries Exhibition: Topic group on the development of the three nations,
photograph:
Three Countries Museum
Lörrach



Themenblock 3: Leben an der Grenze

Dieser Themenblock widmet sich dem 20. Jahrhundert nach 1918. Seit diesem Zeitpunkt teilen sich drei Nationalstaaten den Oberrhein. Zugleich prägte die Einführung von Grenzkontrollen das Leben der Bevölkerung im gesamten 20. Jahrhundert nachhaltig. Das Leben an der Grenze wird in folgenden Abteilungen vorgestellt:

- Grenzkontrolle
- Flucht und Schmuggel
- Dreiländerwirtschaft
- Drei Währungen
- Freiheit und Demokratie
- Gewalt und Nationalsozialismus
- Nach dem Krieg (1945-1948)
- Grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit heute
- Sprache und Dialekte



Themenblock 4: Die Zukunft

Den Abschluss des Rundganges bildet ein Zukunftssteg. Eine Camera obscura lädt dazu ein, von Deutschland über die Grenze in die Schweiz heute zu blicken. Den Rundgang beenden schließlich groß auf eine Leinwand projizierte Fragen zur Zukunft. Antworten liefert die Ausstellung nicht, sie bietet aber die Möglichkeit, auf Liegestühlen diesen Fragen nachzusinnen.

Mitmach- und Hörstationen

Die gesamte Ausstellung ist in Deutsch und Französisch beschriftet. Auch die 60 Hörstationen sind in beiden Sprachen vorhanden – sie informieren in kurzen Hörspielen über Gemeinsamkeiten und nationale Unterschiede am Oberrhein. Außerdem vertiefen 20 große Mitmachstationen für Erwachsene und Kinder historische Fragen in spielerischer Weise.²

Topic group 3: Life on the Border

This topic group focuses on the 20th century after 1918. Since that time, the three nations have shared the Upper Rhine region. At the same time, the introduction of border controls had significantly influenced the lives of the population throughout the entire 20th century. The Life on the Border is presented in the following sections:

- *Border Control*
- *Escape and Smuggling*
- *A Three Countries Economy*
- *Three Currencies*
- *Freedom and Democracy*
- *Violence and Nazism*
- *After The War (1945–1948)*
- *Cross-Border Cooperation Today*
- *Language and Dialects*

Three Countries Exhibition: Using the example of a marriage the exhibition takes the French-German reconciliation as its theme,
photograph:
Three Countries Museum
Lörrach



Topic group 4: The Future

The conclusion of the tour is future-oriented. A camera obscura invites visitors to look across the border from Germany to a Switzerland of today. The tour ends with issues about the future projected on a screen in large font. However, the exhibition does not offer answers. Instead, it gives visitors an opportunity to ponder over these issues on deckchairs.

Participation and Audio Stations

The entire exhibition is labelled in German and French. Furthermore, 60 Audio stations are available in both languages. In form of short radio plays, they inform about similarities and national differences in the Upper Rhine region. In addition, 20 large participation stations for adults and children offer to deepen their understanding of historical issues in a playful manner.²

Grenzüberschreitend konzipierte Sonderausstellungen

Regelmäßig präsentiert das Dreiländermuseum große Sonderausstellungen, die Gemeinsamkeiten und nationale Unterschiede am Oberrhein an einem speziellen Thema beleuchten. Die Themen können sich auf Geschichte oder Kunst, Natur oder Volkskunde beziehen. Zum Grundkonzept gehört dabei immer, dass sich die Ausstellung allen drei Ländern am Oberrhein widmet. Beispiele solcher Ausstellungen in den letzten Jahren sind:

- Zu Tisch – in Baden, dem Elsass und der Schweiz (2012/2013)
- Der Oberrhein um 1900³
- Entartet – zerstört – rekonstruiert⁴
- Verrückte Regio: Fasnacht, Fasnet, Carnaval⁵
- Halt Landesgrenze⁶
- Nationalität trennt, Freiheit verbindet⁷
- Nach dem Krieg⁸

Bilinguale Museumspädagogik

Das pädagogische Programm des Dreiländermuseums richtet sich gezielt an die Menschen in allen drei Ländern und wird in Deutsch und Französisch angeboten. Die Angebote für Schulen sind abgestimmt auf die baden-württembergischen, kantonal-schweizerischen und französischen Bildungspläne. Eine intensive Begegnung deutsch- und französischsprachiger Jugendlicher ermöglicht das Tandem-Programm. Dabei bilden ein deutsches und ein französisches Kind ein Paar und verbringen einen halben Tag lang gemeinsam. Sie absolvieren den Mitmach-Parcours in der Dreiländer-Ausstellung und stellen nach und nach fest, dass sie sich verstehen können, obwohl sie verschiedene Sprachen sprechen.

Museumsnetzwerk und Netzwerk der Geschichtsvereine

Eine zentrale Rolle spielt das Dreiländermuseum bei der Organisation von zwei grenzüberschreitenden Netzwerken. Ihr gezielter Aufbau erfolgt, nach jahrelangen Vorbereitungen, seit Anfang 2012.⁹

Dem Netzwerk der Geschichtsvereine gehören rund 300 Vereine in den drei Ländern mit rund 10.000 Personen an. Sie engagieren sich vor allem ehrenamtlich für die Aufarbeitung der lokalen und regionalen Geschichte. Das Dreiländermuseum führt als Geschäftsstelle des Netzwerks die Adressdatei der Geschichtsvereine, vermittelt gegenseitige Kontakte und verschiickt einen regelmäßigen Newsletter. Geleitet wird das Netzwerk von einem trinationalen Komitee, wesentliche Entscheidungen für seine Weiterentwicklung trifft eine Vollversammlung, die alle zwei Jahre abwechselnd in einem der drei Länder tagt. Daneben organisiert das Dreiländermuseum die Zusammenarbeit eines Netzwerks von Museen in den drei Ländern. Deutsche, französische und schweizerische Museen stimmen hier ihre Ausstellungsthemen miteinander ab. Alle drei Jahre präsentieren verschiedene Museen in den drei Ländern Ausstellungen zu einem gemeinsamen Thema. Das jüngste große Ausstellungsprojekt widmete sich dem Thema „Erster Weltkrieg“ mit insgesamt

Cross-Border Conceptualized Special Exhibitions

The Three-Countries Museum regularly holds special exhibitions which show the similarities and differences of the Upper Rhine region with regard to a special topic. The topics range from history, art, nature to folklore. Part of the basic concept is that an exhibition always has to be dedicated to all three countries of the Upper Rhine region. Examples of such exhibitions in recent years are:

- Zu Tisch – A Table, in Baden, Alsace and in Switzerland (2012/13)
- The Upper Rhine Region around 1900³
- Degenerate – Destroyed – Reconstructed⁴
- Crazy Region: Carnival⁵
- Stop – National Border⁶
- Nationality Separates, Freedom Unites⁷
- After The War⁸

Bilingual Museum Education

The educational program of the Three Countries Museum specifically targets people in all the three countries and is offered in German and in French. The programs for schools are coordinated with the Baden-Württemberg, cantonal-Swiss and French curricula. A tandem program allows for an intensive encounter among German and French-speaking youths. In the course of this encounter, a German-speaking and a French-speaking child form a pair and spend half a day together. Together they experience the participation course of the Three Countries Exhibition and, by and by, they realize that they are able to understand each other, although they speak different languages.

Museum Network and Historical Societies' Network

The Three Countries Museum plays a vital role in the organization of two cross-border networks. After years of preparation, their targeted setup has started at the beginning of 2012.⁹

The network of historical societies comprises of around 300 societies in the three countries and approximately 10,000 members. They have committed themselves to processing local and regional history on a primarily voluntary basis. As the network's office, the Three Countries Museum keeps a list of addresses of the historical societies, serves as a liaison and regularly sends out a newsletter. The network is lead by a tri-national committee. However, main decisions for the network's future development are taken by a plenary meeting that holds bi-annual meetings in one of the three countries in turn.

In addition, the Three Countries Museum organizes the cooperation of a museums' network in the three countries. Here, German, French and Swiss museums coordinate their exhibition topics. Triennially, different museums from the three countries hold exhibitions on a common topic. The last major exhibition project was dedicated to the topic of the "First World War" with

35 Ausstellungen, die 2014 in den drei Ländern zeitgleich präsentiert wurden. Der Erste Weltkrieg war auch am Oberrhein ein epochal wichtiges Ereignis. Gerade das Beispiel Erster Weltkrieg macht den großen Mehrwert grenzüberschreitender Museumszusammenarbeit besonders deutlich. Dieses epochale Ereignis wird in den drei Ländern nach wie vor je nach nationaler Perspektive sehr unterschiedlich bewertet und gewichtet. Ausstellungen, die ein solches Ereignis aus unterschiedlicher lokaler und nationaler Perspektive beleuchten, zugleich aber konzeptionell aufeinander abgestimmt und durch eine gemeinsame Öffentlichkeitsarbeit miteinander verbunden sind, liefern Anregungen, den eigenen national geprägten Horizont zu erweitern, und bieten vielfältige Möglichkeiten, mehr Verständnis für die Bevölkerung des Nachbarlandes zu entwickeln.¹⁰

Endnoten

1

Moehring 2012.

2

Siehe zur Dreiländerausstellung u.a.: Moehring 2006.

3

Moehring – Delaine 2009.

4

Moehring – Hauß 2008.

5

Wunderlin 2005.

6

Moehring – Zückert 2000.

7

Merk – Moehring – Bürgel 1998; Haus der Geschichte Baden Württemberg – Museum am Burghof 1998, 10-13.

8

Chiquet 1995.

9

Informationen zu den Netzwerken unter: www.dreilaendermuseum.eu

10

Gemeinsamer Katalog der Ausstellungsreihe: Moehring 2014

overall 35 exhibitions shown in the three countries in 2014 simultaneously. The First World War was an epoch-making event also in the Upper Rhine region.

Particularly the example of the First World War emphasizes the added value of the cross-border museum cooperation. In accordance with their respective national perspectives, this epochal event is still very differently evaluated and weighted in the three countries. Exhibitions that do not only shine a light on such an event from a different local and national point of view, but are at the same time also conceptually in line with each other and connected through their joint public relations work, provide an opportunity to broaden the respective national horizons and offer numerous opportunities to develop a mutual understanding between the populations of the neighboring countries.¹⁰

Endnotes

1
Moehring 2012.

2
In connection with the Three Countries Exhibition see Moehring 2006.

3
Moehring – Delaine 2009.

4
Moehring – Hauß 2008.

5
Wunderlin 2005.

6
Moehring – Zückert 2000.

7
Merk – Moehring – Bürgel 1998; Haus der Geschichte Baden Württemberg – Museum am Burghof 1998, 10-13.

8
Chiquet 1995.

9
Information on the networks may be found at the website
www.dreilaendermuseum.eu

10
Moehring 2014

Komu pripada arheologija, arheologom ali javnosti?

Verena Perko

Vzrokov, da arheologija zavzema v sodobni družbi posebno mesto, je veliko. Kot veda se ukvarja z materialnimi ostanki človekovanja, ki so za doživljanje preteklosti in oblikovanje identitet presodnega pomena. Ker se močno opira na izsledke naravoslovja, imajo arheološki dokazi na splošno veliko težo. Noben opis in nobena upodobitev preteklosti ne more odtehtati vloge, ki ga ima doživljanje avtentičnega predmeta. Da bi ljudje verjeli, morajo videti in doživeti, kar še posebej velja za arheološke predmete in najdišča.¹

Arheologija na nek poseben način zrcali človekovo strast do odkrivanja neznanega in je hkrati tudi odraz človekovega skritega hlepenja po blišču in slavi. Že od samih začetkov spremljata arheološke raziskave aura pustolovstva in senca ahasferstva, prija jima bližina kron in bliskavica fotografskih kamer. Številni arheologi so dosegli svetovno slavo, mnoga odkritja so navdihovala romane in so vedno hvaležna tema medijev javnega obveščanja. Arheologi, ne zgodovinarji ali arhivistji, so ponavadi junaki filmskih uspešnic!² Ne filozofska odkritja, arheološke najdbe imajo moč povzročiti politične škandale in zanetiti kulturne spore in prave male nacionalne vojne.³

Vzrok za priljubljenost arheologije se skriva med drugim tudi v človekovi prvobitni pustolovski in raziskovalni naravi. Od časa Freudovih raziskav podzavestnega je znano, da je odkrivanje neznanega sinonim za odkrivanje nezavednega v samemu sebi.⁴ Nedvomno je to eden poglavitnih vzrokov, da ljudi tako zelo privlačijo arheološke raziskave in jih izkopanine vedno znova fascinirajo. Na nek simboličen način predstavlja svet arheoloških odkritij umaterializirano, neznano in strašljivo preteklost, ki se na individualni ravni simbolno izenačuje s človekovim podzavestnim. Arheološka izkopavanja pa z malo pretiravanja lahko primerjamo z osvajanjem neosvojljive preteklosti in njenim ukročevanjem.

V očeh javnosti so arheologi ljudje, ki kopljejo zaklade in odkrivajo skrivnostne civilizacije. Veliko so k temu stereotipu doprinesli priljubljeni filmi, kot so Indiana Jones in Lara Croft. Angleški pacient je pripomogel k romantični podobi arheologa v službi tajne službe, Steven Segal in Antonio Banderas pa sta prizadeno utrjevala mačistično podobo arheologa kot pravičnega in šarmantnega bojevnika.⁵ Vlogo arheologije v sodobni družbi so oblikovala tudi mnoga pomembna odkritja, ki so bila od samih začetkov vir pomembnih znanj. Spektakularne

To Whom Does Archaeology Belong? To Archaeologists or to the Public?

Verena Perko

There are many reasons why archaeology takes a special place in modern society. It is a science that researches material remains of human living, which are crucial to experiencing the past and to forming identities. As archaeology relies heavily on the findings of natural science, archaeological evidence is of significant importance in general. No description and no recreation of the past can compare to the experience of an authentic object. For people to believe something, they have to see and experience it, which especially holds true for archaeological objects and sites.¹

In a special way archaeology mirrors a human passion for discovering the unknown and at the same time it reflects a hidden longing for fame and glory in man. Since its very beginnings archaeological explorations were accompanied by an aura of adventure and a shadow of a never-ending journey. It has thrived in the vicinity of wealth and of flashes of cameras. Many archaeologists became world-famous; many discoveries have inspired novels, and they have always been a fruitful subject for the media. Neither historians nor archivists are heroes of movie hits, but archaeologists are!² In contrast to philosophical discoveries, archaeological finds have the power to cause political scandals and start cultural disputes as well as real miniature national wars.³

The source of the popularity of archaeology can also be found in the primal adventurous and explorative nature of humans. Since Freud's research on the subconscious it has been known, that exploring the unknown is synonymous with exploring the unconscious within oneself.⁴ Without doubt this is one of the main reasons why people are so attracted to archaeological research and so fascinated by finds time and again. In some symbolic way the world of archaeological finds represents a materialized, unknown, and frightening past, which on an individuals' level symbolically equals human subconscious. And with a little exaggeration we can compare digs with the conquering and taming of an unconquerable past.

In the eyes of the public archaeologists are people that dig for treasures and discover mysterious civilizations. Popular films like Indiana Jones and Lara Croft promoted this stereotype significantly. The English Patient added to

najdbe v Nimrudu, raziskovanje palač v Knososu in izkopavanja egipčanskih grobnic so postali vir romantičnih fascinacij, navdihovali so likovne in glasbene ustvarjalce.⁶ Vendar ni moč mimo dejstva, da so velike arheološke ekspedicije sovpadale s procesi kolonizacije in osvajalnih vojn. Raziskovanje Egipta je potekalo v času napoleonskih osvajanj, Schliemannovi grški podvigi so se odvijali sočasno z odpiranjem Grčije Evropi, v dobi širjenja zahodnoevropskih vplivov na Peloponez in trganja dežele iz okov Otomanskega cesarstva.⁷ Izkopavanja so v času povojev arheologije služila kot način odkrivanja ekonomsko in politično pomembnih teritorijev in pridobivanja eksotičnih predmetov. Z njimi so polnili vitrine reprezentančnih muzejskih palač v prestolnicah dežel zavojevalk in s tem posredno kazali kulturno (in politično) premoč zahodne civilizacije.⁸ Arheološka odkritja so zaznamovala, če že ne usmerjala moderno evropsko znanost in umetnost. Na podlagi Winkelmannovih odkritij je Evropa spoznala izvirnost grške klasične umetnosti, kar je odločilno vplivalo na arhitekturno podobo sodobnih evropskih prestolnic. Zaradi arheoloških dokazov se je usodno spremenila zgodovinska percepcija preteklosti.⁹ Arheološke najdbe so utrdile Darwinov evolucionistični nauk in dokončno ovrgle biblični diskurz o stvarjenju Zemlje.¹⁰ Sodobne raziskave evolucije človeške vrste so v zadnjih desetletjih premaknile prvi pojav hominidov na skoraj 6 milijonov let in dokazale človekov afriški izvor.¹¹

Na žalost pa arheologija ni prispevala le k oblikovanju nacionalnih držav, temveč je veliko pripomogla tudi k nastanku rasističnih teorij in posledično tudi do najbolj tragičnih, genocidnih pomorov 20 stoletja.¹² Ta spoznanja so po drugi svetovni vojni vodila k odločnemu odmiku vede od političnosti, ker je pripeljalo do rojstva t.i.m. nove ali procesne arheologije, utemeljene na objektivnosti znanstvenega spoznanja, na odlični metodologiji in izdelani terminologiji, ki se navezuje na naravoslovje in etnografijo, s pomočjo katere generalizira specifične pojave iz oddaljenih obdobjij. Za procesno arheologijo je značilno zagovarjanje principa raziskav „ex situ“ ali prenašanje odkopanega gradiva v oddaljene ustanove.¹³ V odnosu do javnosti je značilno pomanjkanje avtokritičnosti in avtoritativnosti. Procesna arheološka šola je v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja dosegla vrhunec svojega razvoja v ZDA in Veliki Britaniji in se zaradi velikih raziskovalnih uspehov razširila po svetu kot prevladujoča arheološka paradigmata. Uspešno se je razširila tudi na slovenska tla in odločilno sooblikovala moderno slovensko 'arheološko šolo'. Njene prepoznavne lastnosti so postale odlična izkopavanja, podprta s številnimi naravoslovnimi raziskavami in oprta na sodobno tehnologijo, a tudi množine slabo dostopnega ali celo neobjavljenega gradiva, nezadostno poznavanje javnosti, neovladovanje komunikacije in institucionalna nepovezanost.¹⁴

Profesionalna nekritičnost arheologom onemogoča, da bi prepoznali bistvo težav v komunikaciji z javnostjo. Kot največjo komunikativno oviro in vzrok za nerazumevanje vidijo v neznanju, kar vodi v paternalistični odnos stroke do laikov.¹⁵ Delo slovenskih arheologov z javnostjo se največkratomejuje na razna izobraževanja, predavanja, predstavitve in vodenja po najdiščih, kar

the romantic image of archaeologists working for the secret service. Steven Segal and Antonio Banderas strived to consolidate the macho image of the archaeologist as a just and Samaritan warrior.⁵

The role of archaeology in modern society was formed by many important discoveries, which has been a source of important knowledge from the beginning. Spectacular finds in Nimrud, the discovery of palaces in Knossos, and the excavations of Egyptian tombs became sources of romantic fascination, which have inspired painters and musicians.⁶ But we cannot ignore the fact that big archaeological expeditions were carried out at the same time as processes of colonization and wars of conquest. Explorations in Egypt happened during the time of Napoleons' conquest; Schliemann's Greek exploits coincided with the time, when Greece opened up to Europe during an age of Western-European influence spreading to the Peloponnese and the liberation of the country from the shackles of the Ottoman Empire.⁷ In the early times of archaeology, digs were a means to explore important territories economically and politically and acquiring exotic objects. They were used to fill display cases of representative museum palaces in capitols of the conquering countries and thus indirectly showing a cultural (and political) superiority of western civilization.⁸

If archaeological discoveries did not direct modern European science and art they at least marked them. Due to Winkelmann's discoveries Europe recognized the uniqueness of Greek classic art, which then in turn influenced the architectural image of modern European capitals decisively. Archaeological evidence notably changed the perception of the past.⁹ Archaeological finds consolidated Darwin's evolution theory and finally disproved the biblical discourse about Earths' creation.¹⁰ In the last few decades modern research of the evolution of man placed the first appearance of hominids to almost 6 million years ago and proved the African origin of man.¹¹

Sadly archaeology did not only contribute to the shaping of national states, but also helped racist theories to take shape and was consequently part of the most tragic genocide of the 20th century.¹² After the Second World War these realizations led the field to take a decisive step back from politics, which brought about the birth of the so-called New or Processual Archaeology. It is based on the objectivity of scientific discovery, excellent methodology and worked out terminology, which relates to natural sciences and an ethnography that help it generalize specific events from past ages. It is typical for Processual Archaeology to defend the "ex situ" research principle, which means carrying the excavated material to far away establishments.¹³ Public relations are characterized by a lack of self-criticism and authoritativeness. The Processual Archaeology reached its height in the seventies in the USA and Great Britain and spread throughout the world as the dominant archaeological paradigm because of its successful research. It also spread to Slovenia and helped decisively to form the modern Slovenian "school of archaeology". It became well known for its excellent digs, together with its natural science research and its relying on modern technology, sadly also for a vastness of not easily accessible or even unpublished material, insufficient information for the public, bad communication, and no connectivity among institutions.¹⁴

pa ne zadošča več potrebam sodobne družbe. Paternalizem, raba strokovne terminologije in neinterpretativnost posredovanih podatkov so prej bariera kot pot k komunikaciji. Razpoloženje javnosti se zrcali v ambivalentnem poročanju medijev javnega obveščanja. Skoraj brez izjeme so novice o najnovejših odkritjih objavljene v vseh medijih, arheologi pa so kljub temu nemalokrat posmehljivo označeni kot žličkarji, včasih pa tudi kot uničevalci in zavirralci razvoja.¹⁶

Vzroke za komunikacijske šume in ostale nesporazume je treba iskati v nedialoškosti in komunikativni neusposobljenosti arheološke stroke na eni strani, na drugi pa v spremembah značaja sodobne javnosti. Sodobna informativno komunikacijska tehnologija je v zadnjih dva setih letih presodno vplivala na spremembe potreb, pričakovanj in navad ljudi.¹⁷ Občuten premik je prinesla splošna raba interneta v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, ki je omogočila visoko stopnjo informiranosti ter splošne dosegljivosti interpretiranih znanstvenih informacij. Sodobna javnost pričakuje tekočo komunikacijo s posredovanjem interpretirane, kontekstualne in ažurirane informacije. To je opazno še posebej na polju arheologije in arheoloških raziskav, saj vemo, da so na razpolago odlične tuje televizijske oddaje, ki kažejo ne le izsledke raziskav, temveč prenašajo izkopavanja v živo in ljudi vabijo, da se jih aktivno udeležijo. V svetu je močno razvita praksa eksperimentalne arheologije, ki omogoča javnosti, da se jih dejavno udeležuje, se uči ob pristnih doživetjih in posreduje svoja znanja in drugačne vidike interpretacije. Svet sodobne informacijsko komunikacijske tehnologije ponuja vrsto virtualnih doživetij iz sveta arheologije. Na voljo so dokumentarni in igrani filmi z arheološkimi vsebinami.¹⁸ Vse te tehnične možnosti so pripeljale javnost do točke, ko od strokovnjakov pričakuje ne le sprotrobo obveščanje o rezultatih raziskav, temveč tudi interpretiranje znanstvenih podatkov in njihovo implementiranje v sodobna znanja.

Razumljivo je, da tudi slovenska javnost pričakuje od stroke večji odziv in tekočo komunikacijo. Vključevanje nestrokovne javnosti v raziskave je pri nas še vedno neuveljavljeno, redki so primeri soudeleževanja pri interpretaciji dedičinskih vsebin, upoštevanje mnenja javnosti pri odločanju o usodi najdišč je še vedno bolj na deklarativen ravni. Pobude za sodelovanje vzbujajo v stroki še vedno osuplost in neke vrste komunikacijsko otrplost, nezavedajoč se posledic tovrstnega početja. Na podlagi dramatičnih dogodkov v zvezi z zanemarjanjem pravic staroselskih skupnosti do interpretacije lastne dediščine v ZDA in Avstraliji je bila dokazana tesna zveza med aktivnim vključevanjem javnosti in splošnim odnosom družbe do ohranjanja dediščine v izvirnem okolju.¹⁹ Temu je sledil obrat k javnosti, kar je vodilo k iskanju poti njenega aktivnega vključevanja in kar je prineslo širše družbene posledice. Inkluzivistični princip pri procesih raziskovanja, interpretacije in prezentacije dediščine družbo povezuje in demokratizira.²⁰ Javnost, posebej lokalna javnost, želi aktivno odločati o usodi najdišč in ima močne, četudi največkrat neartikulisane potrebe po vključevanju v dedičinske procese. Osveščena in vključena javnost lahko ključno pripomore pri varovanju in vzdrževanju arheoloških najdišč v izvornem okolju.²¹

Lack of professional criticism prevents archaeologists to see the essence of the public relation problems. They see the biggest communication barrier and cause of misunderstanding in a lack of understanding, which leads to a paternalistic relationship of professionals towards laymen.¹⁵ Slovenian archaeologists' public relations work is mostly limited to a variety of trainings, lectures, presentations and excavation site tours, which does not meet the needs of a modern society any longer. Paternalism, the use of professional terminology, and the submitting of data that is hard to interpret, are more of a barrier than a way to better communication. The public's attitude is reflected in the ambivalent public media coverage. Almost without exception news about new discoveries is published in all media, nevertheless archaeologists are still often ridiculed as dig-roes, sometimes also as destroyers and inhibitors of progress.¹⁶

We have to look for the reasons of communication failure and other misunderstandings with regard to the lack of dialog and communicative inability of the archaeological profession on the one hand and the change in the character of the modern public on the other. Modern information and communication technology greatly influenced the change in needs, expectations and habits of people.¹⁷ Widespread use of the Internet in the 1990-ies caused a noticeable shift, allowing for a high degree of subject-matter knowledge and a general availability of interpreted scientific information. The modern public expects flowing communication and a conveyance of interpreted, contextualized, and up-to-date information. This is especially noticeable in the field of archaeology and archaeological research. We know there are excellent foreign television shows, which not only show the results of research, but also have live broadcasts of excavations and invite people to attend them. The practice of experimental archaeology is highly developed worldwide and enables the public to actively participate in it, learn from the experience and submit its knowledge and different aspects and interpretations. The world of modern information and communication technology offers an array of virtual archaeological experiences. There are documentaries and movies available that have archaeological content.¹⁸ All these technological possibilities have led the public to the point, where it expects continuous information about research results, as well as interpretation of research data and their implementation into modern knowledge.

It is understandable that the Slovenian public expects a greater reaction and fluent communication from the archaeological profession. An inclusion of the lay public into the research has still not been firmly established in Slovenia. Cases of involvement in interpretation of heritage content are few. Acknowledging public opinion when it relates to the fate of excavation sites is still at a declarative level. Offers to cooperate still excite wonder and some kind of communication freeze in the field, not realizing the consequences of such an attitude. Based on dramatic events connected with an ignoring of the right of aboriginal communities to interpret their own heritage in the US and Australia, a strong bond has been documented between an active inclusion of the public and

Ta spoznanja so pripeljala do kategoričnega spoznanja, da dediščine ni mogoče uspešno varovati zgolj z zakoni in da je temelj ohranjanja dediščine v izvornem okolju v vključevanju javnosti. Pripomoglo pa je tudi k radikalnemu obratu k postkolonialnemu muzeju.²²

V slovenskem primeru je poleg nezadostne vloge javnosti na področju arheoloških raziskav in interpretacije presodnega pomena tudi slabo institucionalno povezovanje. Muzeji imajo v sodobni dediščinski paradigmi kot prostori mediacije in komunikacije pomembno in družbeno aktivno vlogo. Ena od njihovih pomembnih nalog, ki jo imajo kot mediji javnega obveščanja, je tudi širjenje družbene zavesti v prid ohranjanja kulturne dediščine v izvornem okolju.

Nemajhno oviro pri vzpostavljanju uspešne komunikacije z javnostjo imajo tudi specifična, cehovskim podobna arheološka pravila. Izkopano gradivo, praviloma shranjeno „ex situ“, ostaja zaradi avtorskih pravic izkopavalca dolga leta nedostopno za javnost. Zaradi prevladajočih znanstvenih in strokovnih objav ter praviloma slabo interpretiranih, pretežno stroki namenjenih razstav, pa je pogosto tako gradivo za vedno iztrганo iz lokalnega okolja. Slabo objavljeno ali neobjavljeno gradivo pomeni veliko škodo arheološki stroki, za širšo javnost pa pomeni izgubo usodnega pomena. Smemo ga primerjati s pretrganimi spominskimi vezmi živem dediščinskem okolju. Po dolgih letih, ki pretečejo od izkopavanj do razstave ali objave, je emotivna, doživljajska vez med ljudskim izročilom, najdiščem in gradivom zabrisana. Posledično se pretrgajo kolektivne spominske vezi med okoliškim prebivalstvom in dediščinskim izvornim okoljem. Izgubljene so priložnosti za sprožanje identitetnih procesov in drugih socialnih vezi na podlagi arheološke dediščine v lokalni skupnosti, kar neizbežno vodi v odtujeno doživljjanje preteklosti.²³ Javnost posledično povezuje dediščino z elitistično kulturno politiko, jo odklanja, zanemarja in od tod dalje ni več daleč do uničevanja. Če arheološka najdišča in gradivo niso javnosti predstavljeni na interpretativen način, v obliki zgodb, ki imajo pomen tudi za sodobne način življenja, če ne nudijo priložnosti za doživetje, druženje in kovitalno učenje, postanejo neznosno breme sodobne družbe.²⁴ Arheološka, s tem pa tudi ostala dediščina postane nepotreben finančni izdatek in prevzema v očeh javnosti vlogo zaviralca splošnega družbenega razvoja.

Potrebe sodobne družbe so jasno odražene tudi v mednarodnih konvencijah o varovanju kulturne dediščine in ki jih je večidel podpisala tudi republika Slovenija. Upoštevanje potreb javnosti so implicitna v profesionalni etiki, tako arheološki kot muzejski. Etika išče poti, ki vodijo v izpolnitev človeškega življenja in v miroljubno in pravično življenje v skupnosti. Usmerja tudi znanstveni napredek v smer dobrega za človeka in prihodnosti človeštva. Etika opredeljuje obe dejavnosti kot način prepoznavanja kar je dobro za posameznika in človeštvo v celoti in je garant delovanja znanosti za dobrobit človeštva.²⁵

Odgovor na zastavljeno vprašanje, komu pripada arheološka dediščina, pa ponuja nenazadnje tudi profesionalna etika, ki med drugim določa tudi odnos stroke do javnosti in govori o omogočanju dostopnosti podatkov o posredovanju interpretiranih podatkov. Podobno je tudi z muzejsko profesionalno etiko, ki

a general attitude of society towards a preservation of heritage in its original environment.¹⁹ This was followed by a turning towards the public, which led to a search for a way to actively include it and brought about broader social consequences. The inclusivism principle in research processes, an interpretation and presentation of heritage, connects and democratizes society.²⁰ Especially the local public wants to decide actively about the fate of excavation sites and has a strong although mostly unarticulated need to be included in heritage processes. An informed and involved public is crucial in helping to protect and maintain excavation sites in their original environment.²¹ These realizations have led to a categorical revelation that is, that heritage cannot be successfully protected just by laws. The key for preserving heritage in its original environment means to include the public. It has also helped to create a radical turn towards the postcolonial museum.²²

In the case of Slovenia –in addition to the minor role of the public in the field of archaeological research and interpretation – an important factor has also been a bad institutional connectivity. Acting as places of mediation and communication, museums have an important role in society in the modern heritage paradigm. As public information media, one of the important tasks museums have is the spreading social consciousness to promote preservation of cultural heritage in its original surroundings.

A greater barrier in establishing successful public relations is specific, almost guild-like archaeological rules. The excavated material, usually stored “ex situ”, remains inaccessible to the public for many years, because of the rights of the excavator. Such material is often forever removed from the local environment, because of a dominant scientific and expert publishing and usually poorly interpreted exhibitions, set up for experts. Poorly published or unpublished material causes great damage to the archaeological field and presents an immense loss for the public. We can compare it with severed memory bonds in an active heritage environment. In the many years that pass from excavation to exhibition or publishing, the emotional, experiential bond between the folklore, the excavation site, and the material is erased. Consequently collective memory bonds between the local populace and the original heritage environment are severed. In the local community opportunities to start identity processes and other social bonds on the grounds of archaeological heritage are lost. This inadvertently leads to an estranged experience of the past.²³ Therefore the public relates heritage to an elitist cultural policy, denies it, neglects it – and from there it isn't far to destruction. If archaeological sites and material are not presented to the public in an interpretative way, in the form of stories that also have meaning for the modern lifestyle and if they do not offer an opportunity for experiences, socialization and learning, then they become a large burden for modern society.²⁴ In the eyes of the public, archaeological and with it other heritage as well, becomes an unnecessary financial expense and a hindrance of social development.

The needs of modern society are clearly mirrored in international conventions on cultural heritage preservation. These were signed by Slovenia as well.

javnost postavlja na prvo mesto. Muzej je s tem, ko je stopil v vlogo medija, avtomatično prevzel tudi aktivno in angažirano družbeno vlogo. Inkluzivistični način delovanja je postal implicitni del sodobne muzeološke paradigme in prepoznavna značilnost sodobnega muzeja.²⁶

Arheologi bi se morali poleg potreb sodobne družbe in vloge, ki jo ima arheološka dediščina v njej, zavedati posebne misije svojega delovanja.²⁷ Arheologija namreč omogoča sodobnemu, odtujenemu človeku stik s preteklimi kulturami, kar je izjemnega pomena za celotno družbo. Na podlagi odnosa, ki ga javnost razvije do kultur preteklosti se oblikujejo odnosi do sodobnih družb in družbenih skupin. Naloga arheologije torej niso zgolj razkrivanje ostalin, temveč odkrivanje znanj in modrosti preteklih družb. Resnice, ki jih hranijo kulture in svetovna verstva, so avtonomne in specifične ter presegajo domet sodobnih znanosti. Imajo epistemičen status in so zmožna dajati odgovore o smislu življenja, na katera ne zmoreta odgovoriti ne znanost, ne metafizika. Scheler je tovrstne resnice označil kot „Heilswissen“ ali zdravilne modrosti, ki sodijo med vsemi znanji k najvišjemu, nezamenljivemu in nenadomestljivemu človeškemu vedenju.

Observing the needs of the public is implicit in professional archaeological as well as museum ethics. Ethics look for a way that leads to life fulfillment and a peaceful, just life in a community. It directs scientific progress in the direction of being beneficial for humans and the future of mankind. Ethics determine both activities as a way of recognizing that what is good for an individual, and mankind is a warranty of science working for the good of the human race.²⁵

The answer to the question “To whom does archaeological heritage belong?” can also be given by work ethics. It determines the relationship between the field of professionals and the public and talks about enabling accessibility of data and about relating interpreted data. This is similar in professional museum’s ethics that puts public before all. By assuming the role of a medium, a museum automatically also assumes an active and engaged public role. An inclusivist way of working has become an implicit part of the modern museologic paradigm and a recognizable trait of a modern museum.²⁶

In addition to the needs of modern society and the role archaeological heritage has in it, archaeologists should be aware of the special mission of their work.²⁷ Archaeology allows the modern distanced individual to come into contact with past cultures, which is of great value for the entire society. Relationships towards modern societies and social groups are being formed and on their bases society develops towards the cultures of the past. The tasks of archaeology are therefore not only discovering remains, but also uncovering the knowledge and wisdom of past societies. The truths that are being stored by cultures and world religions are autonomous and specific and go beyond the reach of modern sciences. They have an epistemic status and are capable of answering questions about the meaning of life, which neither science nor metaphysics is able to answer. Scheler branded these kinds of truths as “Heilswissen” or saving knowledge, which belongs amongst all knowledge to the highest, irreplaceable and unmistakable human behavior.

Opombe

1

Smith 2004; Merriman 2002.

2

Holtorf 2007, 30.

3

Npr. škandal, ki je nastala ob odkritju zakladne najdbe poznoantičnega srebrnega posodja, znanega kot Sevso Treasure; Renfrew – Bahn 2000, 556.

Tragične razsežnosti verskega obračunavanja je dobil primer svetišča Ayodhya v severni Indiji, kjer je zaradi interpretacije arheoloških najdb prišlo do spopadov in masakra lokalnega prebivalstva, kar je privedlo do uničenja arheološke evidence in falsifikacije rezultatov raziskav; Merriman, 2002, 545.

4

Freudova hiša je bila polna arheoloških najdb. Psihoanaliza je na simbolični ravni podobna arheologiji, ki razkriva preteklost plast za plastjo; Newhouse 2005, 108.

5

Holtorf 2007, 30.

6

Odkritjem egipčanske civilizacije in razvozlanju hieroglifov je sledila prava egiptomanija, ki je med drugim navdahnila tudi oblikovalce pohištva, porcelana in nakita. Pod vplivom egipčanskih odkritij je nastala med drugim znamenita Mozartova Čarobna piščal, egipčanski umetnostni stil so poustvarjale med drugim tudi kraljeve delavnice porcelana v Sankt Peterburgu. (Egiptomanija je bil naslov pregledne razstave Umetnostnozgodovinskega muzeja na Dunaju leta 1994.)

7

Renfrew – Bahn 2000, 19-41; Trigger 2006a, 43-65, 255.

8

Ruggeri Tricoli, 2007, 34; Trigger 2006b, 80.

9

Trigger 2006b, 80.

10

Po izračunu irskega nadškofa Jamesa Ussherja (1581-1656), naj bi bila Zemlja ustvarjena 23. oktobra leta 4004 pred Kr.

11

Auffermann – Orschiedt, 2006.

12

Carman, 2012, 20.

13

Trigger 2006b, 361.

14

Plestenjak 2010; Perko 2010, 170.

15

Plestenjak 2005, 23.

16

Plestenjak 2005.

Endnotes

1

Smith 2004; Merriman 2002.

2

Holtorf 2007, 30.

3

I.e., the scandal that came to be with the hoard find of late antique silver dishes, known as the Sevso Treasure; Renfrew – Bahn 2000, 556.
The tragic extent of religious quarrels was evident in the case of the Ayodhya shrine in northern India, where the interpretation of the archaeological finds caused fighting and a massacre of the local population, which in turn led to the destruction of the archaeological evidence and falsification of research results; Merriman, 2002, 545.

4

Freud's house was full of archaeological finds. On a symbolic level psychoanalysis is similar to archaeology, because it reveals the past layer by layer; Newhouse 2005, 108.

5

Holtorf, 2007, 30.

6

The discoveries of the Egyptian civilization and the deciphering of hieroglyphs brought with them a real Egyptomania, which among others inspired furniture, porcelain and jewelry designers. Under the influence of Egyptian discoveries Mozart's famous Magic flute was created. The Egyptian art style was also mimicked by the royal porcelain workshops in Sankt Petersburg. (Egyptomania was a retrospective exhibition of the Vienna Kunsthistorisches museum in 1994.)

7

Renfrew – Bahn 2000, 19-41; Trigger 2006a, 43-65, 255.

8

Ruggeri Tricoli 2007, 34; Trigger 2006b, 80.

9

Trigger 2006b, 80.

10

According to the calculations of Irish archbishop James Ussher (1581-1656), Earth was supposed to be created on October 23rd in 4004 BC.

11

Auffermann – Orschiedt 2006.

12

Carman 2012, 20.

13

Trigger 2006b, 361.

14

Plestenjak 2005; Perko 2010, 170.

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Plestenjak 2005, 23.

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Plestenjak 2005.

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Marty 2008,

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Holtorf 2007.

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Merriman 2004.

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Sandel 2002; Sandel 2011.

21
Merriman 2004.

22
Kreps 2011.

23
Ashworth, 2007.

24
Merriman 2004.

25
Globokar 2012.

26
Marstine 2011.

27
Trigger 2006b, 1-39.

17
Marty 2008, 181-185.

18
Holtorf 2007.

19
Merriman 2004, 85-108.

20
Sandel 2002; Sandel 2011.

21
Merriman 2004.

22
Kreps 2011.

23
Ashworth 2007.

24
Meriman 2004.

25
Globokar 2012.

26
Marstine 2011.

27
Trigger 2006, 1-39.

Mobile Museums? Some Reflections on Current Exhibitions on Migration and What They May Tell Us about Europe*

Kerstin Poehls

More and more museums all over Europe and inside the European Union in particular have been discovering migration as a topic for temporary exhibitions, and a number of museums on migration have been founded since the end of the twentieth century in the UK, Germany, Scandinavia, the Balkans, the Benelux countries and elsewhere. How and why is this phenomenon being showcased in this way? In my contribution to this workshop, I will analyse the ways in which migration is put on display in temporary exhibitions. Exhibitions operate in modes that differ from those of museums, with their permanent exhibitions. In addition, national historical backgrounds and current political debates that surround the exhibitions and influence them vary widely. Yet because temporary exhibitions are and are also expected to be more courageous when it comes to a provocative thesis or metaphor – as they are points of departure for trends and wider processes of societal (self-)understanding – they create a “discursive disturbance”¹. It therefore seems to be worthwhile to summarize some commonalities that can be observed in their current modes of display. There are two main reasons to focus on such temporary results and ongoing movements inside the museal space: One the one hand, I attribute to these exhibitions a role within a pan-European discourse on the European societies’ relation to migration. On the other hand, temporary migration exhibitions already influence the self-understanding, and work behind the scenes of existing as well as emerging museums as well, and thus have a major impact on what historically is a genuinely European invention.

Migration is “overdetermined”: It is a topic that is accompanied by so many – in part mutually exclusive – expectations that criticism from one side or the other is guaranteed²; it also implicitly questions some traditional principles of museal work. Traditionally, the work of museums is closely linked to the notion of settledness. This is reflected most strongly in the ways that collections are organised. Here, objects are linked to a geographical place. They invite both comparisons over time and comparisons between two or more geographical spaces – but they also veil movements across borders that might be equally characteristic of those places. Objects without a genuine geographical place do not easily fit into such traditional collection systems, and it is through them that the normative impact of collection systems is unveiled. For exhibition

visitors, museum displays might be even more closely connected with immobile, placed objects: The movement of things is stopped by glass panes; it is in the showcases that things “end up”.

The following three aspects shall serve to establish a broader picture of how the topic of migration arguably challenges the ways in which museums have traditionally operated. They also form the structure of my talk: firstly, one impact of migration as an exhibition topic might be a “blurring of the imagined nation states and consequently of Europe”. This happens against a background where transnational social spheres, international connections and cooperations seem to be so all encompassing that academic discourse almost tends to take them for granted. And yet, the nation state is still an undeniable category beyond the surface of everyday life, something which the reintroduction of national border controls by some countries inside the European Union and the Schengen area in 2011 reminds us of. The aim behind this retrogressive move is the regulation and management of migration at a time marked by both an economic crisis and an ever increasing number of immigrants and transit migrants, especially from Northern Africa, crossing the outside borders of the Schengen area. This is even more evident in the case of the museum, an institution invented precisely to help construct the nation as a meaningful point of reference and as a category to organise the world.

Secondly, the way in which migration may question the nation as a conceptual framework “materialises in the ways objects are selected for museal displays”. In contrast to traditional questions – concerning the place of invention, of production, or of use of an artefact – other aspects become relevant and justify its inclusion in a display: what may a particular thing reveal about the motion of ideas, human beings, knowledge or conflicts? What story of migration or mobility justifies its being placed in a showcase? The shift that is indicated by such questions highlights the ongoing renegotiation of the role of objects. Does migration steer museal institutions towards regarding objects as “symbols” rather than as “epistemic objects” – things that embody “what is yet unknown” and that therefore provoke new questions?³ In what follows, we will see how displaying mobility makes it more difficult to “place” objects and to fit them into traditional collection systems.

These two aspects consequently lead to a more general, third, dimension: not only the nation as the historical paradigm of the museum is challenged, but also the “place and space that a certain museum and its displays relate to”, be it the city, the region, the nation or Europe. If practices of mobility are in focus, these seemingly well-defined entities are undermined or ask at least for redefinition under new auspices.

Discursive movements

The museum is not the only institution mirroring a conceptual development and increasing interest in mobility: in the humanities and social sciences as well as in public discourse all over Europe, migrants and migration were for many years – and sometimes still are – perceived as both external and extraordinary

phenomena. Migrants figured as the ‘Other’, as an undifferentiated collective that seemingly allows for a division between ‘Us’ and ‘Them’. Even today, the dominant imaginations of the migrant within these debates are linked to precarity – both with regard to economy and education or social status. In other words: the cosmopolitan, upper-class, financially independent and polyglot dandy of the early twentieth century rarely figures in debates on migration today. Only occasionally do we meet his contemporary incarnation, the middle-class “multilingual gourmet taster”⁴ or the Green Card holder equipped with a Diploma in Biophysics or Computer Engineering. This narrow view of migration, ignoring the diverse practices and modes of mobility⁵ seems to broaden: although immersion and integration are still frequently seen as migrant responsibilities, slowly and surely it is being recognized that migration has been an essential part of European societies for centuries and will not cease to be so. In contrast to the focus on immersion and integration that builds on a model of societies as closed and stable entities, more recent studies within the field of anthropology and social sciences in general indicate a shift: they attempt to characterize migrants and migratory networks or milieus as an avant-garde, both when it comes to transnational milieus and to Europeanization.⁶ Viewed from this angle, migrants are considered a crucial factor within the European Union, something that has stimulated a debate on their position in relation to effects of globalization and all-encompassing mobility. Although the mobile individuals themselves do not assume their role intentionally, the effects of migratory practices playing out at the geopolitical margins of Europe put migrants at the very centre of Europeanization processes, and attribute to them a significant impact on changing European nation states. This view differs substantially from research agendas and publications on European integration and Europe as a geopolitical space, in which the impulse of Europeanization is frequently taken to originate from the field of political power situated in Brussels and Strasbourg.⁷ In contrast to the rather privileged European citizens who professionally engage with today’s and tomorrow’s European actuality in those cities⁸, migrants bring questions of citizenship and human rights to the fore on an existential level.⁹

Temporary exhibitions and museums of migration navigate in this contested field of Europeanization, and they do so along with political parties and activists, scientists from various disciplines, media and public opinion – a broad field and a complex discourse with numerous participants where nothing even close to a consensus has been reached (and where any such consensus is probably not even desirable).

Mapping Migration

Let us start with an object that – if considered an object at all – falls under the category ‘marginal’ within museal representations of migration. Placed in the preface or introductory chapter, next to the entrance or behind showcases with the ‘real’ objects, exhibitions of migration make extensive use of geographical maps. Analogous records of the geographical surface of the world on the one hand, maps are on the other hand inevitably abstractions since they are a

“result of selection, omission, isolation, distance and codification”¹⁰. Since their inception, maps reflect the appropriation of space, they tell stories about what the world looks like or what it should look like, although they generally omit “who” is telling this particular story.¹¹ Bold arrows on large maps are generally used to make visible the historical omnipresence of migration, smaller arrows follow the path of one individual migrant, even smaller acronyms refer to the institutional players involved.

At the “Cité National de l’histoire de l’immigration” (CNHI) in Paris, so far the only “national” museum on migration within Europe, the visitor is confronted with maps even before entering the exhibition. The maps here depict migratory routes and flows throughout the two centuries.

They show migratory movements from the countryside to the growing cities within France, routes from Europe to the Americas or within Asia, and visualize the migratory movements from the former colonies to France. Here, the contours of Europe are still congruent with what is familiar to all of us from geography lessons in school and from atlases.

Quite a different idea of Europe emerges from a photo essay that is on permanent display in the following room at the CNHI. We see Kingsley Abang Kum’s route from Cameroon to France, “documented” by Olivier Jobard¹². While it remains unclear whether the protagonists really exist, the narrative unfolds in a realistic, journalistic manner, inviting us to share Kingsley’s story from the departure from his family home, travelling by various means of transportation, with endless hours of waiting and unknown further steps, until he debarks from a bus in the centre of Paris. The photographs are accompanied both by diary entries and by maps. The maps that Kingsley draws during his journey indicate how Europe as an “ex ante” dreamland both moves out of sight during his trip and morphs its shape as he approaches Europe’s geopolitical borders. The manually drawn maps convey the high hopes with which the word Europe is connoted: while we as exhibition visitors can follow Kingsley’s gaze beyond the horizon, we cannot spot him in the crowd any longer once he has arrived in Europe – a place that no longer seems to be the dreamland. The combination of these rather different representations of space not only gives an impression of how the crisis of representation since the 1980s has had its impact on the museum. It also indicates the affinities between sociocultural history as told in the museal space and the arts, where maps have, for instance, been used by Situationists or Fluxus artists as material and as a genre to create new kinds of space, to provoke a more playful perception of space, and to problematize the highly constructed nature of space.¹³ Although very discreetly, the maps at the CNHI suggest the creativity underlying these maps, namely the creativity of migrants on their transit route.

A scribbled instruction on how to move through Europe inspired museum curators in Rijeka in Croatia for the show “Merika. Emigration from Central Europe to America 1880-1914”¹⁴. In this exhibition, we see individual stories and routes of migration. They are complemented by depictions of those agencies, railway and shipping companies along the route that allowed for mobility and made their profits from migration. The display is here arranged like “a labyrinth, but with a way out”¹⁵.

The inspiration for this display comes from a small piece of paper: next to a curved line, it contains precise instructions on where to change trains and where to buy the next train ticket on the way from a small village in Croatia to Udine and then further on westwards. Written for someone “who does not know where they are going, who does not know the routes”¹⁶, this map shows neither national boundaries nor visa or control mechanisms. Very much in contrast to today’s realities, border controls were then unheard of in this part of the world.¹⁷ Two fundamental aspects of mapping are translated into the exhibition: Firstly, the show highlights the high degree of creativity embedded in finding or inventing a migratory route.¹⁸ The migrant himself who imagined himself in a different “space” and “place” and the helpful person who provided this person with an improvised map – both imagined new paths towards a different way of life. On the map itself, the amount of information has been reduced to a level sufficient for taking the next step towards “Merika”. Secondly, the mazy exhibition design might confuse visitors. This intended effect provides evidence of the necessary reading skills without which any map is useless.¹⁹

The creative potential of maps has been used by artists²⁰ and also in migration exhibitions to a degree where the category of geography reveals its constructed and limited meaning. Curators, artists and ethnographers aim to unveil how geopolitical decisions on borders, historical as well as contemporary discourses on migration in Europe, political institutions, NGOs and political parties as well as migrating human beings form the discursive “space” in which migration takes place. In those projects, the space of migration does not appear as a clear-cut entity, but rather as a blurred field of activity where various interests meet and conflict with each other. MIGMAP²¹, for example, completely abstains from geography as a basis for mapping migration. This cooperation between artists and social scientists partaking in the exhibition/research project PROJEKT MIGRATION in Cologne in 2005 provides visual solutions to the problem of mapping migration that are both strange and very familiar at the same time. The team of ethnographers and artists map the players of migration, discourses, places and political decisions and use aesthetics that are reminiscent of weather forecasts, underground maps or of web pages with an overwhelming amount of cryptic abbreviations.²²

The “weather forecast” map, for example, visualizes how areas of “high” or “low” pressure overlap in relation to public discourse on human trafficking and how this in turn collides with neo-liberal political aims. “Weather fronts” keep discourses on asylum and illegal migration apart, while the discourse on smuggling seems to overlap or interfere with the “cloud” of illegal migration as well as with trafficking. Through all these constantly intersecting and elusive weather systems move streams of ideas based on or opposed to racism, as well as discussions on Human Rights, political attempts to reduce organized criminality or to lead a “War on Terrorism”. Here, the common visuals of weather reports are used in order to represent the tradition of spatializing political positions.

On the “tube map”, political decisions on how to govern and to manage migration in the EU form the various stations. Of course, the tube map and the weather report are closely linked: physically, they both belong to the realm of everyday life of many museums visitors and as cultural codes they are equally

familiar to most European citizens and thus easy to interpret. The key aspect that relates them to each other, however, is a statement that addresses both Europe and the public perception of migration: firstly, neither the European Union nor Europe is about geography – perhaps it never has been. Margins and boundaries are the effects of political decisions, of discourses, and are as such not meaningfully connected to the borders we find drawn in traditional maps. This position corresponds to the way European borders are being ‘performed’ today: EU border control, to an increasing degree executed by the EU agency FRONTEX, takes place outside of the EU as well as inside, on motorways, at airports or train stations. Borders function as filters, they can no longer be regarded as lines that some are allowed to cross and others not.²³ Secondly, migration opens up a space that extends somewhere between the discourse clouds and the tube tunnels of politics – the every-day social space of migration. This space seems to become more visible through the aesthetics of tube maps and weather forecasts.

Within the context of exhibitions of migration, maps generate a peculiar effect: while on the one hand clarifying the social phenomenon of mobility, on the other hand they literally “undercut” the meaning of geopolitical boundaries. In doing so, they blur national and European boundaries. Instead, the ways in which mobility towards, within and departing from Europe is represented, display something else: maps in exhibitions on migration direct our attention towards the question of how borders – as “socially performed conceptual entities” – generate the difference they mark.²⁴ In that sense, the whole idea of numerous (not all) exhibitions on migration is generated from a more often than not marginal object: a map. Once maps are employed as a means to set the tone for the things on display and once they have been freed from their attributed objectivity, they unveil the illusion of neutrality – and even of universalism – that has guided representational work in the museal space since its inception. Curatorial activity is, in the case of migration most explicitly, a political activity.

Migrating Objects

When the Kreuzberg Museum in Berlin opened its first permanent exhibition in the early 1990s, personal belongings of migrants – such as teapots, a silver bowl traditionally used in the “hammam”, or working tools – were the central objects on display. Their purpose was to connect the stories inside the showcases to the life going on immediately outside of the museum. In a similar way, a small grass-roots museum in Skala Loutron on the Greek island of Lesvos displays festive clothing, salt and pepper shakers, letters, official certificates and jewellery. All of them were donated by Greek migrant families who had to leave their homes in Asia Minor in 1922²⁵ in exchange with the Turkish population on Greek territory. Similar examples can be found all over Europe: personal objects have always been more or less present in exhibitions on migration. In contrast to the way political debates, movies, or print media operate, these three-dimensional objects allow for a physical and simultaneous multi-sensory perception of the materiality of migration. The object of migration that continues to be the “classic” is the suitcase²⁶, used so frequently that it has turned into heavy luggage in itself.

Inside the museal field, the debate on how, where, why and for whom museums of migration should be founded revolves around objects, and specifically objects that have been donated by migrants or their families. One possible reason behind this might be the fact that these objects often communicate primary emotions such as melancholy. This quality seems not only to be distinct from a certain understanding of 'professionalism' inside the museal sphere. The objects also seem to be inconsistent with exhibitions inspired by a more theoretical approach where the curatorial emphasis is not put on strengthening or highlighting the aura of an object or its minute details, but rather on the cultural debates or social background, resulting in a more or less explicit political statement. Through their material qualities and peculiarities, epistemic objects might strengthen this approach by entering into a kind of dialogue with the beholder, resulting in further questions rather than definite answers. It is hardly surprising that the material qualities of salt and pepper shakers rarely lead to them being placed in the category of epistemic objects. This is seldom the case with objects in migration exhibitions in general. For instance, a staff member at the museum in Skala Loutron informed me at a showcase where the above-mentioned objects were placed on small velvet pillows that "the objects in themselves have no value"²⁷. Here she was not only referring to the monetary value, but also to the objects' ability to generate questions beyond an initial emotional impulse. Today, object donations are only accepted "when there is a special story connected to them" that would then be documented and become part of the collection together with the object.²⁸ As their melancholic trait suggests, such traditional 'objects of migration' can be considered as symbols or anchors for stories that have to be told in order to make the object meaningful to a third person. Otherwise, they simply point to a place and time elsewhere that remains unrelated to the here and now of the display.

It might be for this reason that many migration exhibitions either look for alternative ways of dealing with objects or try to avoid them completely. The exhibition "PROJEKT MIGRATION" that was shown in Cologne in 2005, for instance, abstained almost completely from using objects and created new representative forms such as the maps mentioned above. From a similar political perspective, namely one that focuses on the normality of migration rather than on its claimed exceptional status, the initiators of "Crossing Munich" decided not to exhibit objects as museum objects in showcases, but to make them part of the exhibition design: in Munich in 2009, curators initiated cooperation between artists and ethnographers at a very early stage. Voluminous plastic bags with colourful stripes in blue and red – perhaps the most clichéd objects of contemporary migration – figure here as part of a larger installation and narrative. Instead of being put into a showcase or used as vessels for other, perhaps even more clichéd objects that might have been transported in them, the bags have been attached to each other and mounted to resemble the architectural shape of Munich's Central Train Station. The Central Station was one of the main places of arrival for guest workers from the 1960s onwards. This presentation turns the bags into de- and reconstructed parts of the exhibition design, and adds an ironic twist to the show: the blue, red, and white striped bags confront the visitor with his or her expectations of what migration and its material omnipresence stereotypically "looks like" in every-day life.²⁹ Similarly,

between commissioned pieces of art, soundscapes, media installations and more traditional showcases with shoes and other objects, the Museum of World Cultures in Gothenburg found a way in its recent exhibition “Destination X” to include the most powerful and therefore omnipresent symbol of migration: the suitcase.

Instead of mounting them as in, for example, the permanent exhibition in the Imperial War Museum North in Manchester as a giant arch, or placing them in a kind of diorama as curators chose in the touring exhibition “C'est notre histoire” in Wrocław in 2009, the suitcases were attached to each other to form a giant sphere. Together, the cheap and expensive, colourful and black suitcases formed the globe. They hinted at various modes of movement, forced or voluntarily, on a tight budget or with luxury equipment. In doing so, they extended the metaphorical reach of the suitcase that has traditionally been employed to hint at the (cultural) luggage that migrants brought with them, which they unpacked at their final destination to see what its worth might be under new living conditions or that helped them – through the presence of heirlooms – to keep the past alive.³⁰

In conclusion, the topic of migration seems to generate from within itself a questioning of how to tell stories in a museal space, how to engage the audience and how to convey information or knowledge. As the few examples that were analysed here indicate, these questions often revolve around the role to be attributed to objects.³¹ The key question is thus whether a museum aims to address its audience on a personal level by departing from individual stories or by referring to a more abstract theoretical level based on political debates – both can be found in migration exhibitions. Indeed, they mirror the way a museum sees its role in society.

Museums in Movement

‘Everyone’ within the museal world suddenly seems to put migration on display. In the UK, archives and museums jointly work for a more ‘inclusive’ approach towards cultural heritage; in Germany, the local museums of history in Frankfurt and Stuttgart are being completely reconceptualised, the same applies to the city archive and museum in Munich. Museums in Scandinavia, in the Balkans and in Greece are also turning their attention towards mobility. What are the reasons behind this phenomenon? Are they just pragmatic? Is it the search for new funding or for cooperation that is leading museums to focus on migration? Or is the aim to attract new, significantly younger and more diverse audiences? All of these aspects are of importance for the current turn to migration in museums. The degree to which this is the case depends on the urban (or rural) context of the respective museums and on how much the museums are dependent on external funding and cooperation for their survival. Migration is a buzzword, and hardly any cultural institution in Europe that seeks funding on the regional, national or EU level – be it in the field of performing or fine arts – can be successful without hinting at the migration dimension of the specific project or the impact on intercultural dialogue of its general activity. This trend is both to be welcomed and very general. However, the increasing presence and explicit mentioning of migration in museal displays also indicates some more

fundamental changes that exceed the area of funding or cooperation contracts. Specifically, there seems to be a need to make the relation between a preserved past inside the museum and complex realities outside the museum more explicit, and focusing on migration is apparently an appropriate way to do this.³² Migration as a classical boundary object that involves various stakeholders and thus implicates ongoing discussions might not force all museums to begin raising their voices in a political debate, but it might very well strengthen the need for a clear and recognizable position that a museal institution takes in the “general weather situation” of migration discourses that MIGMAP outlined. This means that museums might be asked to convert the implicit worldview that both its institutional traditions and the collections stand for into an explicit political position.

This might imply a farewell to the usual processes of “dissociation, classification, storage, acquisition of meaning”³³ that were traditionally applied to things on their way into the museum. The initial dissociation of things usually meant either spatial or temporal distance from their origins. Yet neither time nor space separates migration and its objects from the European reality in 2011. Quite to the contrary, the exhibitions presented above reflect how the museal space opens up to current political debates that are anything but “dissociated”: Firstly, exhibitions have often functioned as an “outpost in the vast land of exemplification”³⁴ – that is, a place where ongoing debates crystallize in a three-dimensional way. This is particularly the case with exhibitions on migration in Europe. Secondly, museums have also always been places where ideas about the future are presented if not produced. This holds especially true for our context: migration is a core field of EU policies, it represents a major challenge for any traditional understanding of nation states, and it is certainly a phenomenon that brings questions of citizenship, human rights and ‘belonging’ to the fore. These two aspects were usually veiled behind the semblance of universalism and the way in which museums historically meant to represent the world in an ‘objective’ manner: they presented themselves as rather detached from ongoing political debates, commenting maybe from a distanced position outside. The museums and exhibitions we have seen, however, have moved away from this position: they are not outside, but – whether this is intended or not – in the very middle of a political process. In this sense, exhibitions on migration reflect how the process of musealization is today accompanied by a more explicit demand of self-reflection and self-positioning that museal institutions are provoked to undertake by the public, the media, funding institutions, other exhibitions that have been successful in one way or the other, and by political debate. The exhibitions we have seen reflect how a self-reflexive and budding version of cosmopolitanism that is closely linked to the concept of transnationalism is slowly but surely being incorporated into exhibitions: “Europeanness”³⁵.

Conclusion

Generated both from within and from discourses outside the museal field, exhibitions on migration question notions of objectivity or of European universalism. In doing so, they show how various public spheres and discourses

interact, and thus encourage museums to play a more central role in the ongoing self-reflection of European societies.

Exhibitions on migration tell several stories at once: firstly, as we have seen, they present stories of migration in a certain city, region or nation, and within a particular period of time. For this purpose, curators make extensive use of maps – with the peculiar effect that these maps blur what seems to be the clear-cut entity of reference of the museum itself or the exhibition. To a stronger degree than other phenomena that turn into museal topics, ‘migration’ unveils the constructed character of geographic or political entities such as the nation or the European Union. It shows how, hidden below the norm of settledness, mobilities are and have always been omnipresent in and fundamental for European societies.

Secondly and related to this, exhibitions on migration add a new chapter to the meta-narrative of museums.^{36,37} They provoke questions of settledness, citizenship, or contemporary globalisation phenomena that are equally implicitly put on display. The consequent effect is a blurring, or “un-writing”³⁸ of the concept of the nation-state.

Finally, migration as a museal topic conveys a view on how the institution ‘museum’ relates to such a fuzzy thing as mobility, and it will be interesting to see how this will affect the museum as an institution embedded in urban space, in Europe, and yet aware of global phenomena.

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Endnotes

1
Korff – Roth 1990, 21.

2
Leggewie 2011, 162ff.

3
Cf. Korff 2005; Rheinberger 2006, 28.

4
Werbner 1997, 11; cf. Grillo 2007.

5
Urry 2008.

6
Balibar 2005; TRANSIT MIGRATION Forschungsgruppe 2007.

7
Abélès 1992, Shore 2000.

8
Poehls 2009.

9
Hess 2005; Römhild 2007; Glick Schiller – Çalar 2009; Lenz 2010.

10
Corner 1999, 215.

11
Cf. Schlägel 2006; Rogoff 2000; Jacobs 2008.

12
Jobard – Sanglier 2006.

13
Corner 1999.

14
Merika 2011.

15
Merika 2011.

16
Merika 2011.

17
Cf. Schlägel 2006.

18
Corner 1999, 217.

19
Corner 1999, 214f.

20
Cf. Rogoff 2000.

21
MIGMAP 2011.

22
Cf. Spillmann 2007.

23
Cf. Fischer-Lescano – Tohidipur 2007; Buckel – Wissel 2010; Laube 2010.

24
Greene 2010, 261.

25
Cf. Clogg 1992, 47ff.

26
Baur 2009; Poehls 2010.

27
Field Notes 2011.

28
Field Notes 2011.

29

Cf. Leggewie 2011, 167.

30

The Museo Diffuso in Turin provides another example of the possible effects of the omission of objects in a migration exhibition. In a temporary exhibition shown in 2009, contemporary as well as historical photographs were used in order to contrast the physical vanishing of borders in the Schengen area with the prison-like situation of migrants in one of Italy's largest detention centres on the outskirts of Turin. The protagonists of the exhibition, the migrants inside the detention camp, expose their possessions to the photographer's gaze and thus to the exhibition audience. However, there are no three-dimensional objects inside the exhibition space. The atmosphere of contemplation that traditionally characterizes the museal space is absent. Instead of directing our gaze towards a showcase, we are allowed, almost like voyeurs, to have a look at the tiny personal space that migrants in the detention camp have at their disposal. The black and white photographs seem to add to a sense of political urgency to the show, recalling reportage in a magazine. This specific example reminds us that the specific atmospheric effect of objects in exhibition spaces – beyond their resistance against being used as epistemic objects – might be investigated further, and beyond the thematic focus of this article.

31

Objects of migration are often personal heirlooms and bear qualities that are different from a classical epistemic object. They symbolize an additional individual story that needs to be told in order to encourage questions and invite contemplation.

32

Exactly the other way around, political activists use travelling exhibitions as a means to present their ideas to a broader audience – making use of the strengths of the medium ‘exhibition’ and its seemingly ‘detached’ nimbus. Thus, the open-air exhibition “Traces from Lesvos through Europe” (cf. the documentation in: Traces from Lesvos 2010) that was held in the Migration Detention Centre at Paganí (Lauth Bacas 2010) on the island of Lesvos, for example, presented individual migrants with their dreams and plans for the future. The exhibition was anything but neutral or detached from political discourse.

33

Lidchi 2006, 98.

34

Benjamin 1980, 527, coined this for commercial expositions, but I argue that his judgement also applies to our context.

35

Delanty 2005; Beck – Grande 2007.

36

Bal 2006, 15.

37

Implicitly, they challenge the relevance of the nation. More specifically, both the historical idea that initiated the invention of the public museum (cf. e.g. Bennett 1999) and the political fundament of European integration today.

38

Rogoff 2000, 38.

Collective Memory, Politics of the Past and History Politics – A Rapprochement

Ljiljana Radonić

Collective memory, politics of the past (“Vergangenheitspolitik”) and history politics are key concepts that appeared in the course of the “memory boom” after 1989. While they started off with quite differing approaches, this paper argues that they became two sides of the same coin due to the growing influence of cultural studies on humanities and social sciences.

The concept of social memory was first described by the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s, but it was Jan Assmann's text on collective memory and cultural identity from 1988 that provoked a “memory boom” in humanities.¹ Assmann makes a distinction between a communicative memory (which corresponds with Halbwachs' concept) and cultural memory. The first is based exclusively on everyday communication e.g. of a family or a social group. “Through this manner of communication, each individual composes a memory which, as Halbwachs has shown, is (a) socially mediated and (b) relates to a group. Every individual memory constitutes itself in communication with others. These ‘others’, however, are not just any set of people, rather they are groups who conceive their unity and peculiarity through a common image of their past.”² This kind of memory is characterized by a high degree of non-specialization, reciprocity of roles, thematic instability, disorganization and a limited temporal horizon. This horizon does not extend more than eighty to one hundred years into the past, which equals three or four generations. The communicative memory offers no fixed point which would bind it to the ever expanding past in the passing of time. Such fixity can only be achieved through a cultural formation and therefore lies outside of informal everyday memory.

On the other hand, cultural memory is characterized by its distance from the everyday. It has its fixed point; its horizon does not change with the passing of time. These fixed points are fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance). Cultural memory preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity. Thus, we need to keep in mind that no memory can preserve the past. Cultural memory works by reconstructing, that is, it always relates its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation. Thus, the concept of cultural memory comprises the body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose “cultivation” serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image.

What is almost completely missing in this canonized memory theory text is the question how something becomes part of cultural memory, what mechanisms we need to consider when talking about canonization, about something becoming the dominant memory. The only time Assmann mentions those mechanisms is when he writes about cultural memory being self-reflexive “in that it draws on itself to explain, distinguish, reinterpret, criticize, censure, control [and] surpass”.³

Later memory concepts focused more on the ways how one certain version of the past became the dominant memory culture of a society. Peter Niedermüller for example stresses that different social groups do not only have differing memories, but that their memories also conflict. The canonization of a narrative as the history leads to a symbolic and political marginalization and suppression of other memories.⁴ A memory culture of a certain society thus must not be understood as static and homogenous, but as a constant struggle for hegemony. To give an example from post-communist Yugoslavia: Like in other post-communist countries post-communist history was stipulated as the “true” one, while all opposing narratives were stigmatized as “falsified”, “alien” communist history. In Croatia for example, the fear of the return of “Serbo-Communism” dominated the discourse.⁵

The concept of memory culture looks at the texts, rituals and sites of memory that have become part of collective memory of a society. Parallel to this development, the German term for “politics of the past”, “Vergangenheitspolitik”, was developed in the middle of the 1990s to describe the politics of dealing with the Nazi-past on the one hand and with the communist past on the other. The German political scientist Claus Offe first used the term in order to describe disqualification, punishment and restitution in connection with the communist era in Eastern Europe.⁶ The historian Norbert Frei used the term for analyzing (and criticizing) the jurisdiction and amnesty politics concerning Nazi-perpetrators in the Federal Republic of Germany.⁷ Thus, the early studies were limited to the judicial and executive measures involved in this politics of the past.⁸

Only later did the use of the term come to include examinations of political culture and public discourse showing the growing importance of cultural approaches for humanities and social sciences.⁹ Like the idea of collective memory, this concept also starts from the knowledge that every memory is “instrumentalized” for today’s needs, but focuses more on the mechanisms and official proponents of this process. Of course it makes a difference if we are analyzing the “politics of the past” of a democratic society or the way how a dominant history and memory are asserted in a dictatorial regime. Politics of the past can be understood as the way in which a democratic society approaches a (felonious) predecessor regime.

While politics of the past aims at the question how one certain period is approached today, history politics (“Geschichtspolitik”) on the other hand is a broader term analyzing how history is “instrumentalized” by politics in general. It looks at the motives and methods of its construction as well as the function and virulence of the past in the present.¹⁰ According to Harald Schmid this term can be found in scholarly texts more often than politics of the past (or “memory politics”) since it was never defined in a comparably narrow matter as Frei and

Offe first did it with “Vergangenheitspolitik”.¹¹ Edgar Wolfrum’s often quoted study “Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland” defines history politics as the analysis of public constructions of history and identity images put into effect through rituals and discourses.¹² According to Schmid, history politics deals with five key issues: the means proponents of history politics use in order to restrain history for their goals and the manifestations of such action (symbols, rituals, memorials, memorial days, the renaming of streets); which past is chosen to be transformed into current history politics; what is history politics able to accomplish – from the perspective of the proponents, the recipients and the scholarly point of view; who and which groups take part in history politics – first of all among politicians, media and historians; and what is the normative context of history politics and its proponents trying to create a new tradition of dealing with the past.¹³

The best example for such a decisive creation of a new tradition and a break in history politics as well as in politics of the past was the transformation process after 1989 – but it also seems unconceivable to keep track of the continuities in the political culture of the post-communist states. In Eastern Europe, the political change went hand in hand with a break in the politics of the past. This can be demonstrated on the example of the Museum of the Slovak National Uprising in Banská Bystrica in Slovakia. Since the end of World War II, the interpretation of the uprising of 1944 was a key element in the state politics of history, especially in the legitimization of the restoration of Czechoslovakia in 1945. This construction was based on the statement that the leading force of the Slovak national uprising was the working class under the leadership of the Communist party. In 1992, a new exhibition was introduced. The Uprising continued to play a key role in the Slovak national identity. But the narrative of the exhibition changed completely according to the new nationalist narrative. While there was a break in the narrative, the methods of representing national history did not change at first: The new exhibition played down the role of Soviet support of the armed forces of the Slovak National Uprising as much as the communist exhibitions had assigned them too much value.¹⁴ Only later versions of the exhibition provided a more accurate picture.

To give another example for the complicated relationship of breaks and continuities in approaching the past: After Yugoslavia was ripped apart, the former anti-fascist heroes, the Tito partisans/communists turned into “the Serbo-Communist danger” in Croatia, while the Nazi-collaborators, the “Ustaša”, became the new national heroes in the dominant memory culture. Still, if we leave aside the content e.g. of history textbooks in the 1990s and look at the way in which they were written, we can see that the demonization of enemies, a Manichean black-and-white world view and a lack of multi-perspectivity has remained. In the 1990s the Tuđman-regime in Croatia was an authoritarian electoral regime that broke with the socialist narrative, but not with the way in which history was asserted.

So what we superficially observe as a total break in narrative often deserves a closer look. Regime changes or political turnabouts always change the dominant narrative, but the decisive matter when it comes to the categories of break and continuity often turns out to be the way how one historical narrative becomes the dominant one: Is it because of a democratization of access to memories

that were taboo earlier on or is it just because one Manichean black-and-white narrative has substituted another? Key fields of research for those questions are symbols, rituals, myths and language structures. This is where the cultural studies approach is crucial both for the concept of collective memory as well as for politics of the past and history politics since all of them look at how history and memory are constructed for today's needs.

Endnotes

1
Assmann 1988.

2
Assmann 1995, 127.

3
Assmann 1995, 132.

4
Niedermüller 2004, 16.

5
Radonić 2010, 404.

6
Offe 1994, 187.

7
Frei 1996.

8
Bock – Wolfrum 1999.

9
Sandner 2001.

10
Sandner 2001, 7.

11
Schmid 2009, 71.

12
Wolfrum 1999, 32.

13
Schmid 2009, 72.

14
Lášticová – Findor 2008, 247.

Public Memory – Origins and Reflections

Tomislav S. Šola

1. Memory

The subject of memory in the society of total recall becomes a complicated. We have the ability to remember literally everything with complete, detailed accuracy. We have realized the ancient dream; one which implied that perfect memory is an attribute of wisdom. This fantastic attainment can serve many purposes. For the moment we know that quantity is not a guarantee of quality. It can drown it. We also realised that interpretation of memory objects (or units, probably “mneme” as it will be explained later) not only can be a way of apprehension of the world but also wicked means of manipulation.

In the legendary Roman book on the art of memory – the title of which has been lost and so it is named for the dedication it bears (*Ad Herennium*) – memory is the fourth art of rhetoric, a “treasure house of inventions, the custodian of all the parts of rhetoric”. We nowadays imagine that the Ancient World did have more than transcribed and lost writings, known as such. It had its highly estimated art of memorization (*ars memorativa*), well elaborated teaching of its secrets and the grand masters of it. Aristotle wrote what was later translated as the book “*De Memoria*”. Cicero (*De Oratore*), Plinius, Seneca, Quintilian, Petrarch, Thomas Aquinas ... Most of the great masters were able to demonstrate fascinating feats of memory, which nowadays seem impossible. F.A. Yates says Simonides was the founder, Tullius the best teacher and Thomas Aquinas the patron saint. When the fascination with this art finally died in modern times, memory forever stopped to be a triumph of exceptional minds who had developed a phenomenal ability. In the hands of great masters, memory was more than the ability to retain facts – it was the formal framework for wisdom. In the Renaissance Giulio Camillo, a great connoisseur of “*ars memorativa*” and admirer of its great masters, created according to this art of artificial memory a real locus, a “Memory Theatre”, which offered images and texts so arranged in a memory structure that they would represent the creation of the universe in seven stages. It was still a prevalently Christian learning about virtues, as practiced and theorised by Romberch (German, beginning of 16th century) and Rosselius (Florentine, end of the 16th century) known as the “Dominican art of memory”. The art finally died away with rising mass production of knowledge entrusted to easily reproduced books. The “coup de grace” to the cult of memory

was the invention of the computer chip and the developments in IT we have all witnessed. Electronic technology has turned memory into a commodity and its massive production devalued its quality, becoming an ocean of trivia. Perfect recall is highly unselective and therefore unusable unless there are special tools to retrieve quality. Memory is now, technologically speaking, at the unlimited disposal of anybody. The motivation to remember by using one's own brain has never been less. With it the drive to evaluate, to compare, to use associative and emotional powers and talents to form questions, solutions, assertions, doubts – reactions of a creative human being – has also vanished. It became not only saturated with banality, but also short, fragmentary and uncritical. People so deprived of their natural human performance are hardly able to formulate any request to the institutions which are supposed to provide social functions for some aspects of common good – a social, public memory.

Plato believed that the soul's true knowledge consisted of the recollection of ideas. Not of facts or events. This is so important that, if truly taken into account, it would change all institutions of public heritage. In this sense, Aristotle is the choice of the modern world, as his notion of memory was more sensory and technical in emphasis. This attitude is far from Plato's implications of a knowledge derived from forms or moulds of ideas that are latent in our memories. If ideas are morally relevant, as Yates seems to purport, then the need for the moral knowledge is also latent. This may mean that memory institutions are extensions of this right and this need for moral, socially efficacious memory. St. Augustine conferred upon memory the supreme honour of being one of the three powers of the soul: Memory, understanding, and will, which are the image of Trinity in man, according to the latter.

We come to the world equipped with basic "programming" and the need to upgrade it. In it there is a search for the sense in human existence, the fear of the unknown and a fascination with the ability to create good and bad – all but the essence of the human condition. This article will sometimes claim and sometimes imply that we have to go back to primary meanings of memory in the society, when it meant an ambition to wisdom, a noble knowledge – not just any. Boncompagno, a scholastic from the first half of the 13th century, said what modern scientists have themselves discovered: "Memory is a glorious and admirable gift of nature by which we recall past things, and we embrace present things and we contemplate future things through their likeness to past things." The newest research demonstrates that no single individual experience, however insignificant, happens without being immediately "scanned" through the entire memory, compared and evaluated, and then the reaction is formed, mostly in a particle of a second. That might be one of the answers for the seemingly unused and immense capacity of human brain. There is no better inspiration for understanding the true nature of the collective extension of the individual brain: public memory, the conscious part of the collective memory, the one intended for giving responses.

2. Collective memory

Is any social memory also collective? It's hard to say. Halbwachs seems to think so. Connerton claims that too. Social memory is dispersed amongst groups, individuals and media. The main difference between this memory and the public one is that it is spontaneous and natural and the latter artificial is highly organized and hierarchical; typically it does not comprise of a complicated system of recall as any artificial memory would. The high regard for memory in Christian learning and practice was constant, but all world religions function in practice as giant memory systems. Much could be said about their books and the constant obligation of returning to them and learning them, if not by heart then as part of a specific structure of obligatory revisiting its parts. All of them have own calendars of rituals whose direct sense and implicit requirement is to secure compactness of value systems on daily basis, as the weft of the collective identity. The similar structures of reality have been created by the ruling classes of nation-states. The political mythology established commemorative, evocative events and ceremonies – the network of dates in the calendar that constantly bring to mind important battles, tragedies, victories, sufferings and triumphs, so that collective memory is managed towards a projected state, one useful for the ruling political factions.

Whether this be social memory, mass memory or just a collective memory might have further implications, and this is why memories seem to be many and the literature upon them growing. Curiously, the theme has remained attached more to psychology, sociology and even history than to the occupations quite literally in charge of it. They were for centuries primarily concerned with their own history, methodologies and technology, posing the fundamental questions only within the straight theoretical framework of their particular occupational theories.

Memories thus can be many: individual, collective, cultural, social or public. Collective memory appears to be, according to the ancient distinctions, a natural memory, rather chaotic, circumstantial and optional. Much of collective memory is inbuilt into what is afterwards recognized as public memory, as it appears to be more useful as zeitgeist, a context, than, say, an identity. It would seem correct to regard collective memory as unarticulated or dispersive, whole spontaneously created, transferred and practiced. It is less complex than collective experience and surely constitutes an unstable body of knowledge, but collective memory was not all there was: the ancient world did know artificial memory too. The part of memory controlled by religious objectives, though not separate, functioned differently and for different reasons, being institutionalized early and instrumental to their mission. Collective memory inherited by Renaissance and the Age of Reason has been devastated by church, history and science. Once we have reached the era of conviction that we can discover the secrets and laws of nature to finally govern it, the growing secular power (replacing the religious, ecclesiastic culture) profited from a biblical command

and implied right to master the world. The myth of science started to grow. The collective memory, and thus haphazardly stored experience, being the result of spontaneous activity of unlearned people, seemed rather foolish, superstitious and irrelevant, and was gradually expelled by disregard, neglect and even punishment. The oblivion thus imposed started the process of depreciation that only in the last decades reversed. So the popular medicine, like traditional farming later on, became obsolete and forgotten, together with the inbuilt wisdom that defined relatively well the place of humans in nature. Since 18th and 19th centuries collective memory – in the West – has reduced relevance and congruity to be held decisive in the modern society. Its space has become the polygon of changing mythologems for the mercenary purposes, a sort of constantly changing, seductive and deceptive Vanity Fair. Memory institutions were invented to ensure the preservation and public articulation of the growing knowledge about the world.

However, inventing the ways to record the growing memory required social development. It stemmed from gradual industrialisation and the rise of an idle, entrepreneurial elite and powerful middle class. Others followed as literacy was the only way to impose nationhood, state and a qualified working class to serve growingly sophisticated production processes. Social memory is what groups – from a few individuals to an organised state – choose to remember. It is unstable, processual, changing and manipulated in quality, though in many cases we can recognise the memories generated by a class or social layer, by minorities or other political group.¹

What was a rightfully insatiable appetite for more knowledge and more memory flourished in the 20th century with the information revolution and the invention of micro-chip. We are finally facing the ultimate questions about the ultimate nature of memory as merely keeping it proved not to be the issue. Collecting ever more creates congestion, so selection and its criteria have to be the only solution. Like the character from “Rainman” we suffer from a fatal and disturbing “hypermnesia”. This illness of modern society combined with unprecedented ability to change and, indeed, manipulate memory by simply changing its algorithms has brought further concerns. Living at the turning point of its fate, mankind will either grow up or will collapse into a most daunting barbarism and slavery ever seen.

The social memory “*stricto sensu*” should be probably assigned to ideological structures when studying society and thus prevalently may be the subject pertinent to sociology or political science. Social memory is therefore concerned with societal structures and how they produce and use memory. Cultural memory would regard the totality of what differentiates us from other animals and each other as the object of its interest. It is useful to explore existing literature on memory, but without a better understanding of its core essence, one is exposed to puzzling variety of overlapping notions.

3. Tradition

Tradition is a liturgy of the everyday – an attempt to offer a solid and reliable structure by expected and repeated “communication” with the collective self at whatever level, be it at a familial, group, community or national level. As well as liturgy in its own right, it serves to give the feeling of continuity, stability and a privilege of some special “language” and relation with its objective, in this case, the collective self. It can be any mutually shared, gathering or unifying idea or concept, perceived as important enough for the coherence or spiritual survival of the group. Tradition, as it is based upon obliging rules, forms and timing, thus appears as a sort materialized, captured eternity, often – especially in religion – some kind of unique way of accessing the Divine. Social and psychological values and uses of tradition are innumerable. The practice of it, be it declared or tacit, is taken as a sign of adherence and belonging, very often, not only to the group or community but very much to the mindset or the value system. It is an excellent refuge while searching security against change and challenge. This explains why tradition, which is sometimes only a building block in what constitutes heritage and sometimes the only formal method of expressing identity, enjoys such general approval and public importance. It strongly resembles or even acts as heritage or identity itself. Knowing certain traditions in minute detail and the ability to practice them correctly, is almost a password or sign of belonging to the culture of their collective owners. It behaves as a certain persisting order, the relationship between parts within a whole that stays functional as long as the order is there. This is why we know so many occasions where traditions are defended by weapons if necessary, sometimes only to retain certain status quo, a particular social order and power relations. It is important to understand, as opposed to the popular knowledge, that there are bad, brutal and harmful traditions that do not deserve respect. Yet, hidden within cultural tissue, they cannot be denied or opposed by the outsiders and remain, however opposed to, say, basic human rights, a part of the right to difference.

What we often call tradition is but a well filtered and packaged public memory assuming the role of a survival tool, adding the survival quality to any endeavour. This filtered experience thus became the required, obliging knowledge in doing things in a “proper” way, so as to assure success within the given climate, culture or some other general circumstances (be it building a house, raising cattle, working the land or marrying and rising progeny). The terms do mingle and overlap so the essence of this sort of tradition is actually heritage. When tradition becomes the choice to take in the future it turns into heritage. Much of tradition is far from presenting any choice or liberty. Tradition, as mentioned, concerning a collective, can become, like an individual habit – like armour: protecting but also immobilising. Some traditions survived by far the circumstances that created them, as is the case with folk songs, heroic songs, patriotic songs, some do call for blood revenges and brutal vengeance. When these traditions are practiced or continued they are usually adopted by highly problematic, extremist, socially or politically disturbed individuals or groups. The calling upon bright, impeccable, heroic ancestors who, of course, could do no

wrong, because “tradition cannot fail”, is done under the aegis of heritage, but it is not the heritage. It is an either useless or harmful legacy to be renounced, demystified and dismantled to its banal elements (circumstantial or true but) of the former, now nonexistent reality.² Contrary to the prevailing beliefs, traditions are not permanent or stable. They are a rather pragmatic solution to some life problems or dilemmas: they are a well-tested protocol of possibilities. They are always a weight around the neck of all heretics and creators (like there is a big difference between the two). So the so-called traditional societies are unlikely whereabouts to them.

4. Heritage as immortality

Many, even in “professional” circles take little care to understand the ultimate nature of how heritage can cause continuing disruption to their services to society. Lacking a convincing theory and equally useful definitions, the term heritage means different things to different people. While being so, it is in a sense almost improper to oblige anybody to conform to a unifying definition. Art-historians will have it as artistic “patrimony”, politics will see in it set of inherited obligations to the glorious and illustrious ancestors, archaeologists would perceive it as remnants for social and cultural forensics, anthropologists as a material for comparative analysis of cultures and so on ... The attractiveness of a good, purposeful narrative, accompanying some aspirations or plans have been the trigger of much interpretation of history. Traitors and heroes with their fame were often just a circumstantial outcome of such needs, real or created, in a way the consequence of a good story being created, guarded and adjusted. The facts are often just a good inspiration for history.

However, the true meaning, colouring all smart scientific derivations, is that the idea of immortality is basic, latent, almost instinctive, involuntary aspiration of humans and heritage seems a tool and expression of it. It is an immediate continuation of biological and social basic designations, that one is alive and aware of his / hers status among others. Of course, immortality seems impossible even to the entrepreneurial technocrats who see it as the ultimate commodity. Its improbability – the grotesque and monstrous nature of it entertains and seemingly paradoxically, is a great creative challenge to humanists. Though the realisation of immortality is impracticable and vain, it does not mean that it will be ignored: common or extraordinary by their status, humans will continue to have temptations. Ego refuses to die. The aristocracy has not played a constitutive role for a long time now. The aristocrats today are tolerated by the majority as a benign oddity taken seriously only by snobs and sensationalist media. And then, paradoxically, one has a surge in interest in genealogy and heraldry, a typical consequence of a world unstable and insecure to rely upon its reality. What aristocracy historically really was is not the case, but more a courting of vanity: in the world so unstable and quick, to be anonymous is attribute of death. Discovering the long line of ancestry at least is what gives some the feeling of belonging, fights loneliness and brings importance to our obviously unimportant lives in the crowd of growing and mixing billions. Many want their heritage to feel secure again and to prove

their importance. In a city where immigrants make the prevailing majority of inhabitants situation may turn socially and psychologically hazardous, having lost their proper cultural context and content and feeling foreigners in the actual one, they suffer double frustration. Public memory institutions and actions should be able to assist them through this turmoil as their next generation may run the local administration and will have to care for the community's complex identity.

Human nature will sublimate this strive for eternity into the endless ways of extorting or negotiating whatever is possible from the arrogant, aloof goddess of Eternity. Once we plunge into this, it may rightfully seem that most of human existence is marked by this frustration. Isn't immortality the reason for human reproduction? The closer humans are to their primary drives, the more this mechanism works for them. At least the collective "them" will survive forever. Most of the wars, however disguised into political arguments, are still being fought and have this strong element of wanting to usurp the space and the energy of others to support the survival project of their own group. With the so-called neo-liberalism, the world collapsed into the collective psychology and social relations resembling those of medieval age, a greedy, primitive involution. Eternity is a sort of universal goal to strive towards: it can demonstrate itself as a claim for unrivalled religious orthodoxy and privileged position with the God(s), constant claims of having roots or traditions which date further back, rights and claims deeper and more justified. Like our animal ancestors we still leave traces of our presence and rights by marking our territories, in the physical and mental space. Our heritage, our inherited culture and that which we pass on, is inbuilt, and often the only consolation for such a short-term individual life.

The other way of achieving eternity is through the creative and exceptional deeds that survive the people who achieve them. Some rare people will do it in a self-denying manner, while the majority will strive to accomplish the actions and positions of social and political power in a way that history loves to remember: that collective memory recognizes as a good story. Modesty, like many other virtues is verbally supported and praised as to clearly reveal how scarce it is in the real-life circumstances. However, the cultivation of virtues seems the one way to eternity which seems superior to all by the fact that it is available to each and everybody. Namely, in all their variety, importance and consequences, as attributes of the divine (eternal!) projection of ourselves³, they are an obvious opportunity at all levels – small and grand, open to the poor (as modestly as the circumstances allow) and to the rich and powerful (as modestly as they can fit it in the space mostly occupied by their ego).

The blessing of welfare society is in the widening space for virtues and tranquil existence where fear and insecurity have little chance with the omnipresent danger of primary instincts. The owners of chaos, be them just impulsive bearers of this medievalisation (to avoid the conspiracy theory), or victims of their own greedy managerialism, take our reality from us – the one in which we can rationalise even our strive for eternity. Mastering freely our own reality in a free, democratic, civil society, we can attend in a creative and humanist way to this

strive for eternity, turning it, say, into qualities of sustainable development. That is the level of our own daily, seemingly banal and yet the only reality that belongs to us. The inbuilt curse is that “banality” of basic honesty and unpretentious human relations is proscribed these decades, hence chased out of its own domain: our lives. We are supposed to strive frenetically to living a life of fame and this is done by using the terror of frightening banality, the inclusion of no-quality “ideology”, of manipulating ideas of freedom and free expression into “anything goes”, “nothing matters”. Culture turned into a casino of destinies will offer anybody at least fifteen minutes of fame, no matter how imperceptible, trivial or futile this quarter of an hour may be. Similarly, democracy is turned into a travelling circus, while “karaoke world” is turning lives of confused and frightened individuals into a grotesque theatre. In the daily reality in which we are all constantly made selfish, insecure and alone ethics is arbitrary and any culture just a burdensome set of rules and incomprehensible values. That is part of harrowing neurosis which is becoming more common. Discrete quality of honourable everyday life looks more and more like a failure in the world of “infinite” possibilities. Heritage, as voice of our ancestors and predecessors should prove the missing wisdom. We are their immortality as some to come will be ours. That is what it is all about.

5. Corrupted heritage

When heritage is corrupted it means that it is used to suit particular interests though its sources and nature may be of public origin. Heritage as public memory is the one created by the society, for the society – so to say a public asset in itself. Public interest is relatively controlled in the institutions but public memory spreads beyond institutions. Even if private, heritage made public makes a part of public offer. Different industries (heritage, tourism, leisure, entertainment), political ambitions, mere profit or sheer vanity may compromise it.

Heritage is often understood as the right to possession, it itself is a form of right and therefore the powerful, rich and wellborn are likely to posses and make more of it. Heritage is thus formed under the curse of the frailty of human nature and society. The ultimate objective of our biology should be health, as the happiness should be the aim of our sociology. Yet, we easily imagine how much is done against health and happiness – a circumstance rather illogical but true. So, instead of serving health and happiness as the quintessential societal project, the accumulated memory proclaimed common to certain community or group, i.e. heritage is turned all to often into violation of freedom – their own or that of others. The culture of conquest is based upon high expenditure of resources, be that human or energy. Thus, interpreted as the account of conquest and domination, of self-actualisation, heritage rarely attained the quality of wisdom. As is evident, its only plausible and sustainable function is continuation (of selected, generative values) and survival (of the identity it refers to). The survival is, of course, both spiritual and environmental, based on inner harmony and harmony with nature. Both history and heritage have the same source, only history requires knowledge to support itself whereas heritage may depend upon

ambitions and frustrations, on pathetic perceptions of self, it is less obliged to facts. To some extent history is the “crude matter of heritage”, superior by its official standards and expectations, but “the further the history, the easier the heritage”.⁴ The claim is, the lack of reliable knowledge makes it easier to construct. However, there is much folly and manipulation in history because the manipulation there, in the “crude matter”, matters more; it seems to be more efficient, as much heritage may be honest and well conceived.

Those who lived through wars, the situation where the worst in society, in culture, in history, in human nature has its moment of unrestrained vice – they know that history offered at least as much as heritage to the both, reasons for war and to the crimes and atrocities. Cynically, it seems that “politicians” preferred “historical” arguments while priests and ordinary rogues found themselves more at ease with (“softer”) heritage, as an efficient way of manipulating majority into the warfare.⁵ The worst crimes ever were committed in the name of God and Fatherland: both of them memory wholes composed of history, heritage and traditions. The proverbial victim of any war is the material substance of heritage: destruction of monuments, museums, natural parks ...The evil is too shrewd not to feel that this is nearly as good as destructing the souls of the enemy, like rape in wars is almost a compulsive, probably unaware desecration of the enemy’s genetic heritage.

The formation of heritage, out of the immense tissue of collective memory is thus a result we have after it passes through many sieves formed by circumstances and particular interests. It will finally always be a result of the dynamic field of power relations in the society. Thus, seemingly illogical, heritage may overshadow the true culture as it is formed upon our needs. The power virus of particular interests all too often changes the character of the needs so that they may retain the outer form but are malign to the public memory, or to spiritual and moral integrity. Thus a patriotic feature of culture stemming from the natural urge for security of belonging can take a solemn tone of “Pro aris et focis” (For the altars and hearths). This emotional momentum is used, usually after the starting romanticism, for building structures of (subtle?) hatred and intolerance against the particular others. Unfortunately the irresponsible many among professionals in public memory domain and in science allow it, at least by tacit consent and lack of action. Happily enough more and more curators realise that they are there to offer guidance and criteria in appreciating public memory as heritage. Their objectivity is ethics and humanist responsibility. That is probably the simplest way to describe their professional position. Partisans of all creeds use heritage to preach their own virtues and incite animus against others.

6. Heritage as industry

Heritage does narrow down the ambitions of objectivity and though it can be quite wide a configuration its general ambition may be manipulated into attractiveness, exclusiveness and particularism that are not sympathetic. As already said, if we practice heritage as yet a new cultural industry it then

disqualifies itself in aspirations to objectivity. While the UK is notorious for heritage industry, it is in rising elsewhere, especially, alas, in transitional countries of Europe.

Ancient mines, slave markets, prisons, battlefields, execution sites, dungeons, torture chambers have become places of interest, a toponymy of public memory. But, all have suffered a sway towards immediate effects that can be at some point cashed in. Many turned into just another cultural industry (heritage industry), while some have slipped into entertainment industry.

If shown without piety and decency, such places of mass execution or suffering with grim evidence there collected, become a themed attraction with a themed shop, cynically topped by a café or even a restaurant; such places are morally horrifying and represent an offensive kitsch against good taste and compassion whereas they should simply assist and support the elemental abhorrence at the abysses of human nature.

Liberated from the restraints of culture – that is from its sense of value, measure and ethical responsibility – heritage becomes just another marketable good with all the consequences. Integrity and dignity become relative as profit margins justify the consequences. Such is the character of the Great Greed Age. By becoming “attractions”, places of tragedy and infamy betray their powerful potential. How can then shame and awe at human misdeeds hover upon them? In a society of lowering standards, catering to bad taste pays better. It is also easier to rule over ill informed and politically illiterate and so the (scientific) history and public memory are pushed to the fringes of public discourse as burdensome and humdrum knowledge of tedious scientists.⁶

Privatized education in such a mass media environment can, at its best, create plutocracy because positive elites grow from the wide basis of reasonably educated well-to-do citizens. Culture and heritage as its part, like democracy, thrive upon quality. Otherwise, they face an involution which constantly feeds the disintegration and decay of the cultural system. We are amidst these processes of the constant loss of quality. While affordable quality is decreasing the real one is withdrawing within the exclusive reach of the affluent.

What seemed a privileged professional domain was discovered by tourism, media and entrepreneurs as increasingly lucrative resource. Relieved of any obligation to science and integrity, they amalgamate and compose heritage in the most attractive, even sensationalist way. They have learned: anybody can do a museum or any other heritage action, temporary or permanent ... Lowenthal seemingly implies that there is a certain inherent, pervasive, intriguing and mystic attractiveness of heritage that inspires its lucrative exploitation: “The heritage market makes philistines of all of us.”⁷ The tsunami of “anything goes” has reached our shores. In spite of tries, Museology conceived as it has been (centred upon one institution, its methods and technologies), failed to affirm heritage as corrective influence. Rich people, the new among them too, have found again that heritage objects are but a good and prestigious investment. The wider public is fascinated by the prices and value of the heritage objects and watches the soaring prices like the growing number and size of yachts in fancy ports. The difference between them seems to fade anyway. As heritage is becoming mercantilized, there is also an almost romantic reaction to this: many

see or think that selling or buying national heritage is a sacrilege, a blasphemy. A New York gallery director regarded it bad taste to write dollar signs on their invoices: there is some self-understandable indecency there. While maintaining free entrance, British museums gain a certain dignity through it and join the strong feeling that public services include the right to culture and knowledge. However, the most of the world has not largely reached this point in mercantilisation of collective memory, so heritage is public memory, still a "legitimate" subject of their public institutions.

Will museums and other heritage institutions be forced to retreat into the ivory towers of science remains debatable if we are pessimists? One claim (or expectation) that deserves support is that heritage would withstand the danger and be used in public institutions in a new, efficient, democratic way. We shall increasingly discuss the public memory, taking heritage as its formative and communicational, pulsating form. In some decades, a strong, united profession in charge of it will count the losses, will survey the damage the constructs did to people or to their integrity and will start the process of recovery by truth, accommodating the taste for attractiveness into the new professionalism: both in absorption and emission. Science and art will have to collaborate upon the same societal project.

7. Public memory

Public memory as the object and product of the related public domain is not the natural, largely chaotic collective memory. It is embodied into organised, intentionally artificial, controlled, research based, mission driven public memory service with its own technologies and methodologies. We shall easily recognize the content of it if we call it, even interchangeably, heritage. Yet, as any deeper insight may reveal, the syntagm "public memory" implies the consent, tacit or official, that legitimizes its claims and its wide public responsibility.

For the sake of simplicity it may seem practical to stipulate public memory as the one institutions are there for. It is the one supported by history, practiced by public institutions and which represents a conscious scientific, social, political and technological effort, an "official" platform – a public mind almost. Needless to say, living in, verbatim, a flux reality nothing is stable by definition. (The frightening fact is that this plenty of memory of almost scary dimensions has never had more instable support, almost like our memory could be turned off by a switch or suffocation.)

It would be possible to compress, condense and abstract its many possible intellections though into the rather depleted and compromised term of heritage. The meaning of heritage is uneven: in some parts of the world it is losing momentum and in others gaining it. If English would stress the original meaning of heritage, compromised by the heritage industry, they would tend to say "patrimony". In some countries it still bears a romantic, nationalist aura that museum and archives, let alone libraries, have difficulty to appropriate the significance of heritage as rather unscientific and general. However, popular use is spreading much to the disadvantage of its inherent interests,

as leisure and entertainment industry, companies, media and amateurs try to gain profits through the exploitation of it. Cultural (or creative) industries also exploit heritage heavily, also for the sake of profit in the increasingly and ruthless competition. There is still a chance we restore dignity to heritage in the face of forced commoditization. There will stay an ambivalence between what the term "heritage" means, as still quite expansive in the public domain, and the public memory as a more disciplined yet wider framework of it – a term rather more convenient for the converging occupations in the domain. Deep below the seeming readiness to regard themselves too as heritage institutions, neither archives nor the libraries (and the hybrid forms of both) are ready for it. Therefore, the syntagm close enough to museums and acceptable to the latter would be that of public memory.

Before we start reflecting upon the implications of importance of memory and its function in any given society, it could be plausible to reflect upon the phenomenon of history, often either ignored or overestimated.

Public memory is highly unstable and pulsating set of values: "Active involvement distinguishes heritage from history" because 'making history' and 'steering its course' are quintessential HERITAGE activities ... heritage privileges action over books.⁸ One has to know that Lowenthal writes this from the context of a flourishing heritage industry in the UK and the notion of heritage without this context and his connotations will have a different meaning on the Continent. In another way, history is serious, heritage is profit-making entertainment. But, on the other hand in the very same UK museum studies (that rarely turned into Museology) all became Heritage Studies and multiplied. Logical continuation of this development would be some science of heritage, whatever it may be called. One is inclined to think that like Philosophy, with all its varieties, is universal, so should be any other science. Applying to the central concept and the general features of the practice, this science will have to exist, paradoxically fighting the universal game to save particular identities from the vulgarized process of globalisation. Applied to memory institutions, to the heritage institutions or, to make to the future wide profession more evident a framework, to the public memory sector, it should be, like physics, good enough for the entire world.⁹ But, if heritage is more pliable than history then it will be heritage as the object of political manipulation. One could almost cynically presuppose that only statesmen, not the mere peddlers of political influence (into what politics is turning) are up to the task of meddling with history, burdened as it is with scientific obligations.

Individuals, groups or media constantly change heritage. In the world of profit, media immediately grab it to squeeze out of it sensationalist or horrible contents, so instead of being a formative, en-culturing, self-reassuring quality for a relaxed living, heritage is perceived as obsession, as nostalgic fascination with the past, as a reservoir of inspiration for the groups and individuals with social disturbances rationalised and transformed in intolerance, nationalism, right extremism etc. But, then, here it is as a chance again: as a sort of popularized history made legible, as a public memory – agreed, socially responsible, in charge of the needs of its community, as any public service would be.

It would be difficult to make practical difference between public memory and heritage. A memory made public, recognized as such and used as common to all is a heritage. Humanity, in its infinite complexity of particular identities and their relationships depends, in its functions, upon public memory. Public memory or, indeed, heritage, is a sort of social genotype, a set of inherited characteristics passed on and yet conditioned and changed by predecessors and by the own choices. The entire public memory, though probably not "stricto sensu", is but heritage – the communicated memory, the memory in circulation and in process. In this meaning, heritage creates narratives to create soft power, the main ingredient of image or brand.

The Anglo-Saxon world understands the heritage realm already as defined by the heritage industry.¹⁰ Europe and much of the rest of the world understand heritage as a living part of the grand whole of culture. This domain is therefore considered, increasingly as a living, creative and development generating agent within society.

Heritage is a good example of a concept founded upon different phenomena, where the lack of precision in understanding is still an advantage and a disadvantage. The professionals (to be) have the freedom to take it seriously and, almost like a new chance, as a focal concept of their future and their science (because there is no profession without a serious science in its centre). The others (already) use it as their domain of profitable business. We already have a heritage industry that is a profit-making, heritage based "edutainment", just vaguely concerned with facts or moral or any other long-term beneficial implications of their activity for the society or community this heritage belongs to.

No science can be founded upon a particular phenomenon, be it a fact or institution, but upon a concept. So, the obvious one in our case is the wide concept of public memory. Therefore, this common, socially formed and scientifically based memory is central to any attempt for theory of what is origin of huge configuration of memory institutions and occupations. Heritage is usually the property of many. It can be shared and combined. It is usually composite and compiled. Its differences often stem from variety in combinations of relatively equal or similar elements. Any particular entity can be composed of the same elements and yet in different proportions and thus be, as whole, legitimately different because of it.

When about the definition, the serious among the authors, like Lowenthal, are giving evidence that most practitioners and theorists are neither clear nor sure what heritage is.¹¹ Is it so much different with defining the past or history? Alas, good insight and legitimate dilemma often puzzle and discourage the lay public. So, some practical simplifications are welcome. Why heritage should not simply be anything a community prefers to carry on further from where it is and seemingly wishes its descendants to pass it on? Basically, heritage is the container of knowledge and experience of the past that one recognizes as useful to retain and use, a sort of raw material of specific wisdom that supports a

given identity. Following the John Updike's metaphor that compares composing history to packing a suitcase, we could say that this is still more appropriate when describing heritage. If the historical suitcase is rectangular, the heritage suitcase is always a different, strangely shaped one, in fact a custom cut one, in the form of identity the "objects" in it should contain.

Heritage is a projection of the socially and scientifically formed knowledge in a form of a value system, i.e. a body of knowledge, experience, style, needs and wishes, formatted mostly into tradition(s), and implied as our projection of collective self - perceived as valuable and to be passed on to the future generations. As history overestimates knowledge, we may use the quotation from McLuhan: "New, simple, and inclusive concepts, make an enormous number of 'facts' obsolete."¹² As we may gather, it is often the ways of thinking, the fashion of reasoning and the quality of ideas (formed upon certain knowledge) that count more than array of facts on which it was based upon. Same facts, as we have learned in everyday life, may be the basis of many different types of wisdom. So, heritage, paradoxically, even if passed on, is never the same.

Heritage is any relatively well defined set of values extracted from collective memory (and culture as its expression), mainly the result of the effort on formulating consensual public memory we estimate worth for continuation in the constant redefinition of the value system(s) that define any community(-ies) in the present and future. It is expressed in a basic element that we could call "mneme"¹³, maybe even better described as sort of "sophem", a wisdom element of the public memory discourse. This being a thesis, whether it holds truth stays to be proved and described¹⁴, but quite likely heritage has its building elements. While public memory is the whole of memory collected, researched, cared for and maintained, heritage, though being virtually the same, may present its surface, its changing, pulsating programme. A museum, archive or library may have a decade of one programme upon the same collection and change it gradually or even abruptly (in case of, say, a political overturn) into a different one. The bosses change, value system changes, and even the public memory institution will to some extent, as nothing is stable and inert.

Heritage is a presumably benevolent and well intentioned memory suited to specific collective needs, applying to the set of specificities of a particular group or community and intended for daily use. Heritage is the maintenance of the norm - tacitly understood, spontaneous or, indeed, in case of the institutions and intentional actions, openly encouraged. Norm, a term unsympathetic and too "normative" may just be the name for the constant effort to foster the virtues. The implied assumption is not idealisation of human race or its aims, but constant elaboration of set of values by which we survive best, as certain humanist ethics would imply. Living by the right we have elaborated for ourselves and our environment is a goal that needs constant effort in supplying arguments and convincing human experiences. It is, finally, but a constant strive for qualities of living.

Therefore, heritage or public memory is a construct. Knowing that we ought to take it with moral and scientific responsibility, not to compromise the high mission it has been logically assigned. Public memory is implicitly or outwardly proclaimed to be a common obligation and property. We shall do well to claim that it is a justifiable aim of an organised, societal effort, intentionally designed with some intentional idealist foundation as a societal project. It is however arguable as to whether any project of the sort could gather enough critical support to make a difference on a world scale. All projects are denigrated by the provoked failure of the social state, as well as by the debacle of mismanaged socialism and so-called communism. Namely, public memory was always used in the aim of creating some improved, better world, as otherwise it would make little sense.

Endnotes

1
Connerton 2004.

2
Books and museums (as the collective but also public memory), accompanying my education, taught me to hate, in this order: Turks, Hungarians, Austrians, Italians, Germans, Serbs ... poisoning my soul until much too late in my growing up. I recovered. Most of my companions never managed. I have achieved to become intolerant only against bad and vicious no matter who they are. Alas, one is supposed to share with them not only the same heritage but also the identity. Therefore, the moral and intellectual authority of public memory institutions is a constant fight for quality. Public memory institutions are force behind the hope.

3
Joffre said that the only eternity we have is that of human race.

4
Lowenthal 1998.

5

I did say at the beginning that this is not a scientific article. If it were, I would have been prevented from making the matter-of-fact simplifications. These simplifications do enter heritage and tradition and represent a wealth of popular wisdom scattered beyond the usable form: collecting, storing and communicating it would make a strong feature of the future, cybernetic museum – the one that cares and matters. Of course, wars are complex: the stakeholders many and scattered.

6

David Lowenthal said at Dubrovnik, The Best in Heritage Conference 2005, quoting Hewison that heritage artifice sells so well that “meaningful history has all but vanished from public life”. The media have created the picture of scientists, professors and curators as bromides, ultimately useless and incomprehensible; instead of fighting for the mission a tolerated many accepted the so offered lee as a sinecure.

7

Lowenthal 1998, 98.

8

Lowenthal 1998, 125.

9

Šola 1988.

10

One of the best connoisseurs of meanings of history and past, David Lowenthal has given up on heritage as his two most popular books demonstrate, but the term nevertheless gains momentum and is still alive in his country, the UK.

11

Lowenthal 1998, 94.

12

McLuhan – Fiore 1967, 37.

13

In Greek mythology, Mneme (*Mνήμη*) was one of the three original Boeotian muses, though there were later nine. Her sisters were Aoide and Melete. She was the muse of memory (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mneme>).

14

This article is very much in line with ideas from an excerpt from a book “Mnemosophy – the art of understanding memory” soon to be published.

Der verantwortliche Blick. Museum und Ethik

Regina Wonisch

Die Frage „Wem gehört die Geschichte?“ ist nicht nur mit rechtlichen Problemfeldern rund um den Begriff des Besitzes und des Eigentums, sondern immer auch mit der Frage nach der Deutungshoheit über die historischen Überlieferungen verknüpft. Dabei rücken vor allem Museen als jene Geschichtsinstanzen in den Blick, die über ihre Funktion als Gedächtnisspeicher hinaus maßgeblich mitbestimmen, welche Geschichtsbilder in einer Gesellschaft kursieren. Was erinnert oder vergessen wird, steht zwar in Beziehung mit der historischen Überlieferung – wobei die materielle Kultur neben Erzählungen, Traditionen und Erinnerungen nur ein Teilaspekt ist –, ausschlaggebend ist jedoch die Gedächtnisproduktion, die von erkenntnistheoretischen Positionen ebenso wie gesellschaftlichen Werthaltungen getragen wird. Museen sind also nicht bereits aufgrund ihrer Sammlungen und ihrer bewahrenden Funktion Gedächtnisorte, es gilt immer wieder aufs Neue Gedächtnisbeziehungen zu sozialen Gruppen herzustellen. Dabei stellt sich vor allem die Frage nach dem Umgang mit der materiellen Überlieferung in den Museen, also wer legitimiert ist, welche Geschichten zu erzählen.

Der „verantwortliche Blick“ ist ein von Irit Rogoff eingeführter Terminus, der die Ausstellungskuratorinnen und -kuratoren auffordert, den Standpunkt ihrer Betrachtungen mitzureflektieren.¹ Denn letztlich ist es der Blick der Kuratorinnen und Kuratoren, der die Objekte zum Sprechen bringt. Museen beziehen zwar ihre Autorität aus den Sammlungen, der Evidenz der Objekte, damit Exponate allerdings zu Bedeutungsträgern werden können, müssen sie mit unterschiedlichen Verfahren in einen Kontext gestellt werden. Indem jedoch die Kuratorinnen und Kuratoren oftmals hinter die „Geste des Zeigens“ zurücktreten, wird der Konstruktionscharakter von Ausstellungen verschleiert. Die Frage nach den Sprecherinnen und Sprechern soll allerdings nicht zu einem moralischen Urteil über konkrete Kuratorinnen und Kuratoren führen, es geht vielmehr um das institutionelle Bezugsfeld, das Setting, in dem diese agieren.² Die Frage nach dem „Wer spricht?“ wendet sich also gegen den körperlosen Blick von nirgendwo, der scheinbare Objektivität für sich in Anspruch nimmt. Da das Subjekt der Erzählung immer schon in die Geschichten eingeschrieben ist, ist für eine Verkörperung und Verortung des Blicks zu plädieren. Eine wesentliche Voraussetzung für die Positionierung der

The Responsible View. Museum and Ethics

Regina Wonisch

The question “Who owns history?” is not only connected to legal issues concerning ownership and possession, but also always to the question of who has the power of interpreting historic heritage. Especially museums come to mind, as they are memory vaults and in their role of historical authorities they significantly influence what representations of history are present in society. What is being remembered or forgotten is related to historic heritage; and material culture is only a partial aspect of the whole, as are narratives and memories. However what is crucial is the memory production, which is connected to theoretical-cognitive positions and social values. Thus museums do not instantly become places of memory, because of their collections and their role in preservation. They have to keep reestablishing memory relations to social groups. Here we ask the question, who is qualified to handle the material heritage in museums and who is to tell what stories?

The “responsible view” is a term introduced by Irit Rogoff, which calls upon the exhibition curator to reflect on their point of view as well.¹ In the end it is the view of the curators that makes the objects “talk”. Though the authority of a museum is based upon the collecting and registering of objects, for exhibits to become carriers of meaning, they have to be put into context by different methods. But as curators often hide behind a “gesture of presenting” they mask the constructed character of exhibitions. But the question about the speaker should not lead to a moral judgment of some specific curators; it is much more about the institutional reference field, the setting, in which they work.² So the question “Who is speaking?” is directed towards the non-personal view from nowhere, which claims objectivity. As the subject-matter of a tale is always included in the story, we should ask for a personification and localization of the point of view. An important condition for positioning the curator is, coming to terms with the history and the historical setting of the museal institution. This includes awareness of the founding of the museal institution, within the framework of nationalistic movements that developed in the 19th century and the violent acquisition of works of art, artifacts but also of personal data and human remains in “the name of science”. For already in the beginnings of museum history the base for those museum practices was laid that are now subject of current museum policy debates.

Kuratorinnen und Kuratoren ist die Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte und der historischen Bedingtheit der Institution Museum. Dazu gehört das Wissen um die Entstehung der Institution Museum im Rahmen der sich im 19. Jahrhundert entwickelnden Nationalbewegungen und die gewaltsame Aneignung von Kunstwerken, Artefakten, aber auch persönlichen Daten und menschlichen Überresten im „Dienst der Wissenschaft“. Denn bereits in den Anfängen der Museumsgeschichte wurden jene musealen Praktiken grundgelegt, die nun Gegenstand aktueller museumspolitischer Debatten sind.

Museum zwischen Nationalismus und Globalisierung

Das moderne Museum entstand Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in einer Zeit des Umbruchs, als die Legitimität unumschränkter feudaler und klerikaler Machtansprüche von einer bürgerlichen Elite in Frage gestellt worden war. Besonders deutlich manifestierte sich dies in der Französischen Revolution, als auf eine Phase der Zerstörungswut³ die Aneignung von Herrschaftszeichen folgte. Die requirierten feudalen und religiösen Objekte wurden zunächst als Trophäen präsentiert, um den Sieg über die überkommene Herrschaft zu feiern. In einem zweiten Schritt erfolgte die Umdeutung der materiellen Kultur im Sinne der neuen säkularen, rationalen und nationalen Ordnung, die es zu etablieren galt. Im Unterschied zu den feudalen Machthabern, die auf die Exklusivität ihrer Sammlungen setzten, öffneten daher die bürgerlichen Eliten die Museen für eine breitere Öffentlichkeit, um die Gesellschaft mit bürgerlichen Werten und Normen zu durchdringen und aus der Bevölkerung ein Staatsvolk zu formen.

Im Zuge der Französischen Revolution wurde die Säkularisierung religiöser Objekte zu Kunst- und Kulturobjekten vollzogen, wie sie für die weitere Museumsgeschichte bestimmend werden sollte. Religiöse Artefakte aus dem europäischen Kontext wurden allerdings tendenziell unter einer ästhetischen Perspektive betrachtet, während außereuropäische Kultobjekte – als Ausdruck einer geringeren Wertschätzung – zu ethnografischen Objekten umgedeutet wurden.⁴ Doch die Grenzen waren fließend: so konnten gleichartige Objekte in unterschiedliche Museen Eingang finden. Die Ideologie der „Befreiung der Kunst“ aus despatischen Machtverhältnissen lieferte zudem die Legitimation für die Aneignung von Kulturgütern über die territorialen Grenzen hinaus. Denn nur ein freies Volk sei würdig, Meisterwerke der Kunst zu besitzen, so die Argumentation von Jean Baptiste Wicar, dem Leiter der Kunstkommision, die von Napoleon für die Requirierung von Kunstschatzen in den Niederlanden eingesetzt worden war. Die Beschlagnahmungspolitik in den von französischen Truppen besetzten Gebieten wurde so gleichsam zu einer Rückholaktion ins „Vaterland der Freiheit“. Paris sollte als „Hauptstadt der Künstler“ künftig das kulturelle Erbe der Menschheit verwalten und aus der „Grande Galerie“ im Louvre eine „Weltgalerie“ werden. Es ist nur scheinbar ein Paradox, dass die in Italien erbeuteten Kunstwerke im Triumphzug in Paris empfangen wurden, um damit die nationale“ Einheit zu beschwören.⁵ Gegen die Aneignung von fremden Kulturgütern regte sich jedoch bereits damals Widerstand in der Öffentlichkeit. Denn die Renaissancekunstwerke waren zwar als Symbole europäischer Kultur anerkannt, galten aber als nationaler Reichtum und identitätsstiftendes Element Italiens. So vertrat der Kunstdenktheoretiker Antoine de Quincy die Idee

Museum between Nationalism and Globalization

The modern museum was formed at the end of the 18th century, a breaking point, where the legitimacy of absolute feudal and cleric claims to power were being questioned by the bourgeois elite. This was very clearly manifested in the French Revolution, when a phase of destructive anger³ was followed by the appropriation of symbols of power. At first the requisitioned feudal and religious objects were presented as trophies to celebrate the victory over the previous rulers. In a second step a reinterpretation of material culture took place, in the spirit of the new secular, rational and national order, which was to be established. In contrast to feudal lords, who were valuing the exclusiveness of their collections, the bourgeois elite opened museums to a wider audience to saturate society with civil values and norms and make citizens of the populace.

Following the French revolution a secularization of religious objects to art and culture objects took place, which characterized museum history from thereon. However religious artifacts from the European context were mostly looked at from an aesthetic perspective, while cultural objects from elsewhere - expressing little appreciation - were reinterpreted as ethnographic objects.⁴ But borders were fluid, so objects of the same kind could be found in different museums.

The ideology of “freeing art” from despotic power also provided a legitimization to take cultural goods into possession, even outside of national borders. As only a free people should be worthy to possess masterpieces of art, as Jean Baptiste Wicar, the leader of the art commission explained. This commission was used by Napoleon to requisition art treasures in the Netherlands. The confiscation policy in territories that French troops had occupied became a kind of recall campaign for the “motherland of freedom”. Paris as “the capitol of artists” was to manage the cultural heritage of mankind and the Grande Galerie in the Louvre would become a “World gallery”. However it is a paradox that works of art, which were brought back from in Italy were received in Paris in a triumphal procession, to conjure national unity.⁵ However, already back then, there was public opposition regarding appropriation of foreign cultural goods.

Though Renaissance masterpieces were praised as symbols of European culture, they were also considered a national treasure and identity building element of Italy. The art theorist Antoine de Quincy defended the idea of an untouchable European community of art and science, which would not give any other state the right to appropriate art heritage. Also – so his argument – it did not make sense to do this, because the specific cultural goods were bound to their cultural environment, their local traditions and memories, so that comparative studies could only be done in the specific state. However this opinion was deemed cosmopolitan in dominant public discourse and looked down upon.⁶

einer unantastbaren europäischen Gemeinschaft der Kunst und Wissenschaft, die keinem anderen Staat das Recht auf Aneignung von Kunstdenkmälern geben würde. Abgesehen davon – so seine Argumentation – mache es auch keinen Sinn, weil die jeweiligen Kulturgüter an das kulturelle Umfeld, die lokalen Traditionen und Erinnerungen gebunden wären, so dass vergleichende Studien nur im Land selbst vorgenommen werden könnten. Diese Position wurde allerdings im dominanten öffentlichen Diskurs als kosmopolitisch verurteilt.⁶

Schon zu Beginn der Museumsgeschichte standen also nationale und supranationale Positionen nebeneinander. Den fürstlichen Kunst- und Wunderkammern, die als Mikrokosmos den Makrokosmos widerspiegeln sollten, war immer schon eine globale Perspektive inhärent, die Fokussierung auf ein bestimmtes Territorium erfolgte erst mit der Entstehung des modernen Museums im Rahmen der „Erfindung der Nation“.⁷

Kunstwerke wurden allerdings zumeist über den jeweiligen nationalen Rahmen hinaus gesammelt, da die Bedeutung eines Kunstmuseums mit dem (internationalen) Wert der sich darin befindlichen Meisterwerke korrelierte.

Im Unterschied dazu stellte für die Sammlung historischer Objekte das Staatsgebiet das entscheidende Bezugsfeld dar. Aber auch kulturhistorische Museen richteten den Blick nicht nur auf das eigene Territorium. Es wurde ein externer Betrachterstandpunkt konstruiert, von dem aus die übrige Welt nach Ethnien und Kulturen geordnet werden konnte. Die unter diesem privilegierten Blickwinkel „ausfindig gemachten“ Unterschiede wurden dann mit Hilfe materieller Zeugnisse gleichsam verobjektiviert.

Wenngleich die Definition von Nation unterschiedlich gefasst wurde – die Idee des Nationalstaates fixierte die Vorstellung, dass die ethnische Zugehörigkeit das entscheidende Differenzkriterium homogener Gesellschaften darstellte. Das war nicht zuletzt eine Reaktion auf die Spannungspotenziale, die Vielvölkerstaaten wie der Habsburgermonarchie innewohnten. Daher bildete nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg das Nationalitätenprinzip die Grundlage für die Neubestimmung der politischen Landkarte in Europa. Doch schon damals stimmten die Staatsgrenzen nicht gänzlich mit den wirtschaftlichen, sprachlichen und kulturellen Grenzen überein. Sie verwandelten Staatsbürger in Minderheiten auf der einen Seite und Ausländer auf der anderen Seite und eröffneten damit auf signifikante Weise die Willkür der Grenzen, die die Kategorien des „Eigenen“ und „Fremden“ an Plausibilität einbüßen lässt. Der Friedensvertrag von Saint Germain sicherte den Museumsbestand weitgehend und verhinderte seine Aufteilung an die Nachfolgestaaten. Deutsch-Österreich wurde allerdings zu Verhandlungen über jene Gegenstände verpflichtet, die zum wie auch immer definierten „patrimoine intellectuel“ des jeweiligen Nachfolgestaates zählten. Von dieser Regelung waren vor allem jene Objekte betroffen, wo der Verdacht bestand, dass der Transfer aus den ehemaligen Staatsgebieten unrechtmäßig erfolgt war. Interessant in diesem Zusammenhang ist jedoch, dass es sich dabei auch um Ansprüche aus dem 12. Jahrhundert handelte.⁸ Abgesehen davon, dass man sich bei derartigen Verhandlungen auch rechtlich auf unsicherem Terrain bewegt, stellt sich die Frage nach der gesellschaftlichen Relevanz historischer Relikte. Die Materialität des Museums als Bauwerk verbunden mit der Materialität der Bestände spielte nicht zuletzt deshalb eine entscheidende Rolle für die nationale Identitätsstiftung, weil

*Thus already at the beginning of museum history national and supranational positions were confronted. The royal Art and Wonder chambers, which were a micro-cosmos made to reflect the macro-cosmos, always had an inherent global perspective. Focusing on a certain territory followed the creation of the modern museum within the framework of “the invention of the nation”.*⁷

But pieces of art were often collected outside of a country’s own national borders, because the value of an art museum correlated with the (international) value of the masterpieces which were held there. In contrast the national territory was a decisive reference field for the collection of historical objects. But the cultural history museums turned their gaze also outside their own borders. An external viewpoint was created from which the rest of the world could be classified according to ethnic group and culture. The differences “discovered” with this privileged point of view were then also objectivized with the help of material evidence.

Though the definition of a nation was different, the idea of the national state fixed the belief that ethnicity represents a crucial criterion of difference for homogenous societies. This was not lastly a reaction to the potential of tension which was inherent in states with many nationalities like the Habsburg Monarchy. This is why after World War I the nationality principle was the basis for defining the political map in Europe anew. But already back then the national borders did not fully coincide with the economic, language and cultural borders. They turned national groups into minorities on one side and into foreigners on the other side. This opened up the arbitrariness of borders, which questions the plausibility of the categories “own” and “foreign”.

The Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Lay secured most of the museum inventory and prevented a partition among successor states. But the Republic of German-Austria was forced to negotiations about those objects which were part of the arbitrarily defined “patrimoine intellectuel” of the successor states in question. Especially objects connected to a suspicion of illegal transfer from former national territories were affected by this law. It is noteworthy with regard to this matter that amongst these were also claims made in the 12th century.⁸ Despite being on unknown territory, from a legal point of view, the question about the social relevance of historical relics has been brought up during such negotiations. The materiality of the museum as a building in connection with the materiality of the collections also played a decisive role for national identity development, because, in contrast to other media, which can be indefinitely copied, unique objects – as possessions – can develop an inseparable connection with an arbitrarily defined community.⁹ However not all cultures are as materialistically oriented as the West-European societies, which developed the handling of objects as a culture technique.¹⁰

Since the 19th century museums and collections have significantly contributed to the “invention of the nation” and to the construction of arbitrarily defined “we-identities”. The identity concepts were based – fitting into modernistic thinking – on shutting out an arbitrarily defined “Other”, which was mostly

im Unterschied zu beliebig vervielfältigbaren Medien unteilbare Gegenstände – als Besitztümer – mit einer wie auch immer definierten Gemeinschaft eine untrennbare Verbindung eingehen konnten.⁹ Doch nicht alle Kulturen sind gleichermaßen materiell orientiert wie die westeuropäischen Gesellschaften, die den Umgang mit Dingen gleichsam als Kulturtechnik ausgebildet haben.¹⁰ Museen und Sammlungen haben seit dem 19. Jahrhundert maßgeblich zur „Erfindung der Nation“, zur Konstruktion von wie auch immer definierten „Wir-Identitäten“ beigetragen. Die Identitätskonzepte beruhten dabei – dem Denken der Moderne entsprechend – auf der Abgrenzung zu einem wie auch immer definierten „Anderen“, das zumeist als Negation gedacht war. Bestimmte gesellschaftliche Gruppen oder Kulturen wurden auf diese Weise von den Repräsentationspraktiken entweder ausgeschlossen oder als „Andere“ markiert. Das Museum könnte in Anlehnung an Wolfgang Ernst als Analogisierungsmaschine bezeichnet werden, ein Instrument, in der das „Andere“ fortschreitend symbolisch benannt und somit seiner dialektischen Potenz beraubt wird.¹¹ Von ihrem Selbstverständnis her, aber auch in der öffentlichen Meinung gelten Museen allerdings als der gesamten Gesellschaft verpflichtete Orte des kulturellen Erbes. Damit wird jedoch verschleiert, dass sie vielfach den Partikularinteressen jener gesellschaftlichen Eliten dienen, die sich die Deutungshoheit über die Geschichte anmaßen. So wurden Museen nicht nur von „außen“, sondern auch von „innen“, von den „gesellschaftlichen Rändern“ in Frage gestellt. Unterschiedliche im Museum marginalisierte gesellschaftliche Gruppen, wie Arbeiter, Frauen oder ethnische Minderheiten, beriefen sich auf den demokratischen Anspruch der Institution und forderten ihre Definitionsmacht im Hinblick auf die historischen Narrative ein. Die eigentliche Herausforderung besteht allerdings darin, dass die Grenzen zwischen den einzelnen Gruppen nicht immer eindeutig zu ziehen sind. Wird jedoch die Grenze, die uns von ihnen scheidet, in ihrer Willkür aufgedeckt, muss auch die sichere Distanz externer Beobachterstandpunkte aufgegeben werden.¹² Nach Rosmarie Beier-de Haan lässt sich der Unterschied zwischen Erster und Zweiter Moderne dadurch charakterisieren, dass Differenzen und Pluralitäten nicht mehr ausschließlich als Abweichung und Störung marginalisiert werden. Das bedeutet allerdings nicht, dass unterschiedliche Identitätskonstruktionen deshalb gleichwertig anerkannt sind. Aber die „Koexistenz sich ausschließender Gewissheiten“ meint, dass die Differenzen, die das soziale Leben zunehmend prägen, auch nebeneinander bestehen können, ohne dass damit unbedingt Probleme der Selbstvergewisserung einhergehen.¹³ Mit der zunehmenden Globalisierung können sich die Grenzen der Nationalstaaten jedenfalls immer weniger als festgefügte Sinneinheiten für ein Territorium, ein Volk behaupten, so dass die Homogenität des Räumlichen im Hinblick auf die Identitätsbildung zunehmend in Frage gestellt wird.¹⁴ Immer mehr Menschen sind von der Verdichtung und Verfestigung plurilokaler, grenzübergreifender Sozial- und Wirtschaftsräume betroffen. Das Auseinanderfallen von Herkunfts- und Lebensort ebenso wie das Eingebundensein in zunehmend globaler verflochtene Wirtschaftsräume und Medienwelten befördern die Herausbildung von nicht territorial definierten Identitäten.¹⁵ Ulrich Beck charakterisiert die Entwicklung dahingehend, dass vieles, was die Menschen in religiöser, kultureller oder politischer Hinsicht unterscheidet, zunehmend an einem Ort, in einer Stadt, aber auch in einer Biografie erfahrbar wird.¹⁶

thought of as a negation. Due to this situation, certain social groups or cultures were excluded through the representation practices or were marked as "Others". Referencing Wolfgang Ernst, the museum could be defined as an analogization-machine, an instrument, in which the "Other" is being increasingly symbolically named and with this bereft of its dialectic potency.¹¹

However stemming from their nature, but also in public opinion, museums are considered places of cultural heritage, which are committed to the whole society. But this hides, that they often serve particular interests of those social elites, who assume to have the definition of history right. This way museums were not only questioned from the outside, but also from the inside, by "social margins". Various social groups marginalized in the museum, like workers, women or ethnic minorities, invoked their democratic right towards the institution and demanded their power of definition with regard to historical narratives. However the real challenge is that one cannot always draw clear lines among the individual groups. But if the arbitrariness of a border that separates "us" from "them" is being revealed, the safe distance of external viewpoints has to be abandoned.¹²

According to Rosmarie Beier-de Haan we can characterize the difference between the first and second modernist period by the stopping of the marginalization of differences and plurality solely as a deviation and disruption. This however does not mean that different identity constructs are to be regarded as the same. But the "coexistence of mutually excluding certainties" assumes that the differences, which are increasingly leaving their mark on social life, could also exist together, without it necessarily causing problems of self-reassurance.¹³ With an increasing globalization national borders are less and less able to establish themselves as a set meaning for a territory or a people. So the homogeneity of space in relation to identity formation is being questioned more and more.¹⁴ Increasingly more people are affected by the thickening and the steadiness of plurilocal, border-crossing social- and economic spaces. A degradation of origin - and of living space - as well as an integration into increasingly global economic space and media worlds, is promoting a creation of identities, which are not defined by territory.¹⁵ Ulrich Beck characterizes this development as increasingly becoming a state where, many things that differentiate people in religious cultural or political aspects are increasingly being experienced in one place, in one city but also in one biography.¹⁶

So what does globalization mean for the national character of cultural history museums? Are the national museums themselves becoming an example of a passing order? There is a change of a perspective developing in favor of a transnational development. This manifests itself in the many exhibitions and museums which focus on migration, as well as museums that refer to larger culture areas, like the Europa Museum, founded in 2002 in Brussels. The goal of the museum which is located in the direct vicinity of the European Parliament is to describe the European connection process, but is also to familiarize "Europeans with the roots of their common culture". The Europa

Was bedeutet nun die Globalisierung für den nationalen Charakter kulturhistorischer Museen? Werden die Nationalmuseen selbst zu Zeugnissen einer überkommenen Ordnung? Dass sich ein gewisser Perspektivenwechsel zugunsten transnationaler Entwicklungen abzeichnet, manifestiert sich in den vielfältigen Ausstellungen und Museen zum Thema „Migration“ ebenso wie in Museen, die sich auf größere Kulturräume beziehen, wie das 2002 in Brüssel gegründete „Europamuseum“. Die Zielsetzung des symbolträchtig in unmittelbarer Nähe zum Europäischen Parlament gelegenen Museums besteht darin, den europäischen Einigungsprozess nachzuzeichnen, aber auch die „Europäer mit den Wurzeln ihrer gemeinsamen Kultur“ vertraut zu machen. Das „Europamuseum“ sollte dabei – so der Plan der Initiatoren – nur als ein zentraler Knotenpunkt innerhalb eines Netzwerks von vielfältigen Europamuseen fungieren.¹⁷ Anlässlich des 50. Jahrestages der Unterzeichnung der Römischen Verträge (1957) gestaltete die Non-Profit-Organisation „Musée de l'Europe“ unter dem Titel „It's our history!“ 2007 eine Ausstellung, die zugleich als Grundelement der Dauerausstellung des „Europamuseums“ dienen sollte. Dafür wurden 27 europäische Bürger – aus jedem Mitgliedsstaat eine Person – eingeladen, ihre Lebensgeschichte zu erzählen. Auf diese Weise sollte die Ausstellung zeigen, dass die „große Geschichte“ der Europäischen Einigung untrennbar mit der „kleinen Geschichte“ aller Europäer verknüpft ist. Und auch die „große Geschichte“ gehört nicht ausschließlich den Regierenden, denn alle Bürger sind gewissermaßen Akteure, sofern sie sich nur als solche begreifen und den Prozess der europäischen Einheit mitgestalten – war die zentrale Botschaft. Damit täuschte die Ausstellung geschickt über das bestehende Machtgefälle und die ungleiche Ressourcenverteilung innerhalb der Staatengemeinschaft, aber auch der jeweiligen Gesellschaften hinweg. Der Schwerpunkt lag – so auch die Kritik von Steffi de Jong – auf der Einheit und nicht auf den Trennlinien, Brüchen und Ungleichzeitigkeiten, die für die europäische Geschichte der letzten Jahrzehnte so prägend waren. Durch die unterschiedlichen Lebensverläufe konnte die Diversität Europas inszeniert und zugleich die Einheit in der Vielfalt vermittelt werden.¹⁸ An diesem Beispiel zeigt sich, dass im Rahmen hegemonialer Diskurse auch Differenzen zu identitätsstiftenden Konstruktionen werden können. Wird demnach auf europäischer Ebene weitergeführt, was im 19. Jahrhundert auf nationaler Ebene begonnen wurde? Soll hier der Nationalstaat mit den Mitteln des Nationalstaats überwunden werden? Es kann aber nicht nur darum gehen, die historischen Erzählungen in transnationale oder supranationale Kontexte einzubetten, sondern die spezifischen Repräsentationsformen, die Europa nicht nur abbilden, sondern konstruieren, mitzudenken.¹⁹

Wollten die Museen den vielfältigen Geschichten in pluralen Gesellschaften und Kulturräumen gerecht werden, müssten soziale, kulturelle und ethnische Differenzen nicht als Ausgangspunkt, sondern als Endpunkt eines Differenz schaffenden Prozesses, an dem die Institution Museum maßgeblich beteiligt ist, vermittelt werden. Demnach kann es nicht das Ziel sein, möglichst viele soziale Gruppen im Museum zu repräsentieren oder das territoriale Bezugsfeld zu erweitern. Die Herausforderung für die Kuratorinnen und Kuratoren besteht vielmehr darin, auch die Bedingungen der Herstellung von Wissen im Museum für das Publikum nachvollziehbar zu machen. Darüber hinaus gilt es sich mit jenen

Museum should – this was the plan of the initiators – act only as a central connecting point in a net of many different Europa Museums.¹⁷ In 2007 on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome (1957) the non-profit organization Musée de l'Europe set up an exhibition, titled “It's our history!” This exhibition was to be the foundation element of the permanent exhibition of the Europa Museum. For this 27 European citizens – one person from each member state – were invited to tell their life story. This way the exhibition would show that the “great history” of the European unification, is indivisibly connected with the “small history” of all Europeans. The main message was that the “great history” does not belong exclusively to the rulers, because all citizens are participants in a way, as long as they perceive themselves as such and help to form the process of European unification. In this way the exhibition cleverly averted a focus from an existing power discrepancy and an unequal resource distribution in the union states, but also the societies themselves. The focus was – as Steffi de Jong criticized – on the unity and not the dividing lines, breaks and asynchrony which were so influential for European history in the last decades. Through the different life stories the diversity of Europe could be presented and at the same time the unity in the diversity be conveyed.¹⁸ This example shows that in a framework of hegemonic discourse, differences can become identity-building constructions, too. Thus is what was begun on the national level in the 19th Century being continued on the European level? Should the national state be toppled with the devices of the national state? But it cannot just be about inserting historic tales into transnational or supranational contexts. One has also to think about the specific forms of representation that not only depict Europe, but construct it.¹⁹

If museums would want to do justice to the many different stories in pluralistic societies and cultural spaces then social, cultural and ethnic differences should not be conveyed as a starting point but as a finishing line of a building process of differences, of which the museum institution is very much a part. So the goal of a museum cannot be to represent as many social groups as possible or to broaden the territorial reference field. The challenge for curators lies much more in explaining to the audience the conditions to produce knowledge in a museum. Furthermore we have to confront techniques used by museums to hide that they create and define that what they claim only to present. Maybe the issue is not so much who the collections and objects belong to and where they are located, but more who is authorized to tell what stories for selected objects.

“Sensible Collections”²⁰

The history of the institution of museums has been connected from its beginnings to violent acquisitions of cultural goods, which continued in various shapes. The extent to which collective movements since the 19th century were based on injustice and violence – be it wars, colonial exploitation, abuse of political or economic power, loopholes or corrupt business partners – has been ignored for the most part. As a result of this gigantic plundering²¹ a myriad of objects has been stored in museums with the status of museum inventory,

Verfahrensweisen auseinanderzusetzen, mit denen Museen verschleiern, dass sie erzeugen und definieren, was sie nur zu präsentieren vorgeben. Vielleicht geht es nicht so sehr darum, wem die Sammlungen und Objekte gehören, wo sie sich physisch befinden, sondern wer autorisiert ist, welche Geschichten anhand welcher Objekte zu erzählen.

„Sensible Sammlungen“²⁰

Die Geschichte der Institution Museum war von ihren Anfängen an mit der gewaltsamen Aneignung von Kulturgütern verknüpft, die in unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen ihre Fortsetzung fand. In welchem Ausmaß die Sammelbewegungen seit dem 19. Jahrhundert auf Unrecht und Gewalt – seien es Kriege, koloniale Ausbeutung, das Ausnutzen von politischer oder ökonomischer Unterlegenheit, fehlende Regelungen oder korrupte Handelspartner – beruhten, wird zumeist verdrängt. Als Ergebnis dieses gigantischen Raubzugs²¹ befindet sich in den Museen eine Vielzahl von Objekten, die als Museumsgut zunehmend in Frage gestellt werden. Dabei lassen sich vor allem zwei Diskussionsstränge verfolgen: Zur Debatte stehen das Raubgut, das im Kontext von Kolonialherrschaft und Nationalsozialismus angeeignet wurde, und menschliche Überreste wie medizinische Präparate, Skelette oder Mumien, die in einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit Anstoß erregen.

Jenseits der Erfüllung von Rückgabeforderungen oder der Beisetzung von menschlichen Überresten stellt sich die Frage nach dem musealen Umgang mit derartigen „sensiblen Sammlungen“. Denn es sind nicht nur die Objekte selbst – es sind vor allem die Begleitumstände der Aneignung, die Gewaltgeschichten, die den Exponaten eingeschrieben sind, die die Kuratorinnen und Kuratoren vor große Herausforderungen stellen. Viele der Sammlungsbestände fanden ausschließlich als Forschungsmaterial Eingang in die Museen, wo sie dann oftmals bald in Vergessenheit gerieten. Manche der Objekte wurden hingegen als Schaustücke produziert und waren daher auch in einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit sehr präsent. So gehörten präparierte „Rasseköpfe“ seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts zum selbstverständlichen Inventar der naturhistorischen, ethnografischen und anthropologischen Schausammlungen. Erst später wurden sie durch Abformungen in Gips, Papiermaché oder Wachs ausgetauscht.²² Dass der so genannte „Rassensaal“²³ im Naturhistorischen Museum Wien erst 1996 geschlossen wurde, zeigt die Langlebigkeit von „rassenkundlichen“ Vorstellungen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert in Fachkreisen wie im öffentlichen Bewusstsein – trotz des Wissens um die mörderischen Folgen der Klassifikationslogik im Rahmen der NS-Ideologie. Wie brisant die Frage nach dem Umgang mit Raubgut und „sensiblen“ Sammlungsbeständen ist, zeigt sich nicht zuletzt darin, dass von der Museumsorganisation ICOM ethischen Richtlinien für die Museumsarbeit herausgegeben wurden.²⁴

Kult- und Sakralobjekte

In den ethischen Richtlinien heißt es: „Bei Gegenständen von religiöser Bedeutung kann es sich um religiöse Bilder, Reliquien oder Kultgerät handeln. Vor allem ethnographische Museen müssen mögliche Vorbehalte anderer Völker

with its status more and more questioned. Here in particular we can follow two discussion threads: The stolen goods which were taken in contexts of colonial rule and Nazism; and human remains like medical specimens, skeletons or mummies which the general public would consider disgusting.

Apart from complying with return claims or the burial of human remains, the question arises, how such “sensible collections” should be treated in museums. Not only do the objects themselves represent a big challenge for the curators, but especially the circumstances of appropriation - the stories of violence, which marked the exhibited objects. Many of the collection inventories were accepted by the museum as research material, which was often soon forgotten. In contrast some of the objects were prepared to be showpieces and were consequently very notable in public. Thus at the end of the 19th century you could see stuffed “race heads” in the inventory of the natural history museum, ethnographic museum and anthropology museum showpiece collections. Only later were they replaced by plaster, papier-mâché or wax replicas.²² The so-called “hall of races”²³ in the Natural History Museum Vienna was not closed until 1996. This shows the endurance of “race theories” from the 19th century in expert circles, as well as in public consciousness – despite knowing the deadly consequences of classification logic in the frame of Nazi ideology. How controversial the question of handling stolen goods and “sensible” collection material is, is also shown by the fact that the museum organization ICOM published ethic guidelines for museum work.²⁴

Cult and Sacral Objects

The ethics guidelines of the German Museums Association say: “Objects with religious meaning can be religious paintings, relics or ritual implements. Especially ethnographic museums have to know about possible reservations of other peoples against the display of their sacral objects and in certain cases respect them.”²⁵ For sacral objects, museums should create an appropriate sacral aura in the display rooms - an aura that can be experienced by all visitors not only those for which the objects are sacred, said Maurice Godelier, the former director of the Musée du Quai Branly.²⁶ But this seems to be a contradiction in itself, because the civil museum of the 19th century claimed to transfer sacral art and culture to a new clear scientific order. Even if in some cases rituals and festivities are being practiced in front of sacral objects in museums or some exhibited objects are intentionally given a sacral aura - these practices hide the primary function of the museum.²⁷ If cult and sacral objects should really fulfill their original purpose, they should be returned. A cult object, which has been the subject of Mexico’s return demands for many years, is the feather adornment, known in the Weltmuseum Wien (formerly Museum for Ethnology Vienna) as the “feather crown of Montezuma”. But also if, or especially when, a museum does not comply with the return demands, a responsible handling of the particular object is especially important.

The feather adornment was lying in a closet of the Natural History Museum for decades and was in danger of decaying, before a curator discovered

gegen die Zurschaustellung ihrer sakralen Objekte kennen und gegebenenfalls respektieren.“²⁵ Was die sakralen Objekte betrifft, so sollten die Museen eine dementsprechend sakrale Aura in den Ausstellungsräumen erzeugen – eine Aura, die für alle Besucher/innen und nicht nur für diejenigen, denen die Gegenstände heilig sind, erfahrbar ist, formulierte Maurice Godelier, der ehemalige Direktor des „Musée du Quai Branly.“²⁶ Doch das scheint ein Widerspruch in sich zu sein, ist doch das bürgerliche Museum im 19. Jahrhundert gerade mit dem Anspruch angetreten, sakrale Kunst und Kultur in eine neue entmystifizierte wissenschaftliche Ordnung überzuführen. Selbst wenn in Einzelfällen vor sakralen Objekten im Museum Riten und Feiern vollzogen werden oder bestimmten Exponaten bewusst eine sakrale Aura verliehen wird – diese Praktiken täuschen über die eigentlich Funktion des Museums hinweg.²⁷ Sollen Kult- und Sakralobjekte ihre ursprüngliche Bestimmung tatsächlich erfüllen, so müssten sie konsequenterweise zurückgegeben werden. Ein Kultobjekt, das bereits über viele Jahre hinweg Gegenstand von Rückgabeforderungen aus Mexiko ist, ist jener Federschmuck, der unter der Bezeichnung „Federkrone des Montezuma“ einen hohen Bekanntheitswert im Museum für Völkerkunde in Wien erlangt hat. Aber auch, oder gerade dann, wenn ein Museum die Rückgabeforderungen nicht erfüllt, ist ein verantwortlicher Umgang mit dem jeweiligen Objekt besonders wichtig. Der Federschmuck lag Jahrzehnte unbeachtet in einem Schrank des Naturhistorischen Museums und drohte zu zerfallen, bis ein Kurator Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts das ungewöhnliche Objekt entdeckte. Da es damals nicht identifiziert werden konnte, wurde es aufgrund falscher Annahmen – wie sich später herausstellte – als Prachtstandarte rekonstruiert und restauriert. Erst als die amerikanische Forscherin Zelia Nuttall das Objekt als Kopfschmuck erkannte, erhielt es durch die fälschliche Zuschreibung an den Aztekenkönig Montezuma besondere Aufmerksamkeit in der Öffentlichkeit.²⁸

Bis zur vorübergehenden Schließung der Dauerausstellung aufgrund von Renovierungsarbeiten war bei dem als aztekische Priestertracht ausgewiesenen Objekt zu lesen:²⁹ „Aztekische und mixtekische Arbeiten aus Gold, Federn und Türkis werden als Belege der Fremdheit bestaunt und in den Kunst- und Wunderkammern europäischer Fürsten und Gelehrter bewahrt. Als der erste Rausch der Neuheit verflogen war, wurden die Überreste einer zerstörten Welt selbst Opfer von Ungeziefer und Nachlässigkeit. Weniger als hundert dieser Objekte (viele davon frühkolonialen Ursprungs) haben sich bis heute erhalten. Die in Wien befindlichen Kostbarkeiten, darunter drei von sechs erhaltenen Federarbeiten, stammen aus den habsburgischen Sammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts, gehen aber nicht auf Familienbeziehungen zu den spanischen Habsburgern zurück.“

Als „Federkrone des Montezuma“ entzaubert wurde ihm zwar die Einzigartigkeit genommen, indem im Objekttext aber vermerkt wurde, dass es sich dabei um eines der wenigen weltweit erhaltenen Exemplare handelt, wieder aufgewertet. Auf die Institution Museum als bewahrende Einrichtung ist doch Verlass, ihr ist es zu verdanken, dass die aztekischen Kostbarkeiten nicht der Zerstörung anheimgefallen sind. In einem weiteren erläuternden Text wird ebenfalls auf die Einzigartigkeit rekuriert: „Im aztekischen Mexiko war besonders wertvoller Federschmuck Teil jener Göttertrachten, die von Priestern im Ritual

the strange object at the end of the 19th century. Because it could not be identified at the time, it was reconstructed and restored as a mantle based on wrong assumptions, as was later discovered. Only when the American researcher Zelia Nuttall recognized the object as a head adornment, it gained attention in the public eye, based on the wrong attribution to the Aztec king Montezuma.²⁸

Until the temporary closure of the permanent exhibit for renovations, one could read the following under the object defined as Aztec wear:²⁹ "Aztec and Mixtec works of gold, feathers and turquoise, are viewed as foreign elements and exhibited in the art and exhibition chambers of European royalty and scholars. When the excitement over something new had passed, the remains of a destroyed world became themselves victims of pests and neglect. Less than one hundred of these objects (many of them from the time of the early colonies), were preserved till this day. The precious artifacts in Vienna, amongst them three of the six preserved feather works, were part of the Habsburg collections of the 16th century, but were not obtained through family relations to the Spanish Habsburg family branch."

When the object was stripped of the title "feather crown of Montezuma", its uniqueness was taken away. But it was given more importance by adding to the description that it is one of the few preserved pieces in the world. The museum as an institution for preservation can still be trusted; thanks to this the precious Aztec artifacts did not succumb to destruction. An additional explanatory text also refers to its uniqueness: "In Aztec Mexico an especially valuable feather adornment was part of the gods' garbs, which were worn by priests during rituals. Part of one such garb is also the only preserved feather head adornment from pre-Spain Mexico. The lack of knowledge in the 19th century caused the false identification as 'Moctezuma's feather crown'. (Moctezuma like all Aztec rulers wore a Turkish diadem, as a symbol of his pride.) The piece was obtained in 1590 by Ferdinand II archduke of Austria with the Tettnang Art Chamber of Count Ulrich von Montfort, which documented it in 1575." Visitors, who didn't know about the return demands, have still not been informed about it. And for those who knew about it the text contained mostly clues, which would remove the burden of the museum. As the attribution of "feather crown of Montezuma" was traced to a mistake in the 19th century, it could be considered dated and irrelevant. At the same time the protagonists that demanded the return of the feather adornment because of the symbolic meaning for the indigenous population of Mexico, were deemed ignorant.

According to news reports there seemed to be a compromise in the Austria-Mexico dispute in 2011. Mexico should receive the head adornment as a loan for a certain time, as far there are no conservatory issues. However almost 2 years later it was discovered that the feather adornment is too fragile and therefore not transportable.³⁰ But the valuable object was restored and put in the spotlight of the exhibition "Penacho: Splendor & Passion".³¹ The term Penacho (feather crest) points to a choice of words which aims at finally

angelegt wurden. Teil einer solchen Tracht ist auch der einzige erhaltene Federkopfschmuck aus dem vorspanischen Mexiko, den die Unkenntnis des 19. Jahrhunderts irrigerweise zur ‚Federkrone des Moctezuma‘ machte. (Moctezuma trug wie alle aztekischen Herrscher als Zeichen seiner Würde ein türkises Diadem.) Das Stück wurde 1590 von Erzherzog Ferdinand von Tirol mit der Tettlinger Kunstkammer des Grafen Ulrich von Montfort erworben, in der es 1575 belegbar ist.“ Besucher/innen, die nicht um Rückgabeforderungen wussten, blieben auch weiterhin davon unbehelligt. Und für diejenigen, die darüber informiert waren, beinhaltete der Text vor allem Hinweise, die der Entlastung des Museums dienten. Indem die Zuschreibung „Federkrone des Montezuma“ auf einen Irrtum des 19. Jahrhunderts zurückgeführt wurde, konnte sie als überholt und irrelevant gelten. Gleichzeitig wurden die Protagonisten, die den Federschmuck aufgrund der symbolischen Bedeutung für die indigene Bevölkerung Mexikos zurückforderten, als unwissend abgewertet.

2011 schien sich Medienberichten zufolge ein Kompromiss im Tauziehen zwischen Österreich und Mexiko um das Objekt abzuzeichnen. Mexiko sollte den Kopfschmuck als eine Leihgabe auf Zeit erhalten, sofern es keine konservatorischen Bedenken gäbe. Allerdings stellte sich fast zwei Jahre später heraus, dass der Federschmuck zu fragil und deshalb nicht transportfähig sei.³⁰ Dafür wurde das wertvolle Objekt restauriert und in den Mittelpunkt der Ausstellung „Penacho: Pracht & Passion“ gestellt.³¹ Die Bezeichnung „Penacho“ (Federbusch) deutet auf eine neue Sprachregelung hin, die die Zuschreibung als „Federkrone des Montezuma“ endgültig vergessen machen möchte. Auf der Webseite zur Ausstellung ist allerdings zu lesen: „Steht der Federkopfschmuck tatsächlich in Verbindung mit dem legendären Aztekenfürsten Moctezuma, wie dies in Mexiko noch heute gerne behauptet wird?“ Das Objekt wird also erneut mit dem legendären Aztekenherrscher verknüpft, obwohl diese Annahme längst durch museumseigene Forschungen zweifelsfrei widerlegt ist. Die fälschliche Zuschreibung wird ausschließlich Mexiko angelastet, obwohl das Museum für Völkerkunde den Mythos um die „Federkrone des Montezuma“ selbst lange Zeit gepflegt hat, da sich der Federschmuck auf diese Weise sehr gut als Museumsattraktion vermarkten ließ. Sabine Haag, die Direktorin des Kunsthistorischen Museums³², führte bei der Pressekonferenz aus, dass das Objekt in einer „innovativen und richtungsweisenden“ Kooperation mit Mexiko nun „entmystifiziert, entmythologisiert und seiner historischen Bedeutung zurückgegeben“ wurde. Mit der Betonung der historischen Bedeutung, die dem Objekt zurückgegeben wurde, und der Entmystifizierung sollte die kultische Dimension in den Hintergrund gerückt werden, sodass die Rückgabeforderungen obsolet erschienen. Dass die Aneignung des Federschmucks unabhängig davon, worum es sich dabei handelt, auf einem Gewaltverhältnis beruht, war dabei kein Thema.

Rückgabeforderungen werden auf politischer Ebene verhandelt, sodass die Entscheidung darüber nicht in der Hand des Museums liegt, die Kontextualisierung des Objekts und die Reflexion der Sammlungsgeschichte schon. Generell scheinen übertriebene Ängste im Hinblick auf die Rückerstattung von Museumsbeständen nicht gerechtfertigt zu sein. In naher Zukunft ist nicht zu erwarten, dass massenhaft Objekte westlicher Museen und Sammlungen in die Ursprungsgebiete zurückgegeben werden müssen, aber auf bestimmte

replacing the name “feather crown of Montezuma”. However on the website of the exhibition we can read: “Is the feather head adornment really connected to the legendary Aztec leader Moctezuma, like it is still often claimed in Mexico today?” Thus the object is again being connected to the legendary Aztec ruler, although this assumption has been disproven beyond doubt by museum research long ago. The wrong attribution is being connected only with Mexico, although the Museum of Ethnology spread the myth regarding the “feather crown of Montezuma” for a long time, because the feather adornment was a very well marketed museum attraction. The Director of the Museum of Fine Arts Sabine Haag³² explained in a press conference that the object was “demystified, demythologized and returned to its historical meaning” in an “innovative and exemplary” cooperation with Mexico. By stressing the historical meaning being returned to the object and it being demystified, the cult dimension was supposed to be pushed into the background, so that the return demands would seem obsolete. That the appropriation of the feather adornment is based on a violent relationship, regardless of what the object is defined as, was not a topic here.

Return demands are being negotiated on a political level, so the decision about it was not in the hands of the museum, however the contextualization of the object and reflecting on collection history is. In general the exaggerated fears in connection with return of museum collection inventory did not seem to be justified. It is not to be expected that a huge amount of objects from western museums and collections will be returned to the regions of origin in the near future, but certain objects will always be subject of claims. The claims could be used by both sides as a cause to start debating about the history of collections in a broader sense.

A Question of Respect?

That the terms respect, tact and human dignity alone are not enough where power relations are in play, shows the Musée du Quai Branly,³³ which opened a few years ago in Paris. Ever since the decolonization in the 1960-ies, ethnological museums were questioned and had to redefine themselves. A consequence of this new orientation was that aesthetically highly praised objects were exhibited in art museums. The art collector Jacques Kerchache argued his case in a similar way when convincing Jacques Chirac to create rooms in the Louvre³⁴ for special “masterpieces” of African, Oceanic, Asian, and American art. However the selection says little about the objects themselves, but more about its perception as art from a certain perspective. To set a sign of acknowledgment parallel to this, rather a symbolic act, a museum construction was started in the center of Paris – the Musée du Quai Branly.³⁵ The name of the museum refers to its location near the Seine and thus avoids descriptions, which would label it as an ethnographic museum.³⁶ However the program design says that the design “should express or even connect the aesthetic and ethnographic presentation in an integrated museography”³⁷

Objekte werden immer wieder Ansprüche erhoben werden. Diese könnten jedoch von beiden Seiten zum Anlass genommen werden, um eine Auseinandersetzung über die Geschichte der Sammlungen auf einer breiteren Ebene zu führen.

Eine Frage des Respekts?

Doch dass die Begriffe Respekt, Takt und Menschenwürde dort, wo es eigentlich um Machtbeziehungen geht, allein nicht greifen, zeigt das vor wenigen Jahren neu eröffnete „Musée du Quai Branly“³³ in Paris. Bereits seit der Dekolonialisierung in den 1960er-Jahren wurden ethnologische Museen in Frage gestellt und mussten sich neu definieren. Eine Folge dieser Neuorientierung war, dass ästhetisch hochwertig beurteilte Objekte Eingang in Kunstmuseen fanden. Auch der Kunstsammler Jacques Kerchache argumentierte in diese Richtung, als er Jacques Chirac davon überzeugte, für besondere „Meisterwerke“ der afrikanischen, ozeanischen, asiatischen und amerikanischen Kunst Räume im Louvre³⁴ zu schaffen. Die Auswahl sagt allerdings weniger über die Objekte selbst aus, sondern darüber, was aus einer bestimmten Sicht als Kunst definiert wurde. Parallel zu diesem eher symbolischen Akt wurde mit dem „Musée du Quai Branly“ ein repräsentativer Museumsneubau im Zentrum von Paris in Angriff genommen, um ein Zeichen der Anerkennung zu setzen.³⁵ Der Name des Museums verweist auf dessen Standort an der Seine und vermeidet so Bezeichnungen, die es als ethnografisches Museum markieren würden.³⁶ Allerdings heißt es im programmatischen Entwurf, dass die Gestaltung die „ästhetische und ethnografische Präsentation in einer integrierten Museographie zum Ausdruck bringen, vielleicht sogar miteinander verbinden“ solle.³⁷ Bestehende Sammlungen wie das „Musée National des Art d'Afrique et d'Océanie“ oder die ethnografischen Bestände des „Musée de l'Homme“ wurden in dem neu errichteten Museum zusammengeführt.³⁸ Um die ästhetischen Qualitäten der wertvollen Objekte „aus aller Welt“ hervorzuheben, werden sie nun wie Kunstwerke weitgehend entkontextualisiert präsentiert. Informationen zum Gebrauchskontext der Exponate sind zwar an manchen Stellen über Bildschirme abfragbar, diese sind jedoch in gehörigem Abstand von den Objekten platziert, um den Kunstcharakter nicht zu stören. Doch der subversive Charakter der einst avantgardistischen Forderung, „primitive“ Objekte als Kunstwerke aufzuwerten, um den westlich geprägten Kunstbegriff in Frage zu stellen, greift nicht mehr, schon gar nicht, wenn die außereuropäischen Exponate in ein separates Museum ausgelagert werden. Im Gegenteil: Indem den Objekten der westlich geprägte Kunstbegriff übergestülpt wird, werden sie erneut vereinnahmt.

Am Ende des Rundganges können sich die Besucher/innen an einer leicht zu übersehenden Hands-On-Station über die Sammlungsgeschichte informieren und die Genealogien der Konstruktion von Andersheit nachvollziehen.³⁹ Es gibt zwar einen Raum für Fragen zu den großen Themen der Anthropologie und Ethnologie, doch diese komplexen Hintergrundinformationen müssen sich die Besucher/innen über Publikationen, Datenbanken und Informationssysteme in einem eigenen Bereich abseits des eigentlichen Ausstellungsbereichs selbst erarbeiten, da diese nicht unmittelbar in die Präsentationen einfließen.

Existing collections like the “Musée National des Art d’Afrique et d’Océanie” or the ethnographic inventory of the “Musée de l’Homme” were united in the newly built museum.³⁸ To emphasize the aesthetic qualities of the precious objects “from around the globe”, they are now being displayed like art pieces, mostly without context. Although information about usage context of the exhibited objects is available in some places on screens, those are placed a good distance away from the objects, so they do not disturb the art character of the objects. But the subversive character of the once avant-garde demand, to upsell “primitive” objects as pieces of art, in order to question the western marked definition of art, is no longer effective. This is especially true when the exhibited objects which are not from Europe are being stored in a separate museum. On the contrary: in forcing the western marked definition of art on the objects, they are taken again.

At the end of the tour the visitors can inform themselves about the collection history and learn about the genealogy of the creation of difference on an easy to understand hands-on station.³⁹ Although there is a room for questions about the big topics of anthropology and ethnology, the visitors have to get this complex background information over publications, data banks and information systems in a special area away from the actual exhibition area, because it is not being included directly in the presentations. But not even this information room can hide the blatant missing piece in the exhibition: Europe. European science which believes to have the power of definition of non-western art and culture is not present in the exhibited collection. In so doing the museum is a museum of the “Others”, without reflecting on its “own” involvement in colonial history. And perhaps because the center remains hidden as a point of view, the Eurocentrism is being continued in the presentation.

The perspective of something exotic, foreign, of something “Other” is being recreated with many creative means. The visitors have to traverse an undulating garden first, before they can “explore” the museum, which stands on beams and brings up the association with a stilt house. The windows are also shaded with a green leaf foil and give the exhibited objects – contrary to the original intention – a nature context. In contrast to the “white cell” of current art presentations the Musée du Quai Branly boasts warm earth tones in the facade design, as well as the interior. The shaded rooms are illuminated by a few light spots, which may be because of the light sensitive materials. However in tandem with the round flowing brown exhibition furniture and the green leaf foil an earth-connected and magic-mystical atmosphere is created, which can be found in many ethnographic museums and exhibitions. With this the museum remains true to the colonial presentation patterns, although it aimed to provide a respectful and appreciative handling of the non-European collections.

Here the fundamental question is posed: what is the social value of object culture in regard to the representation of history? In this case it is a deep European, civil memory-culture, which when transferred to other social forms always presented an act of violence.

Aber auch dieser Informationsraum kann nicht über die eklatante Leerstelle in der Schau hinwegtäuschen: Europa. Die europäische Wissenschaft, die sich die Definitionsmacht über die nicht-westliche Kunst und Kultur anmaßt, kommt in der Schausammlung nicht vor. Damit wird das Museum zu einem Museum der „Anderen“, ohne die eigene Involviertheit in die Kolonialgeschichte mitzureflektieren. Und vielleicht gerade, weil das vermeintliche Zentrum als Standpunkt der Betrachtung ausgeblendet bleibt, findet der Eurozentrismus seine ungebrochene Fortsetzung in der Präsentation. Die Perspektive der Exotik, des Fremden, des Anderen wird durch vielfältige Gestaltungsmittel re-inszeniert. So müssen die Besucher/innen zunächst einen hügeligen Garten durchqueren, bevor sie das Museum „entdecken“ können, das auf Stelzen stehend einen Pfahlbau assoziieren lässt. Zudem sind die Fenster mit einer grünen Blätterfolie abgedunkelt und betten so die Exponate – entgegen der eigentlichen Intention – in einen Naturkontext ein. Im Gegensatz zur „weißen Zelle“ gängiger Kunstpräsentationen herrschen beim „Musée du Quai Branly“ sowohl bei der Fassadengestaltung als auch bei der Innenausstattung warme Erdtöne vor. Die abgedunkelten, nur durch wenige Spots erhellen Räume mögen den lichtempfindlichen Materialien geschuldet sein, aber gepaart mit den runden, fließenden, braunen Ausstellungsmöbeln und den grünen Blätterfolien entsteht eine erdverbundene und magisch-mythische Atmosphäre, wie sie in vielen ethnografischen Museen und Ausstellungen vorherrscht. Damit bleibt das Museum letztlich kolonialen Präsentationsmustern verhaftet, obwohl es einen respektvollen und wertschätzenden Umgang mit den nicht-europäischen Sammlungen anstrebe.

Hier stellt sich die grundsätzliche Frage nach dem gesellschaftlichen Wert der Objektkultur im Hinblick auf die Geschichtsdarstellung. Dabei handelt es sich jedenfalls um eine zutiefst europäische, bürgerliche Gedächtniskultur, die auf andere Gesellschaftsformen übertragen immer schon einen Akt der Gewalt darstellt.

Subversionspotenzial „sensibler“ Sammlungen

Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, Kuratorin des Jüdischen Museums Wien, schlug einen anderen Weg in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit einem „sensiblen“ Sammlungsbestand ein. Sie stellte nicht die Objekte, sondern deren Entstehungs- und Überlieferungskontext in den Mittelpunkt der Ausstellung. Das Naturhistorische Museum Wien hatte in den 1990er-Jahren Schädel und Totenmasken, die ermordeten jüdischen KZ-Häftlingen in Polen abgenommen worden waren, an die Israelitische Kultusgemeinde abgegeben. Die Schädel wurden begraben, die Totenmasken kamen schließlich ins Jüdische Museum. Die Schädel und Masken waren in der NS-Zeit von Josef Wastl, einem Kurator des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien, vom Anthropologischen Institut in Posen für eine Ausstellung angekauft worden. Dieser Geschichte wollte sich das Naturhistorische Museum mit der Abgabe der Objekte an die Kultusgemeinde zwar entledigen, doch Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek stellte sie ins Zentrum ihrer Ausstellung „Masken. Versuch über die Shoah“. In der Ausstellung ging es zwar nicht nur um die Auseinandersetzung mit den 29 Totenmasken der in Polen ermordeten KZ-Häftlinge, aber sie standen im Zentrum der Präsentation,

The Subversive Potential of “Sensible” Collections

Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, curator of the Jewish Museum Vienna, chose another way when she confronted a “sensible” collection inventory. She did not put the objects in the focus of the exhibition, but their creation and traditional context. In the 1990-es the Natural History Museum Vienna owned skulls and death masks of murdered Jewish concentration camp prisoners, which were made in Poland. The museum returned them to the Jewish community. The skulls were buried. But the death masks finally arrived in the Jewish museum.

In the time of Nazi-Germany the skulls and masks were bought for an exhibition from the anthropological institute in Posen by Josef Wastl, a curator of the Natural History Museum Vienna. The Natural History Museum wanted to get rid of this issue by giving the objects to the Jewish community but Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek put them in the center of her exhibition “Masks. Approaching the Shoah”. The exhibition was not only about confronting the 29 death masks of concentration camp prisoners murdered in Poland, but they stood in the center of the presentation, or better, of their handling. Before the visitors could see the masks they passed through a darkened room where they were confronted with the detailed correspondence between Josef Wastl and the maker of the death masks Gustav Adolf von Hirschheydt at the Reich University in Posen.⁴⁰

However the project could not be finished, because the maker of the masks contracted epidemic typhus from the corpses and died.⁴¹ The subject-matter of the letters, of the inventory lists and of the invoices was not presented here. The next room was dedicated for it: in contrast to the presentation of the documents, this was a bright, light flooded place. Here the masks were set up in a line without any commentary. With mirrors mounted on the side walls the line of masks was seemingly prolonged to infinity. Another effect of this installment was that the visitors are involuntary reflected in the mirror as well. Without being able to stop at other objects or text, one had to face the silence and dull “look” of the masks, which turned to oneself in the end. In the various text documents the cynical contemptuous language of the race ideology followers manifested itself in contrast to the “victims” who had no voice. Only the mute death masks were proof of their existence. One could not find the persons themselves. But there was also no effort made to give the murdered people individuality, or tell their stories – without any “attempt of revival” they were allowed to remain dead. The visitors were expected to confront the lifeless objects, because in the end erasing them was the intention of the Nazi regime. For the curator the anonymity of the people behind the masks was burdensome at first. But in the end it proved to be productive for the exhibition. The discomfort in the presentation was not caused by the usual pictures of horror like the corpse stacks in concentration camps but by the contemptuous language towards humans in the documents, by the way how people were made to be objects and the experience of “empty space” in form of the death masks, which were intentionally not given a

besser gesagt: der Umgang mit ihnen. Denn bevor die Besucher/innen die Masken zu sehen bekamen, wurden sie in einem abgedunkelten Raum mit dem detailreichen Briefverkehr zwischen Josef Wastl und dem Präparator der Totenmasken, Gustav Adolf von Hirschheydt von der Reichsuniversität in Posen, konfrontiert.⁴⁰ Das Projekt konnte allerdings nicht zum Abschluss gebracht werden, da sich der Präparator an den Leichen mit Flecktyphus infizierte und starb.⁴¹ Der eigentliche Gegenstand des Briefverkehrs, der Inventarlisten und Rechnungen, die Totenmasken selbst blieben in diesem Ausstellungsbereich ausgespart. Ihnen war der nachfolgende Raum gewidmet: ein im Gegensatz zur Präsentation der Dokumente heller, geradezu Licht durchfluteter Ort. Hier waren die Masken unkommentiert in einer Reihe aufgestellt. Durch Spiegel an den Seitenwänden wurde die Maskenreihe scheinbar ins Unendliche verlängert. Ein weiterer Effekt dieser Inszenierung bestand darin, dass sich die Besucher/innen beim Schauen unwillkürlich im Spiegel „mitreflektierten“. Ohne sich an einem Text oder anderen Objekten anhalten zu können, war man dem Schweigen, dem stummen „Blick“ der Masken ausgeliefert und letztlich auf sich selbst zurückgeworfen. In den unterschiedlichen Textdokumenten manifestierte sich die zynische, menschenverachtende Sprache der Anhänger der Rassenideologie, die „Opfer“ hingegen hatten keine Sprache. Nur die stummen Totenmasken waren Zeugnis ihrer Existenz, der Personen selbst konnte man nicht habhaft werden. Es wurde aber auch kein Versuch unternommen, den Ermordeten eine Individualität zu geben oder ihre Geschichten zu erzählen – ohne jeglichen „Wiederbelebungsversuch“ wurde ihnen zugestanden, tot zu sein. Und den Besucherinnen und Besuchern wurde zugemutet, sich mit den leblosen Objekten zu konfrontieren, denn schließlich war die Auslöschung die eigentliche Absicht des NS-Regimes. Die Anonymität der Menschen hinter den Masken empfand die Kuratorin zunächst als belastend, für die Ausstellung erwies sie sich schließlich als produktiv. Es waren nicht die üblichen Bilder des Schreckens wie etwa Leichenberge in Konzentrationslagern, die das Unbehagen in der Präsentation auslösten, sondern die menschenverachtende Sprache der Schriftdokumente, die Art und Weise, wie Menschen zum Objekt gemacht wurden und die Erfahrung einer „Leerstelle“ in Form der Totenmasken, denen bewusst kein Gesicht gegeben wurde. Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek bezog sich dabei auf die provokante These von Vilém Flusser, wonach nicht nur dem nationalsozialistischen System, sondern der westlichen Kultur insgesamt der Charakter einer Maschinerie anhaftet. Dieser beruhe auf dem Vermögen zur Objektivierung. Die Reduktion des Individuums auf „Menschenmaterial“, die totale Verdinglichung der Juden im Nationalsozialismus sei zwar die brutalste, aber nur eine mögliche Verwirklichung dieser „sozialen Technik“. Unter diesem Aspekt betrachtet können sich auch die nachgeborenen Besucher/innen nicht gänzlich von dieser Geschichte distanzieren.

Hinter den Masken waren Videokameras installiert, die die Besucher/innen im Maskenraum beim Betrachten der Exponate filmten. Die Aufzeichnungen waren dann im letzten Raum zeitverzögert kurzfristig auf Monitoren zu sehen. Dabei erfolgte scheinbar eine Umkehrung des Blicks, denn die Aufnahmen zeigten nur die Besucher/innen, die Masken kamen nicht ins Bild. Damit sollte zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, dass es nicht so sehr um die Anderen, sondern um die eigene Positionierung geht. Vor diesem Hintergrund stellt sich umso dringlicher die Frage, warum das Naturhistorische Museum die von ihm angekauften Schädel

"face". Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek referred to the provocative thesis of Vilém Flusser, which states that not only the Nazi system, but also all of western culture carries the character of machinery. This character is based on the ability to objectivize. The reduction of the individual to "human material", the total objectification of the Jews in the Nazi regime is the most brutal, but only one possible realization of this "social technique". Observing it from this perspective, the visitors born after World War II cannot entirely distance themselves from this history.

Video cameras which filmed the visitors while they were looking at the exhibited objects were installed behind the masks. The recordings were then displayed with a time delay for a short time on monitors in the last room. A reversal of the viewpoint took place here. The recordings showed only the visitors with the masks not in the picture. This was an attempt to express that the real subject is not so much the "Others", but the "own" position. Looking at this background we can ask ourselves: Why did the Natural History Museum give the skulls and masks which it bought to the Jewish community and does not view them as part of its "own" heritage? If museums would confront the history of the violent appropriation and display of such objects and discuss them, then this "sensible" collection inventory would have an immense subversive potential.

Remains

In the case of the death masks the question posed was if it is ethical to show material remains of death. Even more controversial is the issue of exhibiting human remains in a museum. We can find many examples of questionable handling of human remains in museums. These are being exhibited to scientists and the audience as skeletons or mummies, stuffed or cut into pieces. To an extent a corpse represents the dividing line between life and death, it is a human and at the same time, there is no human there, it is not life but also not an unimportant issue.⁴² The German Museums Association references the ICOM guidelines on the subject like this: "The handling of human remains requires special sensibility, because the right to human dignity should also be observed for a dead person. Therefore human remains should be shown only, if they will be used to convey knowledge and insight in a professional manner."⁴³

Before the invention of imaging techniques like x-ray or ultrasound, the body had to be opened to allow a look into the inside. Because of this countless organs and body parts, especially when showing signs of sickness or damage, were prepared and stored as wet preparations for viewing purposes of science and audience. With current diagnostic techniques the human body is being transferred into data and pixels. This way medicine gets significantly more knowledge and insight about the processes inside the body, than the pale organs pickled in alcohol could ever offer. The preparations now only offer evidence for the state of 19th century medicine. However they cater to the

und Masken an die Israelitische Kultusgemeinde abgegeben hat und nicht als Teil seines eigenen Erbes versteht. Würden sich die Museen der Geschichte der gewaltsamen Aneignung und Zurschaustellung derartiger Objekte stellen und sie zum Thema machen, dann könnten diese – sensiblen – Sammlungsbestände ein ungeheures Subversionspotenzial beinhalten.

Über-Reste

Stellte sich schon bei den Totenmasken die Frage, ob es ethisch zulässig ist, stoffliche Zeugnisse des Todes zu zeigen – umso brisanter ist die Präsentation menschlicher Überreste im Museum. Viele Beispiele lassen sich für den fragwürdigen Umgang mit toten Menschen im Museum finden, die als Skelette oder Mumien, ausgestopft oder zerstückelt dem Blick der Wissenschaftler/innen und des Publikums preisgegeben werden. Ein Leichnam repräsentiert gewissermaßen die Schnittstelle zwischen Leben und Tod, es ist ein Mensch und zugleich ist da kein Mensch, nicht das Leben, aber auch keine belanglose Tatsache.⁴² In den von ICOM entwickelten ethischen Richtlinien heißt es dazu: „Besondere Sensibilität erfordert der Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten, denn die Unantastbarkeit der Würde des Menschen hat auch für den toten Menschen zu gelten. Menschliche Überreste sollten daher nur gezeigt werden, wenn damit ernsthaft Wissen und Einsichten vermittelt werden.“⁴³ Vor der Entwicklung von bildgebenden Verfahren wie Röntgen oder Ultraschall musste der Körper geöffnet werden, um einen Blick in das Körperinnere zu ermöglichen. Daher wurden unzählige Organe und Körperteile, insbesondere wenn sie Krankheitssymptome oder Verletzungen aufwiesen, als Nasspräparate zu Anschauungszwecken für Wissenschaft und Publikum hergestellt und bewahrt. Bei den gegenwärtigen Untersuchungsmethoden wird der menschliche Körper zwar in Daten und Bildpunkte aufgelöst, doch damit verfügt die Medizin über wesentlich mehr Wissen und Einsichten über die Vorgänge im Körperinneren, als es die blässlichen in Alkohol eingelegten Organe je vermitteln könnten. Was die Erkenntnis betrifft, so belegen die Präparate vor allem den Stand der Medizin im 19. Jahrhundert. Allerdings bedienen sie den voyeuristischen Wunsch, ein „echtes“ Herz – im Unterschied zu einer noch so perfekten Darstellung des lebenswichtigen Organs – sehen zu wollen. Ebenso kann der Blick in den Tresor der Gletschermumie „Ötzi“ dem Publikum des Archäologiemuseums in Bozen kaum ernsthafte Erkenntnisse bieten. Trotzdem wird mit dem „öffentlichen Interesse“, das das Recht auf Totenruhe überwiegen würde, argumentiert.⁴⁴ Bei der Podiumsdiskussion zum Thema „Gehören menschliche Überreste ins Museum?“⁴⁵ kam aus dem Publikum die Frage, ob es überhaupt eine legitime Form der Musealisierung von toten Menschen geben könnte, außer durch Selbstverfügung. Dass die Meinung über das Ausstellen von menschlichen Überresten gespalten ist, zeigte sich auch an der Debatte um die 2008 eröffnete Mumienausstellung „Mumien – Der Traum vom ewigen Leben“ in Mannheim. Der Erfolg der Ausstellung beruhe auf der Indiskretion gegenüber der Unanschaubarkeit von Mumien, war ein Kritikpunkt.⁴⁶ Wie in anderen Fällen auch ist in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Tod und den Toten das Original durch nichts zu ersetzen, da die Begegnung mit echten Mumien oder sterblichen Überresten zu einer nachhaltigen und bewegenden Erfahrung wird,

voyeuristic desire to see a “real” heart, instead of a (may it be oh so perfect) representation of the vital organ. Likewise a look in the vault of the glacier mummy “Ötzi” can’t really provide the audience of the archaeology museum in Bozen serious insights. However this is being defended with “public interest”, which would be more important than the right to rest in peace.⁴⁴ In the panel discussion on the topic “Do human remains belong into a museum?”⁴⁵ a member of the audience posed the question, if there can be any legitimate form of musealization of human remains at all, except for making oneself available for it. That opinions about the exhibition of human remains are divided, was also shown in the debate about the mummy exhibit “Mummies – the dream of everlasting life”, which opened 2008 in Mannheim. One critique was that the success of the exhibit is owed to the lack of indiscretion for the viewing of mummies.⁴⁶ As in other cases, when confronting death and the dead, the original is irreplaceable. Thus a confrontation with real mummies or remains becomes a lasting and moving experience, says Reiner Sörries. But this argumentation does not aim at understanding and revelation, like it was set in the ethics guidelines, but it aims at emotion and shock.

An observation of the psychoanalyst Karl-Josef Pazzini may confirm that death in museums did not become a discussion topic before the 1980-ies. “In the museum death is everywhere. This makes it almost invisible.”⁴⁷ Why thoughts about death do not permanently come to mind when visiting a museum Pazzini does not fully understand. He doesn’t connect this so much with the dead animals or human remains that are there but with the process of stopping material culture. The object becomes one, by being taken from its original (usage) context and becoming an untouchable object of viewing. A new life begins for the object. It emerges in a new order; it is being catalogued and stopped.⁴⁸ Although museums should preserve and prevent degradation of something temporary and dying, one should not see it in the objects. They should seem like taken directly from life. Here the two-faced process of musealization is shown: in the end preservation and conservation of historic relics becomes a destruction of history, because history also means transience. It seems to be a paradox of the museum institution, to present death and degradation in many ways and at the same time repress it. The musealized objects are being taken out of a live setting and have to be brought back to life in the museum. Maybe the curators also have the responsibility to explicitly address the handling of death and transience in the museum.

Contact Points

Margit Berner, an anthropologist at the Natural History Museum Vienna, choose a different path, when she found photos, plaster masks, hair samples and measuring data of Jewish prisoners in her collection.⁴⁹ These were the results of “racial science” investigations made in 1939 in the Vienna Stadium. Immediately after the attack on Poland in September 1939, Reinhard Heydrich, the chief of the security police ordered the arrest of all former Polish Jews which were stateless. On September 10 and 11, 1939 the Gestapo arrested

führt Reiner Sörries aus. Doch diese Argumentation zielt nicht auf Einsicht und Erkenntnis, wie es in den ethischen Richtlinien verankert wurde, sondern auf Emotion und Erschütterung. Dass der Tod im Museum erst seit 1980er-Jahre zum Thema geworden ist, mag eine Beobachtung des Psychoanalytikers Karl-Josef Pazzini bestätigen: „Der Tod ist im Museum allgegenwärtig. Deshalb ist er fast unsichtbar.“⁴⁷ Sein Unverständnis darüber, dass sich beim Museumsbesuch, nicht permanent Gedanken an den Tod aufdrängen, begründet Pazzini jedoch nicht so sehr mit den darin befindlichen toten Tieren oder menschlichen Überresten, sondern mit dem Prozess der Stillstellung der materiellen Kultur: das Objekt wird zu einem solchen, indem es aus seinem ursprünglichen (Gebrauchs)Kontext herausgelöst und zu einem unberührbaren Objekt der Betrachtung wird. Für den Gegenstand beginnt ein neues Leben, er geht in einer neuen Ordnung auf, wird katalogisiert und stillgestellt.⁴⁸ Wenngleich Museen Vergängliches und Aussterbendes vor dem Verfall retten und bewahren, soll man es den Objekten nicht ansehen, sie sollen wie unmittelbar aus dem Leben gegriffen erscheinen. Hier zeigt sich das janusköpfige Verfahren der Musealisierung: letztlich wird die Bewahrung und Konservierung von historischen Relikten zur Eliminierung von Geschichte, denn Geschichte heißt ja auch Vergänglichkeit. Es scheint ein Paradoxon der Institution Museum zu sein, den Tod und Verfall in vielfältigen Weisen vorzuführen und gleichzeitig zu verdrängen, die musealisierten Objekte werden aus einem lebendigen Zusammenhang gerissen und müssen im Museum wiederbelebt werden. Vielleicht besteht eine Verantwortung der Kuratorinnen und Kuratoren auch darin, den Umgang mit dem Tod und der Vergänglichkeit im Museum explizit zum Thema zu machen.

Kontaktstellen

Margit Berner, Anthropologin am Naturhistorischen Museum Wien, wählte einen anderen Weg, als sie Fotos, Gipsmasken, Haarproben und Vermessungsbögen von jüdischen Häftlingen in ihrer Sammlung vorfand.⁴⁹ Es waren die Ergebnisse von „rassenkundlichen“ Untersuchungen, die 1939 im Wiener Stadion vorgenommen worden waren. Unmittelbar nach dem Überfall auf Polen im September 1939 hatte Reinhard Heydrich, der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei, die Festnahme aller staatenlosen, ehemals polnischen Juden angeordnet. Am 10. und 11. September 1939 verhaftete die Gestapo Tausende Juden in Wien, von denen schließlich 1000 jugendliche und erwachsene Männer ins Wiener Stadion gebracht wurden. Dort nahm eine von Josef Wastl, dem Leiter der anthropologischen Abteilung des Naturhistorischen Museums, zusammengestellte Kommission an 440 Gefangenen anthropologische Untersuchungen vor: sie wurden numerisch erfasst, fotografiert und vermessen. Von einigen wurden zudem Gipsmasken abgenommen. Unmittelbar nach den demütigenden Prozeduren wurden die jüdischen Häftlinge nach Buchenwald deportiert, wo die meisten bereits nach wenigen Wochen oder Monaten aufgrund von Misshandlung, Erschöpfung sowie katastrophalen hygienischen Bedingungen starben. Durch die bei den anthropologischen Untersuchungen aufgenommenen Personendaten war es möglich, nach den konkreten Personen hinter den Messdaten zu fragen. Diesen Umstand machte sich Margit Berner gemeinsam mit der Historikerin Claudia Spring zunutze, um nach Überlebenden

thousands of Jews in Vienna, out of these 1,000 teens and adult men were brought to the Vienna Stadium. There a commission selected by Josef Wastl the head of the anthropology department of the Natural History Museum, conducted anthropological research on 440 prisoners. They were given a number, photographed and measured. Some of them had plaster masks made. Immediately after the humiliating procedures the Jewish prisoners were deported to Buchenwald. There most of them died only after a few weeks or months, due to mistreatment, exhaustion as well as catastrophic sanitary conditions. The personal data taken in the anthropological examination allowed inquiries about the persons in the research data. Margit Berner and the historian Claudia Spring used this fact to search for survivors of the examinations. Two persons were found: Paul Grünberg and Gershon Evan were both 16 years old when the anthropological examinations were conducted on them. So the memories and experiences of two affected people could be contrasted with the data, which documents the direct involvement of science in Nazi history. With the help of different institutions like the Document Archive of the Austrian Resistance, relatives were found. They revealed additional facets through talks, recordings and letters and aided the fragmented reconstruction of the history of the persecution. The remains of a procedure which made the affected mere research objects became decades later – conveyed over the contact with the scientists Margit Berner and Claudia Spring – personal memorabilia in the respective family history. It was an effort to give something back to the people or their relatives – many times these were the only existing photos or documents – but not in form of a legal act, but in direct confrontation with the persons affected. Gershon Evan and Paul Grünberg were included in the decision about what should happen with their face masks next – both decided to leave them in the museum.

Margit Berner wants to document the history from the viewpoint of the affected but also from the viewpoint of the institution as best as possible and wants to involve the public. A demand for a widespread restitution of those objects which are in museums because of violent actions would be like a disposal, which would transfer part of the responsibility to the receivers. Due to the physical evidence of the anthropological examination in the Vienna Stadium, the institution was pressed to occupy itself with the repressed history.

If museums would not perceive themselves solely as archives of past life worlds, but as active participants in the configuration of memory, they would have to become places of questioning the negotiation of competing memories. However the implementation of the radical concept of the contact zone, which Joachim Baur suggests referencing James Clifford⁵⁰, does not seem to be in reach yet. Here a museum is considered, which includes the ones whose culture and history it gathers and exhibits, in its operations comprehensively and permanently. This is connected to conflict potential. Instead of educating the public from a seemingly safe position, the institution would have to open towards alternative perspectives and interpretations. Here the museums would have to engage in open-ended, binding and mutual relations with their

der Untersuchungen zu suchen. Zwei Personen konnten tatsächlich ausfindig gemacht werden: Paul Grünberg und Gershon Evan, beide waren 16 Jahre alt, als die anthropologischen Untersuchungen an ihnen vorgenommen wurden. So konnten die Erinnerungen und Erfahrungen zweier Betroffener dem Datenmaterial, das die unmittelbare Verstrickung der Wissenschaft in die NS-Geschichte dokumentiert, als Ergänzung gegenübergestellt werden. Mit Hilfe unterschiedlicher Institutionen, wie dem Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, wurden zudem Hinterbliebene ausfindig gemacht, die durch Gespräche, Aufzeichnungen und Briefe weitere Facetten zur fragmentarischen Rekonstruktion der Verfolgungsgeschichte beitragen. Die Zeugnisse einer Prozedur, die die Betroffenen zu reinen Forschungsobjekten machte, wurden Jahrzehnte danach – vermittelt durch den Kontakt mit den Wissenschaftlerinnen Margit Berner und Claudia Spring – auch zu persönlichen Erinnerungsstücken in den jeweiligen Familiengeschichten. Es war der Versuch, den Menschen oder deren Angehörigen etwas zurückzugeben – handelte es sich oftmals um die einzigen noch existierenden Fotos oder Dokumente – aber nicht in Form eines juristischen Akts, sondern in direkter Auseinandersetzung mit den betroffenen Personen. Gershon Evan und Paul Grünberg wurden zudem in die Entscheidung darüber, was mit ihren Gesichtsmasken weiter geschehen sollte, einbezogen – beide sprachen sich für deren Verbleib im Museum aus. Margit Berner plädiert dafür, die Geschichte aus der Sicht der Betroffenen, aber auch als Geschichte der Institution bestmöglich zu dokumentieren und in Auseinandersetzung mit der Öffentlichkeit zu treten. Ein Aufruf zur flächendeckenden Restitution jener Objekte, die sich aufgrund von Gewaltverhältnissen im Museum befinden, käme einer Entsorgung gleich, die die Verantwortung zum Teil den Empfängerinnen und Empfängern zuschieben würde. Aufgrund der physischen Existenz der Zeugnisse der anthropologischen Untersuchung im Wiener Stadion war die Institution aufgefordert, sich mit der verdrängten Geschichte zu beschäftigen. Würden sich Museen nicht lediglich als Archive vergangener Lebenswelten, sondern als aktive Teilnehmer an der „configuration of memory“ verstehen, müssten sie vielmehr zu einem Ort der Befragung, der Verhandlung von konkurrierenden Erinnerungen werden. Doch die Umsetzung des radikalen Konzepts der Kontaktzone, wie es Joachim Baur in Anlehnung an James Clifford vorschlägt⁵⁰, scheint jedoch noch nicht in greifbare Nähe gerückt zu sein. Entworfen wird hier das Bild eines Museums, das diejenigen, deren Kultur und Geschichte es sammelt und ausstellt, umfassend und dauerhaft in seine Operationen einbezieht, was notwendigerweise mit einem Konfliktpotenzial verbunden ist. Statt die Öffentlichkeit von einer scheinbar gesicherten Position aus erziehen wollen, müsste sich die Institution alternativen Perspektiven und Interpretationen öffnen. Dabei müsste das Museum ergebnisoffene, verbindliche und wechselseitige Beziehungen mit den Repräsentierten eingehen, ohne die Asymmetrien von Ressourcen und gesellschaftlicher Macht in diesem Verhältnis zu negieren. In welcher Weise sich die Erzählungen dabei verändern würden, ist im Grunde nicht absehbar. Eine produktive Form des Umgangs mit musealen Repräsentationen, insbesondere aber mit „sensiblen“ Sammlungen liegt jedenfalls darin, sie in einen gesellschaftlichen Diskurs einzubringen und sie so für die Auseinandersetzung offenzuhalten.

representatives, without negating the asymmetries of resources and social power in this relationship. How the stories would change in this case cannot be foreseen. A productive form of handling museum representations, especially with “sensible” collections, is surely to include them into social discourse and this way keep them open for confrontation.

Endnoten

1
Rogoff 1993.

2
Bal 1996, 16.

3
Vgl. Tauber 2009.

4
Bräunlein 2004, 14ff.

5
Pommier 1996, 13ff.

6
Pommier 1996, 17f.

7
Prösler 2000, 331.

8
Posch 1992, 141. Vgl. auch: Huguenin-Bergenat 2010.

9
Macdonald 2000, 128.

10
Fehr 2009, 269.

11
Ernst 1993, 60.

12
Bhabha 1997, 31f.

13
Beier-de Haan 2005, 19.

14
Beier-de Haan 2005, 20.

15
Macdonald 2000, 133.

16
Vgl. Beck 1998, zitiert nach Beier-de Haan 2005, 23.

17
<http://www.expo-europe.be/de/site/musee/musee-europe-bruxelles.html>.

Endnotes

1
Rogoff 1993.

2
Mielke 1996, 16.

3
Cf. Tauber 2009.

4
Bräunlein 2004, 14ff.

5
Pommier 1996, 13ff.

6
Pommier 1996, 17f.

7
Cf. Prösler 2000, 331.

8
Posch 1992, 141. Cf. also: Huguenin-Bergenat 2010.

9
Macdonald 2000, 128.

10
Fehr 2009, 269.

11
Ernst 1993, 60.

12
Bhabha 1997, 31f.

13
Beier-de Haan 2005, 19.

14
Beier-de Haan 2005, 20.

15
Macdonald 2000, 132.

16
Cf. Beck 1998, quoted after Beier-de Haan 2005, 23.

17
<http://www.expo-europe.be/de/site/musee/musee-europe-bruxelles.html>

18
de Jong 2011; <http://www.cultureunbound.ep.liu.se>

19
Kaiser – Krankenhagen 2012, 195.

20
The term refers to the publication Berner – Hoffmann – Lange 2011.

18

de Jong 2011; <http://www.cultureunbound.ep.liu.se>

19

Kaiser – Krankenhagen 2012, 195.

20

Die Bezeichnung bezieht sich auf Berner – Hoffmann – Lange 2011.

21

Um entsprechend des wissenschaftlichen Paradigmas nach Ähnlichkeit und Differenz zu unterscheiden, war es notwendig, möglichst große Datenmengen zu sammeln.

Daher wurden auch Laien angehalten, möglichst viele Skelette, Körperteile, Haarproben etc. mitzubringen.

22

Lange 2011, 205.

23

Dort wurde Unterteilung und Hierarchisierung der Menschheit nach „Rassen“ dargestellt und mit wissenschaftlichen Kriterien untermauert.

24

Eine neu strukturierte, verkürzte und übersichtlichere Version unter der Bezeichnung „ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums“ wurde 2004 auf der 21. ICOM-Generalversammlung ratifiziert.

25

http://www.museumsbund.de/de/das_museum/ethik_standards/museumsethik/forschen_ausstellen_vermitteln/.

26

Godelier 2006, 224.

27

Hilgers 2010, 206f.

28

Anders – Kann 1996, 6ff.

29

Im Folgenden Muttenthaler – Wonisch 2006, 164ff.

30

Fliedl 2012.

31

„Penacho: Pracht & Passion. Der altmexikanische Federkopfschmuck in Wien“, Ausstellung im Museum für Völkerkunde Wien, ab 15. November 2012.

32

Das Museum für Völkerkunde untersteht dem Kunsthistorischen Museum.

33

Das Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, auch als Musée des arts et civilisations d’Afrique, d’Asie, d’Océanie et des Amériques bekannt, ist das nationale französische Museum für außereuro-päische Kunst. Das von Architekt Jean Nouvel entworfene Gebäude wurde 2006 eröffnet.

34

Mit dem Pavillon des Sessions des Musée du Louvre wurde dieses Anliegen im Jahr 2000 umgesetzt.

21

In accordance with the scientific paradigm of being able to differentiate between similarity and difference, it was therefore necessary to gather volumes of data as large as possible. Because of this laymen were also asked to bring back as many skeletons, body parts, hair samples etc. as possible.

22

Lange 2011, 205.

23

There a division and hierarchy of mankind according to race, was presented and consolidated with scientific criteria.

24

A newly structured, shortened and clearer version named “ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums” was ratified on the 21st ICOM general assembly.

25

http://www.museumsbund.de/de/das_museum/ethik_standards/museumsethik/forschen_ausstellen_vermitteln/

26

Godelier 2006, 224.

27

Hilgers 2010, 206f.

28

Anders – Kann 1996, 6ff.

29

In the following Muttenthaler – Wonisch 2006, 164ff.

30

Fliedl 2012.

31

“Penacho: Pracht & Passion. Der altmexikanische Federkopfschmuck in Wien”, exhibition in Ethnology Museum Vienna, from November 15th 2012.

32

The Ethnology Museum is part of the Museum of Fine Arts.

33

The Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, also known as Musée des arts et civilisations d'Afrique, d'Asie, d'Océanie et des Amériques is the national French museum for art made outside of Europe. The building designed by architect Jean Nouvel was opened in 2006.

34

This request was realized with the Pavillon des Sessions des Musée du Louvre in 2000.

35

Viatte 2006, 208.

36

Maurice Godelier was the science director of the museum Musée du Quai Branly till 2000. He said that the name was to be attributed to Jaques Chirac, who based on diverging suggestions preferred to postpone the final naming of the museum till it wasn't built.

35

Viatte 2006, 208.

36

Der Name verdankt sich nach Maurice Godelier, bis 2000 wissenschaftlicher Direktor des Musée du Quai Branly, eigentlich Jaques Chirac, der es aufgrund divergierender Vorschläge vorzog, die Wahl des endgültigen Namens aufzuschieben, bis das Museum fertig ist.

37

Viatte 2006, 209.

38

Nachdem die Sammlungen des Musée d'Afrique et d'Océanie ins Musée du Quai Branly verlagert worden waren, wurde im anlässlich der internationalen Kolonialausstellung 1931 gebauten Palais de la Porte Dorée die Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration eingerichtet.

39

Sternfeld 2009, 63.

40

Heimann-Jelinek 1999.

41

Aly 1987.

42

Hermes da Fonseca 2011, 127.

43

http://www.museumsbund.de/de/das_museum/ethik_standards/museumsethik/forschen_ausstellen_vermitteln/; vgl. Hilgers 2010, 207ff.

44

Sörries 2011, 134.

45

„Ja, nein, gegebenenfalls. Gehören menschliche Überreste ins Museum?“ Workshop und öffentliche Podiumsdiskussion der Museumsakademie Joanneum in Kooperation mit dem Wien Museum im Rahmen der Ausstellung „Angelo Soliman. Ein Afrikaner in Wien“, 19.-20.1.2012.

46

Sörries 2011, 135.

47

Pazzini 1990, 83.

48

Pazzini 1990, 94.

49

Im Folgenden beziehe ich mich auf Berner 2011.

50

Den Begriff „contact zone“ entlehnt Joachim Baur von James Clifford (Baur 2009, 358f.).

37

Viatte 2006, 209.

38

After the collections of the Musée d'Afrique et d'Océanie were relocated to the Musée du Quai Branly, the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration was set up, in the Palais de la Porte Dorée, which was built because of the international colonial exhibition in 1931.

39

Sternfeld 2009, 63.

40

Heimann-Jelinek 1999.

41

Aly 1987.

42

Hermes de Fonseca 2011, 127.

43

http://www.museumsbund.de/de/das_museum/ethik_standards/museumsethik/forschen_ausstellen_vermitteln/; cf. Hilgers 2010, 207ff.

44

Sörries 2011, 134.

45

“Ja, nein, gegebenenfalls. Gehören menschliche Überreste ins Museum?” Workshop and public podium discussion of the Museum academy Joanneum in cooperation with the Vienna Museum in the frame of the exhibition “Angelo Soliman. Ein Afrikaner in Wien”, 19.-20.1.2012

46

Sörries 2011, 135.

47

Pazzini 1990, 83.

48

Pazzini 1990, 94.

49

In the following I refer to Berner 2011.

50

Joachim Baur borrowed the term “contact zone” from James Clifford (Baur 2009, 358f.).

To Whom Does Monumental Heritage of the Communist Period Belong?

Nikolai Vukov

Already two decades after the end of communist rule in Eastern Europe, a visit to any country of the region permits observing various sculptural compositions and memorial forms that have remained from the communist period. Having once been core elements of the ideological propaganda that celebrated the establishment of the new political order after World War II, many of the monuments and ideological representations were toppled down, reshaped, or substituted by new memorial forms after the political changes of 1989. Although nowadays most of these visual forms of the communist period have left behind only empty pedestals and unrecognisable traces, still many memorial sites and artistic compositions are preserved in streets and squares – as awkward reminders about one of the most problematic epochs in twentieth-century European history. Aside from illustrating the peculiar turns of public interest and commemorative attention in the course of several decades, such forms are indicative also about the continuing debates on their actual “belonging” and meaning after the end of communism in Eastern Europe. Whilst addressing directly the political positions about the preservation or removal of these objects, the question of “To whom does monumental heritage of the communist period belong” involved also a range of other aspects, such as those of past/present, history/memory, older and younger generations, politics/art, etc. In the lines below, I will address some of these aspects, shedding light on the transformation of attitudes towards these objects after 1989 and the new lines of their interpretation and appropriation in the post-communist period.

By means of a historical contextualization, I would like to point out that the falling of most East European countries within the communist camp and the Soviet sphere of influence conditioned a particular approach to monuments and commemorations, which was characterized by an emphasized attention to a group of ideologically “special dead” and by a systematic disregard of other cases of memorial worthiness. Within several years after 1945, numerous monuments and commemorative activities were initiated to honor Soviet army soldiers, communist leaders, and major figures of communist antifascist resistance, whose interpretation proceeded entirely within the discourse of heroism and noble sacrifice. With few variations (related to the Stalin-Tito split or the specificities of the local antifascist resistance during World War II), these major groups of public commemoration were objects of systematic attention in

all East European countries and had their memory eternalized through various memorial forms in the course of several decades.¹ Changes in the political course (such as the de-stalinization process in late 1950s), or cases of opposition against the communist rule (e.g. the Hungarian revolution of 1956 or the Prague Spring of 1968), had their important input with regards to the disappearance of monuments to Stalin or toppling some of the existing Soviet monuments;² they did not bring, however, a thorough change of the commemorative pattern, which actually kept on being reproduced until 1989. The public pantheons of that time were highly exclusive too, as the overexposed attention to the Red Army and the communist resistance fighters expelled to the margins the memory about cases that did not comply with the ideological framework. Whilst the victims of Soviet repressions, the perished in communist-run labor camps, or the dead in post-war show trials and purges were spared from public attention, cases such as the Holocaust were represented in memorials of Eastern Europe, but, paradoxically, in a way that merged them communist suffering and resistance.³

All these tendencies in commemorative overtones encountered a significant challenge after the end of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and put many of the existing monuments in a problematic situation. Although for many of the monuments with a more immediate propaganda purposes (as those dedicated to communist leaders) the dismantlement took place in a relatively expedient way within two-three years after the political changes, for others, the debates about their fate and meaning continue until today. A retroactive glance back to the fall of the communist regimes and the first post-communist years unavoidably brings to mind expressive episodes with dismantling or decorating public monuments or symbols of the previous rule as ways of signifying the political changes.⁴ The fall of the Berlin Wall, the dismantlement of monuments to Lenin in most East European capitals and major cities, the graffiti and public meetings around existing Soviet memorials, etc. not only became emblems of the transition, but also highlighted the tension between different political groups and citizens about the fate of such memorial objects. Beyond the polarized attitudes that ran between the narrow political lines of pro-communist or anti-communist affiliation, there evolved variations about what to substitute the toppled objects, what to do with the fallen statues, how to signify the present function of those sites, and what narratives to apply about the logic that necessitated these transformations. The various projects that appeared aimed to address the preservation and treatment of monumental objects, their possible exhibition within museum spaces, or the new representations that would stay atop the emptied pedestals. In fact, taking a decision on these issues formed an even more diversified set of attitudes, as each of the proposed options was interpreted as a highly symbolic act through which people expected to perceive both the end of the communist rule and the beginning of a new period.

For the monuments and memorial sites that were spared the upsurge of public energies of the late 1980s and early 1990s, the debates surrounding their fates and interpretation were even stronger. Many people interpreted them as belonging to the past, but the views of what this belonging actually meant took forking paths between the option to destroy them and thus clear the public

space of their presence, the possibility of preserving them as testimonies of the previous epoch, or the prospect of finding a relevant place for them in newly arranged museum exhibitions. In the 1990s, the latter option was manifested mainly by museum projects of communist art in Budapest and Vilnius, but gradually, the idea was accepted in other countries too, where small-scale exhibits of statues and monumental art of the communist period were initiated. The last one created so far was the Museum of Socialist Art in Sofia, opened in 2011, which puts on display objects that were taken down from their pedestals or were removed from public galleries and – after two decades of disregards in basements – were brought back to public attention. In the setting of such exhibitions, as in the debates that accompanied their opening, one could see the sensitivity to the issue of whom do these objects belong. Having stayed neglected for a period, they testified of the uneasiness of public institutions for their adequate appropriation, the same way as their proposing again for display was surrounded by speculations about a visual “resurrection” and “rehabilitation” of the communist period. The debates were particularly sharp on whether communist monuments belong to politics or art, that is whether one could dissociate them from their mere propaganda function and can regard them as objects that have a justified presence in “art” museums.

For the majority of the memorial sites of the communist epoch in Eastern Europe, the entering of the museum space was not an option. In fact, many of them were either big enough to consider for removing into museums, or have been so heavily loaded with commemorative functions that projects for dismantlement and replacement triggered immediate public protests. Most palpably expressed with monuments to the Soviet army, this concerned also many of the individual monuments and collective memorials to antifascist resistance, which stirred debates in all post-communist states about its exaggerated or downgraded scale. The difficulties of interpreting the proper meanings of the deaths commemorated in such sites generally blocked the attempts for taking further action against them; however, the decrease of public commemorations around them led to their gradual isolation from the rhythm of the present and to their remaining only within the scope of socialist parties’ activities. What was frequently voiced with regards to these sites was that, apart from belonging to history, they were inextricable parts of public memory too – thus, their embeddedness within the political agenda of the communist times doomed their forgetfulness in the present. Furthermore, a customary remark with respect to memory and forgetting was that these sites formed once the cultural memory of the generations that lived under communism, however the post-communist generation was not bound with this cultural background and it either has got little interest in these objects or regards them merely as entertaining objects from a distant period.

Last, but not least, the frequent withdrawal of the post-communist states from the responsibility to maintain the material remains of the communist times once again reveals the difficulty to embrace such forms as historical and cultural “heritage,” and thus leaves the question of their belonging into an open one. It is namely the transition from “legacy” to “heritage” that would guide the perception towards these objects and will determine their fate in the future.

Endnotes

1
Voukov 2002.

2
Sinkó 1992.

3
See Young 1993.

4
Ash 1990; Verdery 1999.





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Doppelseitige Abbildungen im Innenteil / Double paged illustrations on the inside / Dvostranske slike med poglavj

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Bildausschnitt eines 1854 in Cilli/Celje gefundenen Fußbodenmosaiks zusammen mit der dazugehörigen Rekonstruktionsskizze aus dem Archiv der Abteilung Archäologie & Münzkabinett, Fotocollage: UMJ/D. Modl

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Detail of a floor mosaic found 1854 in Cilli/Celje combined with its reconstruction drawing from the archive of the Department Archaeology and Coin Cabinett, photo collage: UMJ/D. Modl

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Detajl talnega mozaika odkritega leta 1854 v Celju skupaj s pripadajočo risbo rekonstrukcije iz arhiva oddelka Arheologija & Numizmatični kabinet, kolaž fotografij: UMJ/D. Modl

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Negauer Helm und Bericht des Pächters der Herrschaft Negau Alois Sentscher vom 24. Februar 1812 zum Fund der Negauer Helme aus dem Archiv der Abteilung Archäologie & Münzkabinett, Fotocollage: UMJ/D. Modl

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Helmet from Negova and report of Alois Sentscher, tenant of the manor of Negau, dated February 24, 1812, on the finding of the Negau helmets, photo collage: UMJ/D. Modl

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Negovska čelada in poročilo Alojza Senčerja, zakupnika gospodstva Negova, zapisano 24. februarja 1812 o najdbi negovskih čelad. Poročilo se nahaja v arhivu oddelka Arheologija & Numizmatični kabinet, kolaž fotografij: UMJ/D. Modl

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Die im Projekt InterArch-Steiermark erfassten Fund- bzw. Materialgruppen: archäologische Kleinfunde, antike Münzen und Römersteine, Fotocollage: UMJ/D. Modl

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Overview of the groups of materials and finds which have been collected within the project "InterArch-Steiermark": archaeological small finds, ancient coins and Roman stone monuments, photo collage: UMJ/D. Modl

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V projektu InterArch-Steiermark so bile zajete različne vrste najdb in materialov: arheološke drobne najdbe, antični novci in rimske kamne, kolaž fotografij: UMJ/D. Modl

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Depotfund von Čermozíš bei Rogatec, 1898 von Peter Kodrič gekauft, Urnenfelderzeit, 12.-11. Jh. v. Chr.
Foto: UMJ/N. Lackner

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Depot find from Čermozíš near Rogatec, bought by the Universalmuseum Joanneum from Peter Kodrič in 1898, Urnfield period, 12th - 11th centuries B.C., photograph: UMJ/N. Lackner

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Depojska najdba iz Čermozíš pri Rogatcu kupljena leta 1898 od Petra Kodriča, čas kulture žarnih grobišč, 12.-11. stol. pr. n. št., fotografija: UMJ/N. Lackner