

UNIVERSITÉ PARIS 1 PANTHÉON-SORBONNE
CENTRE DE RECHERCHE HiCSA
(Histoire culturelle et sociale de l'art - EA 4100)

DISCUSSING HERITAGE AND MUSEUMS: CROSSING PATHS OF FRANCE AND SERBIA

Choice of Articles from the Summer School of Museology Proceedings
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Paris
2017

Electronic reference

Dominique Poulot and Isidora Stanković (Eds.), *Discussing Heritage and Museums: Crossing Paths of France and Serbia*, Choice of Articles from the Summer School of Museology Proceedings, Paris, Website of HiCSA, online October 2017.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dominique Poulot - Isidora Stanko , Introduction	2
Dominique Poulot , The French Museology	7
Milan Popadić , From Study Subject to Knowledge: Museology as a Course at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade	31
Miloš Stanković , Serbian Church Art and Cultural Memory in the 19 th Century: Russian Influence	49
Ksenia Smolović , French Perception of Serbia at the 1900 World Fair: A Support to the Serbian National Construction	66
Isidora Stanković , Heritagization of the Marais District in Paris: Actors and Challenges	80
Ina Belcheva , “Sculptural Graveyards”: Park-Museums of Socialist Monuments as a Search for Consensus	100
Arnaud Bertinet , Museums Facing the Dangers and Catastrophes That Threaten the Preservation of Collections: The Louvre in Toulouse	119
Angelina Banković , Cultural Policy and Formation of the Museum Network in Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia. Example of Belgrade	130
Andrea Delaplace , The Heritage of Immigration: Rethinking the Museum’s Role as a Mediator in Identity Building	147
Nikola Krstović , Postmodern Choreographing of the Past – Open-Air Museums “Dancing” with Communities	171
Milena Jokanović , Memory on the Cabinets of Wonders in Modern and Contemporary Art	194
Adriana Popović , An Outlook on Museology Through a Practice of Clay Modelling Inherited from a Personal Cross History: Beyond a Micro Resistance to Violation of Imagination	211

INTRODUCTION

Due to perceived similarities between two “schools” of heritage studies and museology, originated mainly from the influence of the French theoretical approach in these fields on the research within the Seminar of Museology and Heritology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, *Summer School of Museology and Heritage Studies* was organized in July 2016 for Ph.D students of the *Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University* and of the *Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade* in Serbia. The project was supported by Collège des ED and ED 441 Histoire de l’Art of the Paris 1 University, Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, Open air Museum “Old Village” in Sirigojno, Serbia, where the school took part, as well as the Department of Art History and Center for Museology and Heritology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

The principal aim of the school was to provide a framework for Ph.D students of the two universities to present their research to their international colleagues and professors, as well as to benefit from their comments about how to improve the work on their thesis. The school was followed by a conference at the University of Belgrade, about the crossing points of Serbian and French heritage, cultural memory and museology studies. Furthermore, all the participants and professors had an opportunity to visit several Serbian museums (Open air Museum “Old Village” in Sirogojno and several museums in Belgrade – Belgrade City Museum, Museum of Yugoslav History and Ethnographic Museum). On this occasion they could learn as well about these institutions’ missions, programs and the challenges they are confronted to.

The school itself took part in the Open air Museum “Old Village” in Sirogojno from the 6th to 8th of July 2016, with the participation of a professor Dominique Poulot and an assistant professor Arnaud Bertinet from the Paris 1 University, as well as an associate professor Milan Popadić from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade and Nikola Krstović, former curator of the “Old Village” Museum and a research associate of the Center for Museology and Heritology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. As far as the Ph.D students are concerned, eleven of them participated in the school and presented their thesis.

All the participants wrote articles on their research gathered in the Summer School of Museology and Heritage Studies Proceedings *Discussing Heritage*

and Museums, *Crossing Paths of France and Serbia*, edited by Nikola Krstović and Isidora Stanković (former research associate at the Paris 1 University, and a Ph.D candidate at this University and the University of Belgrade), who organized the school alongside with professors Poulot and Popadić. The Proceedings were published in Serbia in 2016, by the Open air Museum “Old Village”.

This e-publication represents a choice of the articles published within the Proceedings, made with an aim to represent the variety of theoretical approaches and research topics of these two heritage studies and museology schools. Thus, the publication starts with the articles on the French museology, by professor Poulot and on the teaching of the museology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, by professor Popadić.

Dominique Poulot, *The French Museology* – Following the foundation and development of several research centers, university courses and scientific journals, this paper traces back the history of the French museology. Thus, the importance of the *École de Louvre* for the curators’ education is pointed out, as well as Rivière’s classes at the Sorbonne, for the general development of museum studies. Furthermore, the establishment of several new Parisian museums and the intellectual debate created on that occasion is described as well. The second part, on the other hand, is dedicated to different research centers and journals about museology, while the last part questions the impact of the French museology in the international sphere today.

Milan Popadić, *From Study Subject to Knowledge: Museology as a Course at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade* – The paper traces back the development of museology at the University of Belgrade, from the study of museological object and organization of the museum in the first phase, through expanding the subject on cultural heritage in the second, to the third one in which museology is related to understanding the way of creating heritage. Furthermore, the author explains the particularities of the museology developed at the Universities of Belgrade and Zagreb.

After these presentations of the Serbian and French museology, other articles are divided into three general themes, in order to make the structure of the publication more clear. The first group of articles analyzes the ways cultural memory is “organized” through heritage – thus, this part of the publication is dedicated to various ways and actors involved into transmission of the cultural memory.

Miloš Stanković, *Serbian Church Art and Cultural Memory in the 19th Century: Russian Influence* – The influence of Russia on the Serbian visual culture and cultural memory, after the liberation from the Ottoman rule, is presented in this paper. The author examines the aforementioned influence through the church art, particularly on the example of two Serbian churches built at the end of the 19th and in beginning of the 20th century – Orthodox Cathedral of Saint Basil of Ostrog in Nikšić and the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity in Adrovac in Serbia.

Ksenia Smolović, *French Perception of Serbia at the 1900 World Fair: A support to the Serbian National Construction* – Following the articles and books published on the occasion of the 1900 World Fair in Paris, as well as the descriptions of the Serbian pavilion, this article analyzes the French perception of Serbia and the political and cultural discourse behind them that reveal the support to the Serbian national construction, all by comparing it to the comments on the pavilions of other Balkan countries. Furthermore, author traces back the establishment of exhibition, she describes its main parts, as well as the content and appearance of the Serbian pavilion.

Isidora Stanković, *Heritagization of the Marais District in Paris: Actors and Challenges* – After a brief description of the important phases of this district's history, particularly the ones that affected its current appearance, this paper analyzes the actors involved into the heritagization of the Marais district in Paris, alongside with the heritages they are thus creating. Therefore, associations established with the aim to influence the preservation and awareness raising about the district, legislation that affected its protection, programs of various cultural institutions in the Marais related to the district, as well as the ways in which the communities or individuals are using this district as an important part of their identity, are analyzed.

Ina Belcheva, *“Sculptural Graveyards”: Park-Museums of Socialist Monuments as a Search for Consensus* – The paper of Ina Belcheva shows us a new practice of the “sculptural graveyards” which occurred to sculptures related to the Communist regimes in Eastern-European countries after the fall of the mentioned regimes. In her analysis of the particular denomination, Belcheva points out the memorial character of the enterprise, as well as in this case, that of oblivion, all through the examples of *Grūtas Park* in Lithuania, *Memento Park* in Budapest, *Park of Arts* in Moscow and the *Museum of Socialist Art* in Sofia.

The second group of papers is related to work of different museums, either through programs they organize, challenges they are imposed to, or the policies that are affecting their missions and decisions.

Arnaud Bertinet, *Museums Facing the Dangers and Catastrophes that Threaten the Preservation of Collections: The Louvre in Toulouse* – By examining the decision-making processes and practical details of the operation of the Louvre's evacuation during the First World War, this paper contributes to the political history of heritage and ideological history of taste. The author thus explains the reasons for a choice of some of the paintings and their position in the evacuation trailers, following the history of taste, and he traces back the history of the whole operation of evacuation.

Angelina Banković, *Cultural Policy and Formation of the Museum Network in Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Example of Belgrade* – The development of the cultural policy in the People's Republic of Serbia is presented in this paper, especially through the museums' establishment and forming of the museum network. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia had the most important role in it. Author points out the increase of the number of Serbian museums and traces back their founding. Through her paper, we could learn about some of the main points of the theories of museology and cultural memory developed particularly in the Eastern Europe and in the Balkans.

Andrea Delaplace, *The Heritage of Immigration: Rethinking the Museum's Role as a Mediator in Identity Building* – Through analyzing two museums of immigration, their establishment, missions (scientific projects) and collections – the ones in São Paulo and in Paris, Andrea Delaplace questions some of the central preoccupations imposed to these types of museums. These are: the role of the (immigrant) audience and the relations with them in the case of the São Paulo's museum, or the lack of them, in the French case, as well as the position these museums have in the national discourses of the States in which they are created.

Nikola Krstović, *Postmodern Choreographing of the Past – Open-air Museums Dancing with Communities* – This paper analyzes the mission and social and cultural position of the open-air museums, particularly through the program "Heritage (in a) Supermarket" realized in the Open air Museum "Old Village" in Sirogojno, Serbia. In the first part of the paper author examines the concepts and development of open-air and ecomuseums, emphasizing the community mobilization within them. In the second part, the case study of living history

program organized in the “Old Village” Museum is described, alongside with implications it had on the engagement of visitors and the discussions appeared between them and curators.

The third group of papers analyzes the relation between heritage, memory and museology, on one hand, and the World of Art, on the other. Thus, the use of the cabinets of wonders model in the Contemporary and Modern Art is examined, as well as the influence of heritage, museums and Art History on the creation of an artist.

Milena Jokanović, *Memory on the Cabinets of Wonders in Modern and Contemporary Art* – This paper examines the way in which the motive and aesthetics of the cabinets of wonders are used in Modern and Contemporary art. Thus, the position of this phenomenon in the theory of art and museology in the 20th century is analyzed, with the special part dedicated to a Venice Biennale that used a theme of the cabinet of wonders. Furthermore, the second part is dedicated to various uses of this model by modern (especially Surrealists) and contemporary artists, doing it with an aim to question the norms of Art History, as well as different value systems.

Adriana Popović, *An Outlook on Museology through a Practice of Clay Modeling Inherited from a Personal Cross History: Beyond a Micro Resistance to Violation of Imagination* – By explaining the creative process of creating her sculptures, the author underlines in her paper some of the preoccupations she had that could be linked either to heritage studies, museology or to Art History. Thus, she explains the personal heritages that influenced her creation. Furthermore, the technical and intellectual phases of her creating process are analyzed as well, namely – passing along the heritage of the clay modeling, and understanding her position in the arts today, especially regarding the politics of museums and art.

We would like to thank once again to all the authors for their excellent papers and their willingness to contribute to this joint (and creative) discussion between the French and Serbian “school” of heritage studies and museology.

Dominique Poulot
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THE FRENCH MUSEOLOGY

DOMINIQUE POULOT

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Biography:

Dominique Poulot is a Professor of Art History and Heritage Studies at Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University. His research focuses on history and politics of heritage and museums. He is a member of several Scientific committees of French Museums (Louvre, Musée du Quai Branly, Musée des Arts et Métiers), as well as of the National Scientific Commission of Collections of the Ministry of Culture.

He has published several books on heritage and memory, notably *Museum, Nation, Heritage* (*Musée, Nation, Patrimoine*, Gallimard, 1997), *A History of French Museums* (*Une histoire des musées de France*, La Découverte, 2005), and *The Art of Loving the Objects* *L'art d'aimer les objets*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval and Paris, Herman, 2016). He has published widely in journals and edited collections, including Pierre Nora's *The Realms of Memory* (Chicago University Press), *National Museums and Nation-building in Europe 1750-2010* (Routledge), *Period-rooms* (Bononiae University Press). He was a partner on EUNAMUS, in the framework of the Seventh Framework Program 2007-2013 on *National Museums in Europe 1750-2012*, and on the program *Borders of Heritage* at the EHESS, 2011-2014.

Some of his most relevant publications are *Museums and Museology* (*Musées et Muséologie*, La Découverte: Paris) translated in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Korean and *A History of Heritage in the West* (*Une histoire du patrimoine en Occident*, PUF, 2006, Brazilian translation).

Summary:

The French Museology

This paper is dedicated to the French research in the field of museology, and it points out different scholar institutions, research centers and journals that influenced its development. The first part of the paper traces chronologically back different phases of museology in the French society during the last decades. Some of the main points are: the foundation of the School of Louvre that influenced the education of curators and the subsequent changes of this institution, the influence of different governments on the governance and ambition of museums, as well as foundation and renovation of several important museums. Furthermore, the

Rivière's classes at the Sorbonne and the influence of the French philosophical and historical reflection on the museum studies are pointed out, as well as the adoption of museology by French universities, the internationalization of several academic programs and the debates about museology promoted by some research departments inside or outside the Heritage national administrations. The second part of the paper is related to the intellectual debates in relation to grand presidential museum projects from the creation of the Beaubourg up to the Grand Louvre and Quai Branly Museum. Furthermore, research centres established particularly in Paris, but in other French cities are mentioned as well, alongside with journals of museology published by museums, research centres or cultural institutions, cultural journals that published articles about museums. Finally, the last part of the article is related to today's status, as well as limits of French museology.

Résumé:

Muséologie française

Cet article est consacré à un tableau de la recherche française dans le domaine de muséologie. Il met l'accent sur les institutions académiques, sur les centres de recherche et sur les revues les plus notoires. La première partie évoque les différentes étapes de la reconnaissance de la muséologie dans la société française au cours des dernières décennies. On y met en évidence le poids de l'Ecole du Louvre dans la formation des conservateurs et par conséquent sur la gestion et les ambitions des musées, comme l'importance de la fondation par l'Etat de nouveaux musées parisiens. On y rappelle l'influence des cours de G.-H. Rivière à la Sorbonne sur les études muséales, et, au-delà, les voies multiples de la reconnaissance de la muséologie dans les universités françaises, les programmes académiques et les départements de recherche de l'Administration du patrimoine. La deuxième partie de l'article s'intéresse d'abord aux débats intellectuels sur les grands projets présidentiels – de Beaubourg au Grand Louvre et au musée du Quai Branly. L'auteur passe ensuite en revue les centres de recherche fondés à Paris et en province, ainsi que les revues muséologiques publiées par des musées, des centres de recherche ou des institutions culturelles. La dernière partie de l'article est consacrée au statut actuel de la muséologie française, et francophone, ainsi qu'à sa portée internationale.

THE FRENCH MUSEOLOGY

French theoretical approach in museology is deeply rooted in history: writers, curators, intellectuals, administrators have been particularly influential for its development. The origin of the term “museology”, as we know it, can be traced back to the 18th century, and its evolution is closely intertwined with different stages of the public museums’ history, especially with their Revolutionary and Republican foundations. French historiography of collections had started with the beginnings of the “scholarly” Art History in the first half of the 19th century and experienced a remarkable scientific development later on with the works of Edmond Bonnaffé (*Collectors of the old France: notes of an amateur, 1873*). The series of upheavals brought by the French Revolution and Napoleon’s Empire, the mark of vandalism, as well as reactions that these events provoked, particularly the debates regarding the legitimacy (or illegitimacy) of Republican museums, which stirred up political confrontations and conflicts over memory during the 19th and the 20th century, have left their mark on the French heritage (*patrimoine*). French historiography embodies this turbulent history.

The development of a French tradition in museum studies is subsequently linked to the early 20th century, and the works of writers, aesthetes and historians, but famous practitioners as well, revisited upon commemorations and celebrations (Quatremère de Quincy, Victor Hugo, Montalembert, Viollet-le-Duc, Maurice Barrès, Frédéric Mistral...). Various cultural movements fuelled these polemics, and thus, pervaded the patrimonial field – as Surrealism or Communism in the interwar period and Counterculture in the 1960s. The term “*patrimoine*” appeared approximately with André Malraux’s Ministry of Cultural Affairs, but came into common use with the following generation, during the “*Patrimoine* years” (1980-2000). The notion coincided with the new institutional terms and conditions, such as the foundation of the Beaubourg Center, but intellectual ones as well – the emergence of the “new museology” and the impact of the “French Theory” identified through several major authors within the social sciences and humanities. Thus, reflection upon museums fits into an intellectual context marked by the persistence of a generalist *intellectuals’* figure, and by the influence of journals. In fact, *Les Temps Modernes*, *Le Débat*, *Traverses*, *Art Press*, *Commentaire*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Médiologie*, *Hermès*, etc. often commented the “grand works” of the Fifth Republic presidents, but went beyond the circumstantial nature of the enterprise, and deepened their analysis, frequently used in books and scholarly articles.

However, museology has become a constitutive element of academic knowledge and a component of teaching and researching disciplines. In that

sense, it largely took part in the interests *Heritage movement* provoked within the social sciences and humanities – as well as in the professional circles. During the last decades of the 20th century, French museological reflections gained a unique place within the history of ideas. Thus, the conceptions of museum, its use, study and management, have been discussed among French curators and academics. The results of their collaborative thinking sometimes sparked international interest, depending more or less on the origin of the institution and on its context. Nevertheless, museology stayed in the sidelines of *Heritage* or *Museum studies*, originating from the academic English-speaking world, and consequently, globalized. Lastly, the main issue to be addressed is, how French museology can fit within the national model based on the completion of a Ph.D and scientific research, which keeps museum curators away from international academic practices.

This chapter will firstly present, in the form of a chronological synthesis, different stages of history of museology in the French society. Afterwards, it will look over different places and means of development and distribution of museological research, namely, institutions, laboratories and scientific publications, or popular scientific journals which disseminate museological reflections. Consequently, the successive configurations of the discipline, in its diverse institutional and scholar's writings will be outlined.

Museology in the French Cultural History during the Last Decades

When it comes to museology, France represents one of the most important countries. It was defined as such at the crossroads of different intellectual influences, but as well within the specific context of the museums of France, marked by the impact the Nation-state had on the definition of the institutions' status, their collections and curators. A review of the historical situation of museology requires, consequently, considering museums' life as a whole, and onwards, the more general debates about the notion of heritage (*patri-moine*) which characterized the subsequent periods.

The foundation of the School of Louvre (*École du Louvre*) dates back to 1882, namely to Gambetta's government: it was intended to be a "school for the museum management" with the aim to form curators, but also the "‘*école pratique*' of Archaeology and Art History" whose objective was to "to place a practical, alongside with the theoretical and speculative, education about Archaeology and Art History, based on the positive knowledge and which could emerge from the study and understanding of the monuments preserved in national collections". This idea of a "‘*école pratique*'" was taken from the

German model of universities, and was considered as a mean to reform the old French universities, which were mostly devoted to teaching History and Art History to “amateurs”. Louis de Ronchaud (1816-1887), the founder, and afterwards the director of the school, suggested the following: “education will give birth to conservation, as conservation was born from collection”¹. In 1927, teaching of museography, entrusted to Gaston Brière, has started and included “history of collections and of museums of Modern art”, organization of museums, the role of their personnel, maintenance, restoration and protection of collections, construction of the new buildings, social and educational factors... The term “museology” appeared in programs in 1949: lecturing about museology was initiated by Germain Bazin, an assistant at the time, and successor of René Huyghe (in 1951) as the head of the Louvre’s Department of Paintings. Germain Bazin was interested in museology as a curator eager to reproduce the context of works, but as an Art Historian as well, attached to the history of his discipline – alongside with *History of Museums*, he gave courses in *History of Art History*.

The creation of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs (*Ministère des Affaires culturelles*), announced in the *Journal officiel* of the 4th of February 1959, had to be, according to André Malraux, an important institutional turning point for French museums. His observations about museums are famous: “Our civilization is the first one to perceive a universal Humanism, and to attempt to establish the universal notion of man. Not, as the Greeks had done it, through creation of heroic or divine models, but through research of the most profound element of the civilizations that succeeded. And I believe that the museum is one of the places around which this notion is created”. However, museums were not a priority for Administration. This paradox is emphasized by Jacques Sallois, in charge of French Museums during the 1980’s: “Quite unexpectedly, Malraux, the author of the *Imaginary Museum*, is more passionate about the houses of culture and of living theatre than about museums, whose works, on the other hand, fascinate him”. The new ministry took over, in general, the forms of previous services and its resources remained limited. One of its civil servants and historian of the Ministry, Christian Pattyn, emphasizes that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was “established on the minimal basis: many honours, little resources”. Thus, the Ministry was highly fragile. In 1965, only 0,38% of the national budget corresponded to the budget of the Ministry of the Cultural Affairs. In 1972, this amount rose to 0,46% of the budget.

Nevertheless, the new administrative status of national museum curators dates back to 1963 and establishes their recruitment at the level of the

1 Quoted by Philippe Durey, “Ecole du Louvre,” in *Histoire du Louvre*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Guillaume Fonkenell, tome III (Paris: Fayard, 2016), 142.

bachelor's degree, followed by a period of internship of eighteen months in museums. This was a new frame of reference for the intellectual formation. However, the number of public employees remained limited, as French historian Loïc Vadelorge remarked: "Until 1964, the museums of France have only 131 official 'curators' with different statuses (...) numbers raised on 169 curators in 1969 (...) however without exceeding 200 members before 1983". But during the 1960s, French museology is certainly one of the most influential in the world, supported essentially by the education issued from the School of Louvre (École du Louvre), and by the book by Germain Bazin, who is the fruit of this school. As Hans Huth wrote in 1968, "the Ecole du Louvre (is) the only school offering an all-round curriculum for the education of students in the field of museology"².

Another characteristic is that France, or rather some of its curators, had numerous responsibilities within the direction of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), and particularly in its sections related to the museum's theory, or "museology", as G. H. Rivière called it³. In ICOM, an organization located in Paris, French presence was well-known. Let us remember, as Sluga notes, that of the 557 posts available in the UNESCO's secretariat in 1947, 514 were held by either English or French nationals⁴. In other words, this decade represents the golden age of the "École du Louvre" in French museology, based mainly on a traditional historical knowledge regarding national collections and on education about different museographical techniques, both of them related to a specific professional tradition. The price of it is a marginality of the discipline in the general framework of academic education and research.

During the next decade, administrative organization of the Union of National Museums (*Réunion des Musées nationaux*) improves particularly with the foundation of the Department for exhibitions. Reconstruction and foundation of several museums continued in the context of the "strong involvement of the President Georges Pompidou", even if, after 1974, the budget of the Ministry decreased again with president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (Jean-Luc Bodiguel).

2 Hans Huth, "The Museum Age," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Sep., 1968): 293-295.

3 Georges-Henri Rivière, "Musée et société, à travers le temps et l'espace," in *La muséologie. Selon Georges Henri Rivière*, ed. Association des amis de Georges Henri Rivière, Jean-François Barbier-Bouvet and Hélène Weis (Paris: Dunod, 1989), 51 sq. This book was completed with personal notes from students of the Rivière's lectures, and with previously published material. French museology of these decades was often only elaborated and transmitted on an oral basis, such as the lectures on museology at the School of Louvre by Michel Colardelle and by other professional curators.

4 Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 106.

In the framework of decentralization, consideration given to the local level in the cultural administration was growing and in 1977, the Regional Offices of the Cultural Affairs were created (*Directions régionales des Affaires culturelles*).

The most remarkable achievement of this period is with no doubt the creation of the National Center of Art and Culture in Beaubourg quarter, in Paris. Conceived in 1969, the Center was inaugurated in 1976, managed by Pontus Hulten who has been called in 1973 from the *Modern Museet of Stockholm*. Defined by the architects Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers as an information and entertainment center, with initially a slight reminiscence to Times Square, the Center offered an important new tool for curators. Its priorities were the support of living French artists, constitution of contemporary artistic heritage, in order to surpass the delay with important foreign institutions, and finally, democratization through a set of innovations, sometimes copied from theatres and festivals (subscriptions, different loyalty plans, diversification of audiences). Cultural project of the Center – its multidisciplinary nature, its accessibility to the public and its priority given to the Contemporary art – influenced the museums in France and even abroad: we are talking about a “post-Pompidou age”.

With Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, the framework legislation related to museums, established the 11th of July 1978 for a period of five years, tended to reconcile the imperatives of museums’ valorization, conservation of heritage, rationalization and profitability of cultural and artistic activities. The decision to found a museum of the 19th century in the premises of Orsay railway station (1977) and the City of Sciences (*Cité des Sciences*) at the Villette, was taken⁵. The projects of these new cultural institutions, with regard to their size and complexity, led the French administration to give them certain autonomy and to define a particular status for them within the cultural administration, as it has already been the case with the Beaubourg Center in 1974.

In the terms of museology, this decade corresponds to the period of George-Henry Rivière’s classes at Sorbonne, from 1970 to 1982. This period is marked by new propositions, stemmed from the intellectual and institutional changes that occurred in May 1968. On one hand, the foundation of the Beaubourg Center inaugurated a new era for the notion of multidisciplinary exhibition. Articles and works related to the Center established a new way of thinking (but also a strong criticism) which led to intellectual debate, significant both

5 In May 1937, as part of the International Exhibition in Paris, the Palace of Discovery was opened and on March 13, 1986 the Cité des Sciences et de l’Industrie, in the Parc de la Villette. In 2009, the Cité des Sciences et de l’Industrie and the Palace of Discovery are grouped in a common institution, Universcience. The double anniversary of 30 and 80 years provides an opportunity for a conference in 2016 about the museology of science (*La muséologie scientifique, toute une histoire*, Palais de la Découverte, november 2016).

nationally and internationally. On the other hand, spreading the ATP (*Musée des arts et traditions populaires*) model through reinvented regional museums all over provincial France, made Rivière's museology an essential element of the new museal landscape. The invention of the ecomuseum and its first successes, and finally, the international echo of these experiences, led to strong French influence in the so-called "new museology"⁶. On a strictly intellectual level, the success, firstly, related to the sociology of the museum's public owed to Pierre Bourdieu, secondly to Michel Foucault's writings on the museums as heterotopias and on the relations between power and knowledge, and finally, to Jean Baudrillard comments on "Beaubourg effect" (1977), had started to influence the critical research of museology in the world. Moreover, this period of French museology could be qualified, in the more general sense, as the Beaubourg's age, due to what extent museological and philosophical questions seem to have been bound to this institution, at the time, to its activities and to the reactions it provoked among the French intelligence.

The influence of the French philosophical reflection – the "French Theory", is, indeed, important in the field of museum studies. Furthermore, it seems to have been even crucial for some contemporary authors. Radical critique of what Laurajane Smith calls "the authorized discourse" in the contemporary movement of the Critical Heritage Studies resembles to the critique by French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser of the "Ideological State Apparatuses", named AIE, in the 1970's. Furthermore, Tony Bennett conceives the concept of what he calls "the Exhibitionary Complex" influenced by Michel Foucault's books on knowledge and power, and he elaborates his own sociology of culture from Pierre Bourdieu's sociology. The work of Jacques Derrida inspires also some studies all over the world, led by archivists and curators about their institutional practice's concerns.

During the years 1980-2000, an unprecedented growth of the number and quality of museums in France has occurred, which was marked by a new generation of grand presidential projects (Orsay, Grand Louvre, Museum of Natural History, City of Sciences), and by the increase of regional projects, due to the multiplication of investments within the Ministry of Culture. Election of François Mitterrand in 1981, led in fact, with Jack Lang, into a new era of the cultural action of the state: the missions of the Ministry of Culture were

6 André Desvallées, a student and a friend of Georges-Henri Rivière, thought that the true "écomusée" was forgotten in the new institutions of the 1980's onwards. He tried to maintain the ideal type of the new museology in papers and conferences: see "L'esprit et la lettre de l'écomusée," *Ecomusées en France, Actes des Premières Rencontres nationales des Ecomusées* (L'Isled'Abeau, 1987).

redefined in the decree from the 10th of March 1982⁷. The accent was, firstly, put on the contemporary creation with the National Foundation for Contemporary Art (FNAC) and Regional Foundations for Contemporary Art (FRAC), which were not actual museums, but in charge to buy and to collect contemporary art in the different regions of the country⁸. Artistic centers were developed and supported by the State, and the Ministry paid particular attention to the public and cultural practices. The budget for the culture was nearly doubled, passing from 0,50% of the national budget in 1980 to 0,93% in 1986. Another important political decision was decentralization of the State's services, which changed the framework in which the relations between the territorial collectivities and the State were taking place. In 1991, the Ministry gave an overview of its interventions: "The years 1981-1991 were marked by the opening of four national museums: the Orangery Museum of Tuileries, in 1983, the Picasso Museum in the old Hôtel Salé, in 1985, the Orsay Museum, in 1986, the Pyramid of Louvre and its new reception spaces, in 1989. (...) In ten years, the State provided financial support for more than 258 construction sites"⁹. However, the rules imagined in 1945, which supposedly had to organize the administration of the French museums for a short period of time, were not reformed.

The opening of the *Auditorium* of the Louvre Museum and the development of an ambitious scientific and cultural program made the museological reflections about the actuality of museums (a so-called *Musée-musées* program of lectures and conferences set up from April 1989¹⁰) and about their history, available to a Parisian public. Jacques Sallois, general director of the museums of France at the time, created an official committee to study the history of museums, which was never officially set up. The commemorative context of these days, with the celebration of the bicentenary of the French Revolution, added a lot of new thinking about the historical consciousness. Pierre Nora renewed, with the idea of "realms of memory", research methods within the new history, by taking Maurice Halbwachs as a model and his notion of the topography of remembrance, through which he wanted to think about heritage throughout an extended analysis of the collective memory. Historians and art

7 Catherine Ballé, "Les nouveaux musées, une incidence institutionnelle de l'évolution culturelle," *Brises*, n° 12, (1987): 13-16.

8 Philippe Urfalino and Catherine Vilkas, *Les Fonds régionaux d'art contemporain. La délégation du jugement esthétique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995), 4-5.

9 "Les musées français en 1988 : nature des collections et fréquentation," *Développement culturel*, n° 90, supplément à la Lettre d'information, 300, Ministère de la Culture (mars 1991): 11.

10 Mathilde Bellaigue, "Musée-Musées. Une tribune internationale à l'Auditorium du Louvre," *Museum international*, Volume 46, 1 (January/December 1994): 60-62.

historians, as well, could not have claimed a naïve heritagization anymore: a distance, probably new, marked a new relation of any historian with museums, even if he or she still contributed, inevitably, to create them, to enrich them, if not to legitimate them. If the French case did not have anything exceptional for the critical analysis of the memorial institutions that reach the common intelligence, some of its initiatives occupied the central place.

Between 1990 and 2000, the expansion of museums continues, particularly due to the project of the *Grand Louvre* entrusted to Ieoh Ming Pei. The Direction of the museums of France (*Direction des Musées de France*) and the local communities enrol as well in several renovations in the provinces, in Lyon, in Lille, in Strasbourg, in Carré d'Art in Nîmes. However, this sequence is marked by a return to order that could be perceived through the vicissitudes of the display of art in Orsay and the Grand Louvre: if the lessons from Beaubourg bear their fruit in the terms of pluridisciplinarity and visitor policies, some classical choices were finally taken in relation to museography, as an outcome of, sometimes, very vivid, debates. The dispute between the new, historical, contextualization of works of art and the traditions of Art History was concluded in the Orsay museum with the defeat of the propositions for the renewal. Simultaneously, National Museums experienced aggressive commercial politics, which turned up to be adventurous, based on the promotion of “derived products”: the French expertise in the domain of profitability of museums and exhibitions was exported to other countries, like Italy. Quite paradoxically, if we consider that a socialist politician, François Mitterrand, had two presidential mandates in France and that the intellectuals related to his party were carriers of the “new heritage” and of “museums of society”, the traditional museology and the managerial model, triumphed in the public sphere and in the professional education.

This development came along with a series of decisive transformations regarding the “National School of Heritage” (*École nationale du patrimoine*) in 1990, that became in 2006 a “National Institute of Heritage” (*Institut national du patrimoine*). Changes can also be observed in the “École du Louvre” that became more and more similar to a specialized school of the Ministry of Culture. With the reforms of 1994 – a mandatory admission test was set up for the 1st year students. Four years later, the School was renovated with new auditoriums, and a building much more satisfactory than the ones of Parisian universities, situated in the Louvre’s wing of Flore. Most importantly, the School became an independent public institution. Simultaneously, and for the first time, studies of museology were introduced in numerous universities for different diplomas: Art History, information and communication sciences,

mediation or cultural management... Due to the growing number of students it was possible, for the first time also, to publish textbooks about museology¹¹.

Finally, the research in museology was made available to the scientific community of social sciences and humanities by the appearance of two journals. *Publics et Musées* was published by Lyon University Press between 1992 and 2002 and financed by the “Department of the public” of the Museums of France. The second one was the first version of the *Lettre de l’Ocim*, published in Dijon (1988-2003) and related to the museums belonging to the Ministry of National Education, not of Culture. The journal was designed to diffuse among the curators of these institutions the results of the inquiries related to the academic museology. This geography of the journals on French museology, curiously provincial according to the norms of academic and cultural centralization, testifies in many respects about the marginal nature of the studies of museology in the universities, in comparison to the School of Louvre and the National Institute of Heritage. French museology was, therefore, characterized during this period by the “Louvre effect”, a triumph of the museum and of the school with the same name that managed to impose their choices as the legitimate ones, with the expertise of some innovative curators, and of museologists who were the newcomers on the academic scene.

The first decade of the 21st century inherited the previous transformations, but a new law on museums in 2002 changed their administrative situation, which had remained untouched since 1945. The law established, in the first place, a “Museum of France” label, to harmonize the status of the museums recognized by the State, with respect to their specificities. For the first time, and following the definition of ICOM and the examples of international policies in that matter, the law applied to all museums recognized by the State. Regardless to the administrative supervision, a Council of the Museums of France (*Haut Conseil des musées de France*) had to represent all different types of institutions. Protection of collections was an essential element: their inalienability was conceived as a part of the public property in a very constraining way, while the preliminary discussions rather planned to rely on the de-accessioning model, typical of Northern-American museums.

Finally, the law fitted into a logic of decentralization, organizing the transfer of the property of the so-called “dépôts” of the State made before 1910 to local authorities, namely, several tens of thousands of works of art. This was considered the beginning of numerous reorganizations desired as part of inter-communal cooperation that authorized, for example, cession of a museum (or

11 Dominique Poulot, *Musée et muséologie* (Paris: La Découverte, collection «Repères», 2005) 122 p, 2^e éd. 2009 is now translated in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Korean.

of its parts) between the public entities. The reorganization of the museums' landscape was made according to three basic conditions, related to the status of the museum, the existence of an inventory of the collection, and the definition of a Scientific and Cultural Project. Validation, or not, of such a project, proposed by each museum, remained a tool of effective intervention of the Direction of the Museums of France. It is exactly on that level that the museological competence of the curator was considered important.

Having this in mind, the development of museology responded to an increasing professional demand, because this Scientific and Cultural Projects, actual briefings of the museums, allowed the acquisition of financial aids. Curators were encouraged to think about the meaning of the exhibited collection, but equally about the relation of museums with their environment, all in order to fight against the criticism regarding the "proliferation of museums" considered too stereotyped (namely, according to the phrase of the Inspector of the Museums Edouard Pommier¹²). In relation to the perspective, already outlined after the Liberation by Georges Salles, once Director of the Museums, the question was to rely on specificity, as a proof of originality and a factor of attractiveness.

French Universities adopted museology as a discipline, from that moment on, since the subject started to appear in the educational program as mandatory, to the extent that the bachelor's degree of Art History, in particular, could not be obtained without an initiation in the theme. The subjects related to the research master's degree usually focused on the monographs of museums, on the history of collections, which is also the case of dissertations written at universities and in erudite programs such as the *École de Chartes*. Simultaneously, visiting and study practices represented the new preoccupations of museum studies, and even a new subject for Cultural and Literary History¹³. Set of phenomena related to the appropriation of museums received a new significant attention from the social sciences – Geography and tourism studies included¹⁴.

12 Edouard Pommier, "Prolifération du muse," *Le débat* n° 65 (mai-août 1991): 147 sq. launched a dispute and the curators of ethnological museums, such as Musée Dauphinois, protested against the contempt of their collections and politics. About the situation of museums of ethnology and heritage see Dominique Poulot, "Intangible Heritage in France. Between Museographical Renewal and 'Project Territory,'" *Ethnologies* 36 (1-2) (2016).

13 Jean Galard, *Visiteurs du Louvre un florilège* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993).

14 See: "Patrimoines. Enjeux contemporains de la recherche", *Culture et Recherche* n° 133 (été 2016), accessed December 8, 2016, <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Politiques-ministerielles/Recherche-Enseignement-superieur-Technologie/La-revue-Culture-et-Recherche/PATRIMOINES.-Enjeux-contemporains-de-la-recherche> for a up-to-date survey of the activities of French social sciences about heritage and museums today.

Finally, the comparative analysis of museums' mechanisms, exhibitions and theme parks have all become the new scholarly themes.

Numerous challenges related to the institutional division of disciplines influenced museology. The School of Louvre has been increasingly assimilated into an institution of higher education, in accordance with Bologna's regulations, since it has adapted, in 2002, its education system to fit the European academic framework, known as LMD (licence, master, doctorat). The National Institute of Heritage remains a unique institution in the European, or even more so, global, landscape related to the training of museum curators (but without teaching museology precisely). Museology is taught everywhere in France at the level of master only – which is the level accessed, from 2006, at the School of Louvre, by the quarter of 1500 students. One of the most remarkable traits of its evolution is its multidisciplinary nature, which responds to the growing diversity of types of museums and of collections, but also to diversity of challenges that these institutions encounter (social, anthropological, economic, technical...).

The intellectual models of French museology experienced, during the last decades, an internationalization into several stages. The museological team gathered around Jean Davallon at the University of Avignon created a specific international Ph.D in collaboration with the University of Quebec in Montreal (UQAM). This association produced numerous Ph.D thesis related to the topics of museum studies and articles that were, nearly exclusively, published in *Culture et Musées*. In spite of incontestable success, the team from Avignon was not able to be recognized beyond a small circle of specialists, distant from the biggest universities and institutions of professional education. The museological education of the National Museum of Natural History (*Muséum national d'histoire naturelle*) suffers from the same troubles, while having hardly produced, on the contrary, numerous dissertations.

In the field of museums, after Beaubourg and the Grand Louvre, it is the Museum of Quai Branly (MQB) that introduced to our community almost exclusively English-speaking museology and anthropology, by the choice of, in particular, its research department guided by Anne-Christine Taylor. Double tutelage of the Ministry for Higher Education and Research, on one hand, and of Culture, on the other, is certainly an advantage for the MQB, comparable to the former collaboration between CNRS and the museum of ATP (*Musée des arts et traditions populaires*), even if, in the everyday life of the institution and professions this collaboration is not evident. Seminars and symposiums of MQB were particularly related to the actuality and richness of international research crossing anthropology and museology, some of the elements of which could be found within the center started up by Daniel Fabre, between

EHESS and Ministry of Culture: the Laboratory of History and Anthropology of Culture (LAHIC).

This situation falls within, on one hand, the long intellectual history of folklore studies, and, on the other, the particular administrative framework that have promoted during the last generation research and publications on museology and identity, namely, the Mission of ethnological heritage (*Mission du patrimoine ethnologique*). The dialogue with the museologies developed in Quebec is very vivid, on the initiative of the Ministry of Culture, in the search for know-how regarding the inventory of intangible heritage: this proves the richness of the Francophone space in museology.

Research Centers and Specialized Journals on Museology

What interested intellectuals in relation to the French museology was the new museums and the debates they provoked. During the first decade, 1960-1970, museology remained located in the School of Louvre, and the projects of new museums or reconstruction of the old ones did not spark a special interest beyond the narrow circle of specialists, namely, the curators who were directly involved in them, or the managers of the central government.

After launching the Beaubourg Center project under the President Pompidou, all the grand presidential projects were, to the contrary, the object of discussions. The debates were led about their museological choices, in the broadest sense of the term, caught in the political and ideological confrontations. Museum curators could not participate in those discussions because of their obligation of confidentiality that was sometimes clearly formulated by the State, but sometimes from a simple precaution. In any case, it was only under the pseudonym, like “Jean Clair”, that curators could intervene in the public debates in a willingly polemical manner. On the other hand, and these two aspects are surely not coincidental, the debates exceeded largely “museology”, often *de facto* identified with museography, in other words, the discussion about the technical aspects. Indeed, it is in relation to the Beaubourg Center, as a whole, more than regarding this or that program of the National Museum of the Modern Art, which was part of it, that the debate started to appear in the intellectual journals. Interventions of Jean Baudrillard, who became famous by his reflections upon the “system of objects” and the philosophy of collection – therefore, a field that is slightly near the one of museums – were remarkable in this regard. Afterwards, the journal *Traverses*, of the Center of Industrial Creation of Beaubourg (*Centre de Création Industrielle*, or CCI), dedicated issues or articles to the reflection on heritage and museums. Likewise, the CCI published, in 1986, a book under the direction of Jean Davallon dedicated to

the history and semiology of exhibitions: *Claquemurer, pour ainsi dire, tout l'Univers*. The title of the book, imagined by Dominique Poulot, came from a quotation picked from the history of the gardens in the 18th century. With a subtitle, *Exhibiting (mise en exposition)*, the book fitted into the association *Expo-Media* – which was part of the debate about cultural policies, exhibitions, media and the audience.

At the same moment, the analysis of the activities of the Beaubourg Center library's audience (*BPI* or *Bibliothèque public d'information*) by Eliseo Veron, represented an important moment in the forthcoming description of the visitors of exhibitions and museums. The influence of a museology professor from Quebec, Bernard Schiele, in relation to the museology of sciences, or of Daniel Jacobi, who conducted a research at the University in Dijon about the informal education, were also evident. It is between the educational sciences and the ones related to information and communication, and in dialogue with sociology, that Jean Davallon, a former Roland Barthes's and Louis Marin's student, created the Center for research in museum studies in Lyon, Saint-Etienne and finally, Avignon.¹⁵

During 1983-1984, the Direction of Libraries, Museums and Scientific and Technical Information (*Direction des Bibliothèques, des Musées et de l'Information Scientifique et Technique*, DBMIST) within the Ministry in charge of higher education, planned a cooperative technical center in charge of museums related to national education. The Center was named "Office of the Museographic Cooperation and Information" (*Office de Coopération et d'Information Muséographiques*, OCIM). Its goal was "to find a solution to the technical isolation of numerous museums and sections of natural history of the provinces and to support their development through acting, when needed, on three levels – formation, technical assistance and documentation". OCIM, created in January 1985 at the University in Montpellier to be at service of museums in the provinces, was subsequently transferred to the University of Bourgogne in Dijon, in 1988, and published a journal, *La Lettre de l'OCIM*, diffused then in 300 copies. Every two months, all aspects of the life of museums, restoration included, were approached in short articles without references, of the museological field's researchers, written to inform curators and museums' staff. For example, in the number from the summer 2016, an article about women's museums and women's studies was published, which is one of the rare articles on this theme in French journals.

15 Among a lot of students some became professors of media or communication studies, such as Joelle Le Marec, *Le visiteur en représentations: enjeux de l'évaluation préalable en muséologie* (Ph.D diss., Université Jean Monnet-Saint-Etienne, 1996).

The beginning of the 1990s witnessed the creation of a Laboratory of museology at the University of Bourgogne in Dijon. The First International Exhibition of Museographical Techniques (*Salon International des Techniques Muséographiques*, SITEM), was also organized in Dijon, on the initiative of the Museums' Mission (*Mission Musées*) of the Ministry in charge of higher education, with 105 exhibitors and 2000 visitors and with all the types of museums confounded. The fair, today carried by Museum Experts, takes place in Paris in the commercial spaces of the Louvre Carrousel and organizes lectures and colloquia about the new museums or the ones in renovation.

The *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* (*Journal of the Louvre and of the Museums of France*) is a journal of Art History, much more than of museology, as the majority of journals directly related to museums are. Quai Branly Museum publishes its own journal, *Gradhiva*, formerly edited by JM Place, which claims to be a journal of History of Anthropology and its museums, with a close relation to History, if not Art History, or at least visual cultures. A big part of the old *Gradhiva* was dedicated to the history of exhibitions and ethnographical museums, and this tradition was continued in the new version, with an issue about, for example, the exhibition of Catlin's works in nineteenth-century Paris, but also with issues related to difficult pasts approached by museology, etc. Other museums have given up their specific publications, which was the case with the Museum of Engineering and Technology (*Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*) and its journal of history of technical collections. If the *Revue de l'association des conservateurs des musées et des collections publiques* (*Journal of Association of Museum Curators and of Public Collections*) is properly multidisciplinary, it is especially dedicated to the institutional, administrative and professional aspects of the life of museums. *Museum*, firstly published regularly in French, which was not the case afterwards since the journal became Anglophone, alienating without any doubt the French readership, publishes articles whose only a part is related to museology. It is the same with the generalist cultural journals, like *Le Débat*, in particular, which published regularly important articles about museums, just like *Esprit*, more rarely, or the *Revue des deux mondes* and also the journals dedicated to communication studies (*Hermès*, in particular).

The journal *Publics et Musées*, claimed to be “the first scientific Francophone journal of museology”, marks a remarkable change in the landscape of scholarly and scientific journals. *Publics & Musées* claimed to be an interdisciplinary review whose “vocation was to bring to the attention of everyone who was interested in museology – professionals, researchers, consultants and students – the research, studies, experiences, reflections provoked by this ‘entrance’ of the public in the field of museums and museology”. With the rise of cultural

and scientific exhibitions, the audience was from that moment on put into the centre of museological research. This new journal testifies about the influence of the North-American studies, such as the importation of principles and techniques of evaluation in the studies on French museums, around Hanna Gottesdiener, a professor of psychology in Nanterre and co-director of the publication with the professor of semiotics and museology Jean Davallon. The first idea of the journal was in fact to make the French version of *ILVS Review: A Journal of Visitor Behavior* – and to follow the model invented by Chandler Screven, Director of the International Laboratory for Visitor Studies and Professor of Psychology, Department of Psychology at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. An orientation towards science museums was very clear, indicated by the presence of Bernard Schiele, Canadian correspondent of the French team¹⁶. At the same time, the *City of Sciences of La Villette* got equipped with a team for the study of visitors. Afterwards, the National Museum of Natural History created a MA program in museology, with the professor Yves Girault (*Muséologie: Sciences, Cultures et Sociétés*).

After ten years of existence, *Publics & Musées* decided to expand, passing in their title from museums to the culture, even if the journal is always published with the support of the team in charge of the visitors of the Museums of France (*Direction des Publics*). One of the reasons for this mutation, with an ambition to become a journal of cultural studies, was fear of certain exhaustion within the field of museology. Today, the readership has been frayed, while the museological identity became a bit blurred, even though the journal published articles which became classic ones very quickly, such as the ones by Raymond Montpetit (UQAM, Montréal, Canada) about dioramas and period-rooms, what he called the “*muséologie analogique*”. The launching of a new collection, “*Musées Mondes*” (Museums Worlds), at the Documentation française – an official publishing company of the French government in charge of printing official reports and journals – initiated by Jacqueline Eidelman, who was in charge, at that moment, of the Department of the public of the Museums of France, was successful. The collection treats museology in the way in which, from that moment on, it appears in the scholarly and professional space, in reports and studies.

Publications of this collection are heterogeneous in genre, and they gather individual works of expert authors, ICOM officials as well, and of academics also: which is the case with Serge Chaumier, or François Mairesse. The

16 Bernard Schiele, *Faire voir, Faire savoir. La muséologie scientifique au présent* (Québec, Musée de la Civilisation: 1989) and with Jean Davallon, et al., *L'environnement entre au musée* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon; Québec: Musée de la civilisation de Québec, 1992).

collection publishes research reports ordered by different museums, as well – such as the report requested by the Quai Branly Museum from Mélanie Roustan and Octave Debary, regarding the possible reorganization of its permanent exhibition. Proceedings of the official conferences organized by the Ministry or other public institutions, related to the preoccupations of the current cultural policies, are published as well. It was the case with the conference organized by the National Institute of Heritage in the moment of launching the project of the House of the French History, a museum of national history initiated by the President Sarkozy, which was never carried out. Finally, the collection sometimes publishes rewritten thesis, as is the one of Jean-Louis Postula, done at the University of Liège under the supervision of a Francophone Belgian museologist, André Gob.

André Gob wrote a manual, within the collection U (Armand Colin), dedicated to museology – complemented with another volume related to the museums of society and written by his assistant and student, Noémie Drouguet, member of the group for museology of the University of Liège. Afterwards, this center published an online museological journal, the *Cahiers de Muséologie* (Notebooks of Museology), “originated from the realization that there is, currently, a few scientific journals about museology in French”. With a tendency to publish original reflections in the field of museology, *Cahiers* reflects, first of all, the research areas of the “Liège’s museology”, characterized particularly by a political approach to museological reality, by problems of insertion of museums in society, by study of exhibitions and its functioning in relation to visitors, and by place that collections occupy. As it is the case with the journal of the Department of Museology of UQAM (Université de Québec à Montréal), *Muséologies*, which initiated the model, crossing of theoretical and practical points of view is imposed, in the framework of the research that is equally based on the interconnection between bibliographical sources and field research.

However, the collective initiative of the Dictionary of Museology (*Dictionnaire de muséologie*) probably summarizes the best current state of French museology, or rather, Francophone one – because the importance of Francophone museology in the so-called “French” museology is evident. On the initiative of André Desvallées, in the context of ICOFOM, the section of ICOM dedicated to the “theoretical” reflection and to questions of education within the organization, the book was, originally, an international glossary of museological terms, adapted to the needs of work meetings, conferences and symposiums of ICOM¹⁷. Participation of François Mairesse, responsible for manage-

17 André Desvallées and François Mairesse, ed, *Concepts clés de muséologie* (ICOM: 2010).

ment of the Museum of Mariemont, in Belgium, and simultaneously recruited as a lecturer at the University of Lyon by Bernard Deloche – a professor of philosophy and himself a student of François Dagognet, an epistemologist who wrote about collections and whose reflections about museums have been very influential – enabled a new development¹⁸. Yves Bergeron (UQAM, Montréal) was also influential in the work on Dictionary. Their joint participation demonstrates the Francophone part of the team, which has no Anglophone member. The glossary has become a critical dictionary according to the approach typical of the projects of scientific disciplines that emerge from an epistemological crisis. Status of the grand dictionary, divided roughly between a section of critical notes of a sufficiently large scale, and another dedicated to brief and documentary entries, responds to the academic market, and intends to have an important influence.

The Status and Limits of French Museology

This overview is in the halftones, because it is difficult today to establish the potential specificity of the French museology. This was not the case at the moment when ecomuseology, or the “new museology” was invented, or at the opening of Beaubourg, during the decade from 1970 to 1980. However, the later period did not produce new institutions apt to receive an international recognition of the same scope. If the idea of the “post-Pompidou age” had success in the globalized historiography of museums in the form of recognition of the institution’s innovation and approval of its fame, later openings, the Quai Branly Museum excepted without doubt, did not mark the global museal imagination to that extent. Simultaneously, the “French Theory” entered the museological preoccupations, and had an important influence on the global museology during the last decades, given its academization within the universities. Museology is certainly part of the disciplines or sciences around the “heritage” administration and research, but it is nearly never identified as such. A striking demonstration of this status is the fact that the last overview of the Ministry of Culture of the research dedicated to heritage did not mention “museology”, in Ministry’s official journal related to research in the cultural field, *Culture et Recherche*¹⁹.

18 He told the complete story in Alessandra Mariani, “La muséologie est un livre: entretien avec François Mairesse,” *Muséologies: Les cahiers d’études supérieures* 6.1 (2012): 137-149.

19 “Patrimoines. Enjeux contemporains de la recherche”, *Culture et Recherche* n°133 (été 2016), accessed December 12, 2016, <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Politiques-ministerielles/Recherche-Enseignement-superieur-Technologie/La-revue-Culture-et-Recherche/PATRIMOINES.-Enjeux-contemporains-de-la-recherche>

However, French museology is nearly completely absent from the manuals, collections and other anthologies of texts for the didactic purposes that multiplied in the Anglophone world during these last decades. André Malraux with his *Museum without Walls* (*Musée imaginaire*), Pierre Bourdieu with his study of popular visitors (*Amour de l'art*) and Germain Bazin with his lectures at the School of Louvre are nearly the only French authors regularly quoted in these works. We could add here different texts by Georges Bataille, Maurice Blanchot, Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Jean Baudrillard, who are also considered to be, directly or indirectly, related to museology.

The circulation of French museologists, or the ones from Quebec, Switzerland, Belgium, is evident in the academic world and in publications – which is the proof of a certain international openness, but limited by language. There, again, the influence of the pilot museographies and innovative institutions is evident, which shows that museology and museography go undoubtedly together in the international intellectual and cultural configurations. Jacques Hainard and the museological group of the Neuchâtel Museum of Ethnography and of the University became, therefore, famous, thanks to the exhibitions set in the museum and to their catalogues²⁰. The school of museology of Montreal, in Quebec, at the UQAM, benefited from the echo encountered by the philosophy of the Museum of civilization in Quebec, and by smaller museums all around. The temporary exhibition “Le Louvre à Québec. Les arts et la vie”, organized by the Louvre team of curators at the musée national des Beaux-Arts du Québec, in 2008, was a first attempt to imagine a new museography for French museums, and a clear prefiguration of what will be the Louvre-Lens, that is to say a chronological survey of Art History with all kinds of objects – paintings, sculptures, decorative arts – instead of the traditional organization by departments and typologies²¹. In the process of Louvre Abu Dhabi a MA of Professional training for positions in museums was opened in Abu Dhabi with the School of Louvre and University of Paris Sorbonne, with Art History and Museology²².

Certainly, we will not insist that museology and its success, here or there, depended closely on the reputation of the museography that it follows, or to which it refers to. School in Brno, to give only one example, was detached of any relation with a globally famous institution. It is, however, unquestionable

20 Pierre Alain Mariaux et al., *L'objet de la muséologie* (Neuchâtel: Université de Neuchâtel, Institut d'histoire de l'art et de muséologie 2005); Serge Chaumier and Marc-Olivier Gonseth, *Traité d'expologie* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2013).

21 Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, “Le musée au tournant du XXI^e siècle”, in *Histoire du Louvre*, ed. Bresc-Bautier, Guillaume Fonkenell, vol. 2 (Paris, Fayard, 2016), 726.

22 *Ibid.*, 731.

that in the French case, but in the Francophone world as well, museological conceptions maintained some relations with the investments of the State in favour of new institutions, budget intended for the Culture, or professional education. It maintained the same relations, as far as possible, or even more, with the politics of the academic educational or research programs.

Finally, French participation in the collective elaboration of a museology within ICOM, however important it was, had hardly an echo inside the national borders, and hardly affected museum professionals, namely the ones from the fields of Art and History – the case of the museums of society is without any doubt different. Likewise, the place of the French museology in the initiatives for renovation of critical museology, and within the new Association of Critical Heritage Studies, which represents a testimony of the maturation of an international field of research, is quasi insignificant, even though the last congress in Montreal marked a remarkably new level of participation of the French representatives of Anthropology, Geography, and History²³.

23 See: “Post Graduate Courses and Heritage Centres – Association of Critical Heritage Studies,” accessed December 1, 2016, <http://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/post-graduate-courses>: there is no mention of any French program in the international list of Post graduate courses and Heritage centres. One can compare with the view of training in museology given ten years before in a French-speaking book, by Michel Allard and Bernard Lefebvre, *La formation en muséologie et en éducation muséale à travers le monde* (Montréal: Éditions MultiMondes, 2001).

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FROM STUDY SUBJECT TO KNOWLEDGE: MUSEOLOGY AS A COURSE AT THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY IN BELGRADE

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Biography:

Milan Popadić (Novi Pazar, 1979) is an associate professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Department of Art History, Seminar of Museology and Heritology. He is researching the theoretical and methodological problems of museology and heritology as well as art history phenomena of modern times. He is the author of two scientific monographs, *Čiji je Mikelandelov David? Baština u svakodnevnom životu*, 2012 (*Who owns Michelangelo's David? Heritage in everyday life*) and *Vreme prošlo u vremenu sadašnjem: Uvod u studije baštine*, 2015 (*Time Past in Time Present: Introduction to the Heritage Studies*). Together with professors Dragan Bulatović and Aleksandar Kadrijević, he was the co-author of the two-volume Proceedings *Prostori pamćenja: arhitektura-baština-umetnost*, 2013 (*Spaces of Memory: Architecture-Heritage-Art*).

Summary:

From Study Subject to Knowledge: Museology as a Course at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade

The paper presents development of Museology as a study subject at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Museology was introduced at the University of Belgrade in 1948, as a course for the Faculty of Philosophy students of Art History, Archeology and Ethnology. Thanks to the preserved scripts prepared by the subject teachers – Đorđe Mano Zisi (1948-1974) and Borivoje Drobnjaković (1948-1961) – it is possible to reconstruct the content of the curriculum in this period. At the beginning, the focus was on the museum object as a fundamental museological problem, while later, thanks to the efforts of Professor Miodrag Jovanović (1974-1980), the field of research was expanded to the concept of cultural monuments. This expansion opened up space for further development of the subject and its movement to the next level, theoretical and synthetic, implemented by Professor Dragan Bulatović (1980-2016) and his associates. In other words, teaching Museology follows development of the disciplinary started as *Museography*, systematized knowledge on the arrangement of the collection, and then turned into the “science of museum”, with a

focus on study and planning of the institution of a museum, to the late 20th century when there appeared modern definition – the “science of heritage” forming a new term *Heritology* (*hereditas / heritage + logos*), which indicated that the subject of the discipline cannot be an institution, but the modus of understanding the processes of creating heritage (which is, after all, the principal purpose of museums and other similar heritage institutions).

Almost seventy years after its establishment, being a University course for quite considerable time now, Museology teaching at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade developed from the addition to the museum practice to the model of transmission of systematic knowledge on preserving the heritage. Such development was enabled by identifying the *need* of people that Museology can respond to – the need for orientation towards what we have inherited from the past. As long as such need exists, museological education (in all its diversity) will make sense.

Résumé :

De l'étude à la connaissance : la muséologie comme discipline universitaire à la Faculté de Philosophie à Belgrade

Cet article se propose de présenter le développement de la muséologie comme discipline universitaire à la Faculté de Philosophie à l'Université de Belgrade. La muséologie fut introduite à l'Université de Belgrade en 1948, en tant que cours pour les étudiants en Histoire de l'art, Archéologie et Ethnologie à la Faculté de Philosophie. Grâce aux scripts rédigés par les professeurs de ce sujet – Đorđe Mano Zisi (1948-1974), Borivoje Drobnjaković (1948-1961) – il est possible de reconstruire le contenu de ce cours. Les premiers cours se concentrent sur l'objet muséal en tant que problématique fondamentale du musée, et le champ de recherche s'étend plus tard avec la notion de monument historique, grâce à l'engagement du professeur Miodrag Jovanović (1974-1980). Cette expansion ouvre l'espace pour un nouveau développement de la discipline et permet la transition vers le degré suivant, théorique et synthétique, réalisé par le professeur Dragan Bulatović (1980-2016) et ses collaborateurs. Autrement dit, l'enseignement de la muséologie a suivi le développement de la discipline de la muséographie, connaissance systématisée de la gestion des collections, puis s'est transformé en « science des musées », concentrée sur l'étude et la préparation de l'institution du musée. La muséologie continue à se développer pour arriver, à la fin du 20^e siècle, à la définition contemporaine de la « science du patrimoine », avec le nouveau terme d'*héritologie* (*hereditas – héritage+logos*), qui implique que le sujet de la discipline ne peut pas être l'institution, mais l'apprentissage des processus de la patrimonialisation (ce qui est, finalement, la fonction des musées et des autres institutions patrimoniales).

Près de soixante-dix ans après son lancement, l'enseignement de la muséologie à la faculté de Philosophie à Belgrade a évolué de la pratique muséale jusqu'au modèle de transmission d'un savoir systématique sur la sauvegarde du patrimoine.

Ce développement a été rendu possible par l'identification des besoins du public propres à la muséologie. Ce besoin reflète un désir de pouvoir s'orienter dans ce qu'on a hérité du passé. Aussi longtemps que de tels besoins persisteront, l'enseignement de la muséologie (dans toute sa diversité) fera sens.

FROM STUDY SUBJECT TO KNOWLEDGE: MUSEOLOGY AS A COURSE AT THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY IN BELGRADE

Introduction or Which Museology?

When we talk about museology, including Museology as a course subject, which museology are we actually talking about: Museology as “the science of museums” or as “the science of heritage”? If we talk about the “science of museums”, are then all the other aspects of “the relationship between man and reality” excluded from such research? Or, if we talk about the “science of heritage”, is there any room for museums there?¹

It was five years after the Croatian edition, when English version of one of the fundamental books of museological education, particularly in the ex-Yugoslav countries – the textbook *Uvod u muzeologiju (Introduction to Museology)* by Yugoslav and Croatian museologist Ivo Maroević was published in Munich in 1998. The title of the book got a clarification in its translation. Along with the original title (*Introduction to Museology*), the subtitle *Evropski pristup (The European Approach)* was added.² The editor, Christian Müller-Straten, in his editorial note concluded that the scientific foundation of the textbook by Maroević went beyond the idea of Museology as “the science of Museums” and emphasized the focus on Museology as “modern science”. The editorial note, as well as added subtitle, indicates that he wanted to point to a specific difference. Compared to what? Here, we discover that difference by professors of Museology at the University of Liege, André Gob and Noémie Drouguet in their globally recognized book *La muséologie: Histoire, développements, enjeux actuels (Museology: history, development and contemporary challenges)*. The authors of this review primarily and clearly underline that Museology is “science of museums” and then note: “Some researchers, mostly from the Central Europe, prefer a much broader and more theoretical vision of Museology. The subject of Museology is not the museum itself any more, but “museality” – a

- 1 Previous researches were used in this text: Milan Popadić, “Heritološka kontroverza,” in *Treća godišnja konferencija muzeologije i heritologije: Nauka i baština – Zbornik radova*, ed. Dragan Bulatović, (Beograd: Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, 2014), 63-74; Milan Popadić “Script amament: Muzeologija kao predmet na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu (empirijsko-deskriptivna faza 1948-1978),” in *Umetnost i njena uloga u istoriji: između trajnosti i prolaznih – izama*, ed. Zoran Jovanović, 695-708 (Kosovska Mitrovica: Filozofski fakultet u Prištini, 2014); Milan Popadić, *Vreme prošlo u vremenu sadašnjem: Uvod u studije baštine* (Beograd: Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, 2015).
- 2 Christian Müller-Straten, Editor’s preface to *Introduction to Museology: The European Approach* by Ivo Maroević (München: Vlg. Dr. C. Müller-Straten, 1998), 9.

special *relationship between man and reality*, the relationship that is valuation at the same time: it leads to the selection of objects that one considers worthy of being preserved for the future and conveyed to the future society. Thus defined “museality” corresponds to the French notion of heritage or what might be called cultural heritage.³

So, “what” is this Museology all about? It seems to be a false dilemma, though. In other words, there is no any. Between “science of museums” and “science of heritage” there is no disjunctive “or”. However, let us pause for a moment at this point and leave this museological question aside in order to point to a more general (introductory) problem. Museology, as any man’s attempt at an objective, critical and methodically derived knowledge that we call *science*, has its genesis.⁴ One of the important indicators of stages in this genesis is development of a model of transferring this “objective, critical and methodically derived knowledge”, i.e. development of education and teaching processes within a certain discipline. Codified knowledge in the field of science is transferred to the domain of education. In that process, besides *lecturing*, that codified knowledge is put under a magnifying glass of critical thinking. In this way, the scientific codification of knowledge is re-valued, the educational process outcomes influence the development of the discipline, and the dynamics of the relationship between science and education ensures the relevance of knowledge that is not only a sign of scholarship, but an instrument for solving problems. Thus, following the development of Museology as a study subject at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, we also follow the development of Museology as a discipline and its paradigms.

From museums to Museology

Although Museology was introduced as a study subject at the University of Belgrade just after the Second World War, the relationship between teaching at the University (i.e. the Higher School) and the museum profession was conceived much earlier. In early 1881, the Parliament of the Principality of Serbia adopted the Law on the National Library and Museum. The author of the Law, Stojan Novaković, who was also a professor at the High School, prescribed in Article 2 that “Direct administration and management of the National Library and Museum are confined to the librarian in the case of the Library and to the

3 Andre Gob and Noemi Druge, *Muzeologija: istorija, razvoj i savremeni izazovi* (Beograd: Clio-Narodni muzej 2009), 10. (André Gob and Noémie Drouguet, *La muséologie: Histoire, développements, enjeux actuels* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2006)).

4 Mihailo Marković, *Filozofski osnovi nauke* (Beograd: SANU, 1981).

Higher School professor of Archaeology in the case of the Museum, who acts as the curator of the National Museum at the same time.”⁵ The first in this title was Mihailo Valtrović, later succeeded by Miloje Vasić. This interconnection of the Museum and the University persisted even after the First World War and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918. In the period between the two world wars, the University professor of Art History, Vladimir Petković was the director of the National Museum, and his first University assistants were the curators. Formally, the connection was terminated upon founding of the Museum of Prince Paul,⁶ when an art historian Milan Kašanin was appointed the director in 1935.

Note that there was a “museological” course in Belgrade even in the out-of-university context. Namely, in the Museum of Prince Paul at the beginning of the Second World War, and during the work cessation of the University, a one-year museum course was organized for students of Archaeology and Art History. The lecturers were: Dr. Borivoje Drobñaković for Museology, Đorđe Mano-Zisi for Processing Techniques of Museum Objects, Dr. Milan Kašanin for Art History, Dr. Vladimir Mošić for Numismatics, Mile Duhać for Conservation, arch. Ivan Zdravković for Architecture and Dr. Miodrag Grbić for Archaeology.⁷ Two of the teachers in this course, Borivoje Drobñaković and Đorđe Mano-Zisi became the first part-time professors of Museology at the University of Belgrade after the Second World War. It should be noted that the Manual by Duhać (1949) *Museum Objects Maintenance* remained the principal literature for the indicated issues for many years.

From the above mentioned it can be concluded that the students of Belgrade University were familiar with the work of the National Museum, both through the lecturers who were also the museum staff and through regular practical work courses held in it. However, let us point out again, that there were no formal Museology classes at the University, as this was the case in Europe or North America. The only real exception was the University of Brno, where the Museology Department was established in 1922. In other cases, courses dealing with the museological issues were organized within the museums universities collaborated with, as it was the case with Belgrade. Thus, in Paris in 1882, the *École du Louvre* was founded; it worked in close cooperation

5 The National Museum in Belgrade was established in 1844, named *Serbian Museum*.

6 The Prince Paul Museum, opened in 1935 in New Royal Palace in Belgrade, was founded by conjoining the National Museum and the Museum of Contemporary Art.

7 Dejan Medaković, *Efemeris: hronika jedne porodice*, knjiga 2 (Beograd: BIGZ, 1991); Divna Gačić, *Miodrag Grbić (1901 - 1969): život i delo* (Novi Sad: Muzej grada Novog Sada: 2005), 8; Aleksandar Bandović, “Muzejski kurs i arheologija tokom II svetskog rata u Beogradu,” *Etnoantropološki problemi* 9/3 (2014): 625-645.

with the museum; in early 1920s Harvard organized a course in Museology in collaboration with the Fogg Museum which operated as part of this University; in the 1930s, the British Museum Society organized museum courses led by experienced museum professionals.⁸

Museology as a university subject

As a study course, Museology was introduced at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1948, immediately after the World War Two. The importance that was given to the museum and museological issues in the new socialist reality can be proved by establishment of the Museological Council by the Ministry of Education of the National Republic of Serbia. In 1949, this Council launched a publication entitled *Museum Manual*, aimed to educate interested public on issues of cultural heritage and museum activities in a popular and informative way. The chief editor of the publication was Milorad Panić-Surep and other editors were Milenko Filipović and Đorđe Mano-Zisi.

In the “Introduction note” of the first issue, the great interest in the topics of cultural heritage was highlighted: “This interest in the cultural heritage in our country has already become a movement, and this movement has no connection with the attitude towards cultural heritage in the former civil society. This is quite understandable, since the study of our national history in socialist Yugoslavia is an integral part of the political-educational and scientific-research work of many federal and state authorities and institutions...”⁹ In the domain of practical museum activities, things seemed to be a little different, emphasized in the Work plan for 1949 of the Ministry of Science and Culture of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which included the *Annual Work Plan for the Sector of Museums and Galleries*. Section II, under the heading *Museum Staff*, stated: “The ideological weaknesses that are especially characteristic for the museum staff are looking for a systematic and energetic intervention in this regard.” As a reaction to this conclusion, in addition to the decisions concerning “control of the ideological and political work” in the museums and creation of a plan to harmonize the sector “respecting the needs of the profession”, the following was determined: “As museum staff do not possess the theoretical or practical knowledge about the principles and methods of museology at the university, there is the need for the study subject of ‘Museology’ to be introduced at the University as a mandatory or optional course for those science branches that

8 Ivo Maroević, *Uvod u muzeologiju* (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1993), 62-63.

9 Miodrag Panić Surep, Introduction note to *Muzejski priručnik 1* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1949), 3.

are presented in museums. In that sense, a draft proposal for reorganization of the curricula of the respective science branches will be developed. This proposal will be drafted in cooperation with the Department of high schools and scientific institutions of the Ministry, which is already working on reorganization of the Faculty of Philosophy”.¹⁰

This intention corresponded with the changes that took place at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade after the Second World War, especially in the context of what would later (in 1963) become the Department of Art History. The Department of Art History at the University of Belgrade was founded in 1905; in 1919 it grew into the Seminar for Classical Archaeology and Art History, and in 1927 into the group XXII of History and Art History. After the Second World War, in 1946 there was the group IV of Art History and Archaeology. It grew into the Institute of Art History in 1947; the Department of Art History was formed in early 1948 and in the autumn of the same year it became a part of the Department of Historical Sciences. Then, along with General History of Art, Art History of the Yugoslav peoples, Slovenian People History of Art, the course of Museology was founded as a obligatory subject for students of Art History. In addition to students of Art History, Museology was attended as an elective course by students of Archaeology and Ethnology.¹¹

The first part-time teachers of Museology after Second World War were Dr. Đorđe Mano Zisi, a curator of the National Museum in Belgrade for the study of Art History and Archaeology (until his retirement in 1972) and Dr. Borivoje Drobnjaković, Director of the Ethnographic Museum, for the study Ethnology (until his death in 1961). After the death of Professor Drobnjaković, students of Ethnology were joined to the Professor Zisi. Dr. Miodrag Jovanović was elected the first full-time professor on the subject of Museology in 1974. It was his merit that the program of Museology was expanded to protection of cultural monuments, which announced the next phase of development of Museology as an educational teaching subject at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Thanks to the preserved notes that were individually prepared by subject teachers, it is possible to reconstruct the program and the content of teaching Museology at this stage.¹²

The Professors Đorđe Mano-Zisi and Dr. Borivoje Drobnjaković represent, one might say, “the first generation” of Museology lecturers at the Faculty of

10 Branka Doknić, Milić F. Petrović and Ivan Hofman, ed, *Kulturna politika Jugoslavije 1945-1952. Zbornik dokumenata. Knj. 2* (Beograd: Arhiv Jugoslavije, 2009), 75-76.

11 Predrag Dragojević, „Odeljenje za istoriju umetnosti, ” in *Filozofski fakultet 1838-1998*, ed. Rade Mihaljčić (Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, 1998), 363.

12 All of these notes can be found in the documentation of the Center for Museology and Heritology, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

Philosophy in Belgrade. Đorđe Mano Zisi was born in 1901 in Budapest. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1925, specialized in Classical Archaeology in Berlin, and from 1928 he worked at the National Museum in Belgrade until his retirement in 1970. He was the head of the Ancient Department at the National Museum. Besides that, he was a Research Fellow of the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade and a member of the German Archaeological Institute and the Archaeological Institute in Vienna. Đorđe Mano Zisi died in Belgrade in 1995.¹³

Borivoje Drobñaković was born in Kragujevac in 1890, and graduated in 1913 from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade at the group of Anthro-Geography. He worked as a secondary school teacher in Kragujevac and Belgrade, as well as the curator of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade. He remained at the Ethnographic Museum until 1950, crossing the path of a curator to the director. The same year, Drobñaković became a professor of Ethnology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, where, two years earlier, in 1948, he was elected a part-time professor of Museology. At the Faculty of Philosophy, where he was repeatedly elected the dean, he developed a course in Ethnographic Museology; he was one of the founders and the director (1957-1961) of the Institute of Ethnography within the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He died in Belgrade in 1961.¹⁴

From these biographical information, it is evident that the professors Mano Zisi and Drobñaković were well grounded in both disciplinary research and the museum practice. This scientific and professional experience was also reflected in their pedagogical work, whose program can be reconstructed on the basis of the preserved notes, i.e. preparatory material for their lectures. Due to elemental graphic design of these scripts, the structuring of the text was not done (e.g. chapters, subdivisions, sections...). However, certain structures can be observed. The first part is dedicated to the institution of the museum, the second to the conservation of objects, the third part to the materials and their protection, the fourth to the art techniques and the fifth part to individual museum institutions.

On the other hand, the notes of professor Drobñaković (s.d.) have somewhat more concise structure, aimed primarily at the museum activities. For the issues of materials and techniques, Drobñaković referred to the notes of Mano-Zisi. This collegial gesture suggests assuming that these notes (both

13 Miodrag Jovanović, "Đorđe Mano-Zisi," *Glasnik Srpskog arheološkog društva*, Knj. 12 (1996): 283-285.

14 Milka Jovanović, "Professor dr Borivoje M. Drobñaković," *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta*, 46 (1997): 27-33.

Drobnjaković's and Mano Zisi's) did not only remain in a narrow circle of the study group for which they were originally intended.

Comparing them with foreign literature, it can be perceived that both Mano Zisi and Drobnjaković notes have a common source. These are the Museology lectures by Germain Bazin, a prominent representative of the School of the Louvre, entitled *Musologie : Cours de Mr. Germain Bazin* published in Paris in 1950. Bazin's lectures included the history of museums (origin, establishment, development), technical problems (lighting, exposure) and the role of museums according to their division into the artistic, historical and scientific (and hence followed by the aesthetic, scientific and educational) tasks. Translation of these lectures into Serbo-Croatian was available to the students of the Faculty of Philosophy in their seminar libraries. Indeed, the recognition of this source does not diminish the value of the effort of Museology professors at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Relying on the Bazin's bases, both Mano Zisi and Drobnjaković used their museum and research experience in teaching. In this sense, the content of Museology course as conceived by Mano Zisi and Drobnjaković was determined by recognizable museological paradigm of the *School of the Louvre*, but also by their own professional experience as lecturers. The script by Mano Zisi contains described illustrative examples from the National Museum in Belgrade, which were certainly known to his readers. This resulted in teaching that was focused on the museum institution and museum object as fundamental museological issues.

Museology and Protection of Cultural Property

As already mentioned, after the death of Professor Drobnjaković (1961), students of Ethnology were joined to the classes of Professor Zisi, and then Dr. Miodrag Jovanović was elected the professor on the subject of Museology in 1974. Miodrag Jovanović, was born in 1932 in Zrenjanin. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Department of Art History in 1957. He acquired master's degree in 1960 and Ph.D in 1973. Although he started his teaching career as a professor of Museology, he directed his interest and research towards the national History of Art of the Modern period, which was the subject for which he acquired the title of full-time professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. After rich and diverse scientific research and pedagogical work, professor Jovanović died in Belgrade in 2013.¹⁵

15 See: Zoran Jovanović, ed, *Knjiga o Mići. Sećanja na jedno postojanje* (Beograd: Z. Jovanović, 2014).

Professor Jovanović, being elected a Museology lecturer, composed the subject notes, like his predecessors Mano Zisi and Drobnjaković did. In comparison to his predecessors and certainly on the basis of their experiences, the notes of Jovanović appeared as thematically purer and structurally more precise, as well as more voluminous. The author's note at the beginning is quite interesting: "This text is intended exclusively for students of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade for exam preparation, after experience and knowledge gained in professional practice, and is a part of recommended literature." The first on the list of recommended required literature was again Germain Bazin and his lectures, as well as his subsequent and very popular work *The Museum Age*.¹⁶ Bearing in mind the content of the notes and its introductory remarks, as well as the selection of recommended literature, Museology as a course at the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy was still firmly tied to the paradigm of the *School of the Louvre* and directly connected the teaching with professional practice. But if the "museological aspect" remained the same, or was just modernized by the theoretical and methodological attitudes that belonged to the same stream, professor Jovanović fundamentally expanded the entire subject of teaching even changing the name of the course. The course was now called *Museology and Protection of Cultural Monuments*. By extending the curriculum to the field of cultural heritage, professor Jovanović opened the space for further theoretical and methodological development of the course. In 1994, *Muzeologija i zaštita spomenika kulture (Museology and Protection of Cultural Monuments)* by Miodrag Jovanović was published for the first time as an official release, twenty years after copied paper versions, with slightly modified contents. It is true, though, that there was an earlier edition – high school textbook for "the third grade of vocational education – directions for translation and archive-museum activity for the professions: museum documentarist and museum manipulator".¹⁷ Although it belonged to different time in theoretical and methodological sense, this book substantially covered and elegantly summed up one phase of Museology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. This makes it very important: on one hand it established the subject, and on the other, it opened the way for development of theoretical and methodological approaches. Its author was also aware of that.

What are, therefore, the ranges of this phase of Museology as a study subject at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade? In his notes, Drobnjaković defined

16 Germain Bazin, *Le temps des musées* (Lièges: Éd. Desoer, 1967).

17 Miodrag Jovanović, *Muzeologija: udžbenik za treći razred usmerenog obrazovanja prevodilačke i arhivsko-muzejske struke za zanimanje: muzejski dokumentaristi i muzejski manipulant* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1986).

Museology as “the science which deals with all aspects of work in a museum,” while Mano Zisi elaborates on this view and says: “Museology is the science of museums, which discusses matters of architecture of museum buildings, their base, circulation of lighting, security, organization, workshops and depots, disposition of exhibits through the halls, interior furniture, mode of exhibiting, display cases, descriptions, lectures, films, catalogues, reproductions, etc.” In one version of the script, based on notes from the lectures of Professor Mano Zisi, there is the following determination: “Museology is not concerned with museums, this is rather the study of museum objects”. If we compared starting points by Mano Zisi and Drobnjaković with Jovanović’s attitude that “the objective of museology is not the museum itself – the museum is rather a means of reaching new principles and methods of collection and storage of museum material”, it would seem clear that we are standing on two ends of one phase of museology. Its beginning is in Bazin’s care of a museum object and its display, and the outcome in the information and documentation importance of the museum in public communication through an empirical review of the role of museums and through describing specific methodological foundation of the museum and museological practices, as mentioned by Maroević.¹⁸ If these are theoretical and methodological outcomes of the subject of museology, what are then its teaching achievements?

“Belgrade University does not set the importance of theoretical and methodological studies of museology with the possibility of taking post-graduate studies and acquisition of the master and Ph.D degrees in the subject. It took the position that it is more expedient to organize professional training for museum workers and art educators which would deepen general museum culture in addition to the chosen specialization. However, this idea has not been realized due to the staffing difficulties”.¹⁹ This is how Mano Zisi responded to a request to review the achievements of museology as a teaching subject at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. It seems that little can be added to this experienced response, apart from the impression that he quite accurately summed up the achievements of this phase of museology.

Museology as a modern scientific discipline

In 1978, the teaching of Museology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade was under responsibility of a group of professors from the Departments of Art

¹⁸ Maroević, *Uvod*, 50-62.

¹⁹ Đorđe Mano-Zisi, „Muzeologija kao nastavni predmet na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu,” *Informatica museologica* 1-3 (1984): 12.

History, Archaeology and Ethnology. Then, thanks to Professor Lazar Trifunović, the course finally settled at the Department of Art History. This move, which brought significant theoretical and methodological changes, can be marked as the beginning of a new phase in teaching Museology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade²⁰, which is complementary to the wider multidisciplinary interest in preserving and studying the testimonies of the past.²¹

There is one charming testimony to the changes in the approach to Museology as a study subject at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. In late May 2011, responding to the request of the Department of Art History librarian Aleksandra Škorić to deliver another copy of his *Museology* to the library for the existing copies were damaged by frequent use, Professor Jovanović left also a note for the librarian. He recalled in it the period after his graduation, when being a young man without many options to choose, he got the job of Museology teacher. Inspired by his professors as well as his research work, Jovanović noted: "... I set myself to work. Soon afterwards, I wrote a script. I am proud of the fact that I expanded the subject to the protection of cultural monuments, reasonably and practically inseparable... There has remained the joy of the usefulness of my pedagogical effort. To be honest, I'm very glad that my small contribution still serves. I am also happy because Dragan [Bulatović, author's note] made a modern scientific discipline out of this subject."²²

Dragan Bulatović was born in 1951 in Kruščić. He graduated (1977), acquired master's degree (1988) and Ph.D (2005) at the Department of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, where he has been employed since 1980 and been in charge for Museology, firstly as an assistant and later as a lecturer and a professor. For more than three and a half decades of work at the University, Professor Bulatović has become recognizable as the teacher committed to working with students, but also as a principled researcher in the field of

20 Dragan Bulatović, "Teorijska legitimnost muzeologije," *Informatica museologica*, 1-4 (1986): 49-50; Dragan Bulatović, "Art and Museality," *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu*, Serija A, XVIII (1994): 403-421; Nenad Radić, „Muzejski um Džozefa Kornela,” *Zbornik Seminara za studije moderne umetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu*, 5 (2009): 187-199; Ljiljana Gavrilović, *Muzeji i granice moći* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2011); Nenad Radić, *Pusen i petokraka: zbirka slika druga Predsednika* (Novi Sad: Galerija Matice srpske, 2012).

21 Herman Bauzinger, *Etnologija* (Beograd: XX vek, 2002); Tomislav Šola, *Eseji o muzejima i njihovoj teoriji: prema kibernetičkom muzeju* (Zagreb: Hrvatski nacionalni komitet ICOM: 2003); Michael F. Brown, "Heritage Trouble: Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property," *Journal of Cultural Property* 12 (1) (2005): 40-61; Jan Asman, *Kultura pamćenja* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2011).

22 I thank my colleague Škorić, who reminded me of this letter. A copy of it can be found in the documentation of the Centre for Museology and Heritology, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

theory and methodology of an extensive study course of Heritage. Working with students has produced diversity in development of scientific research approaches, while the principled research position led to the shift from traditional Museology to what has been called *Heritology*, i.e. systematized knowledge of cultivation of heritage. Professor Bulatović presented his research in numerous texts published in scientific journals and proceedings, and the sum of his theoretical and methodological attitudes can be found in two books: *Umetnost i muzealnost: Istorijsko-umetnički govor i njegovi muzeološki ishodi (Art and Museality: The Historic and Artistic Speech and its Museological Outcomes)* (Belgrade, 2014), and *Od trezora do tezaurusa: Teorija i metodologija izgradnje baštinenja (From Treasury to Thesaurus: Theory and Methodology of Creating Heritage)* (Belgrade, 2015). Professor Bulatović retired in 2016.

In his book *Art and Museality: The Historic and Artistic Speech and its Museological Outcomes* professor Bulatović provided theoretical bases and referential systematization of a special “testimonial theory”, which he had been developing for almost three decades. In this sense, it provides understanding of the genesis of modern museological thinking unburdened by the modern “museum boom” and the accompanied, often easily given, *causeur* “museum” interpretations. This is the work of a non-conformist character. Questioning the historical paradigms related to the problems of (not)allusion of image, display, and interpretative cognitive models of the “picture of the world” – which are traditionally linked to the *institution* of museum and their outcomes are identified in the *museological field* – the author discusses cardinal *aporias* and cynicism of historical developments in art and museology, which are at the basis of generic structures that *display* the past. Hence, the outcomes and persuasion to the *testimonial theory* that offers the possibility of integration in the contemporary chaos of disciplines came, starting from the principle of *non conformist interpretation* that ensures the integrity and the intrigue of philosophical and scientific thinking.

There is a similar approach in the book *From Treasury to Thesaurus: Theory and Methodology of Creating Heritage*. Professor Bulatović prepared it in collaboration with students of master and Ph.D studies of Museology and Heritology. But, unlike the previous one that could be most generally characterized as a philosophical and scientific discussion, now there is a tendency to instrumentalize the mentioned starting points, i.e. to make the shift towards operational models for solving problems in the field of heritage (such, among others, are the issues of documentation, digitization, use of heritage...). It is important, however, to emphasize that it is not about museum and institutional aspects of heritage issues, but on their role in the process of gaining knowledge through systematic fostering of testimonies.

Conclusion: from the study course to Seminar

In addition to professor Bulatović, the teaching of Museology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade during the last decade of the 20th and the early 21st century has been significantly contributed by his assistants, and later lecturers Angelina Milosavljević Ault and Nenad Radić. Their contribution is reflected primarily in books such as *Prezentacija i legitimacija vladara u dekoraciji renesansnog studiola (Presentation and Legitimacy of Rulers in Decoration of the Renaissance Loggias)* by Angelina Milosavljević Ault (2013) and *Pusen i petokraka: zbirka slika druga predsedika (Pusen and the Five-pointed: the Collection of Paintings of the Comerade President)* by Nenad Radić (2012). Finally, among the younger associates of the professor Bulatović, we should mention the works that significantly improve the understanding of institutional and interpretive museum issues,²³ their place in the social reality²⁴ and the attempts of their theoretical and methodological articulation.²⁵

The reasons for the increased interest in museological issues at the Faculty of Philosophy partly lie in development of the curriculum. The former course of Museology (and then Museology and Protection of Cultural Monuments) developed into the Seminar for Museology and Heritology at the Department of Art History. It was after the Bologna reforms, initiated at the beginning of the 21st century. The Seminar organizes teaching at all study levels (undergraduate, master's and Ph.D). In 2010, along with the Seminar, the Centre for Museology and Heritology was established, whose task is to develop theory and philosophy of musealization, methodology of education in the field of heritage, as well as standardization and methodology of documentation and use of heritage value.

Being a University course for quite considerable time now, Museology teaching at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade developed from the addition to the museum practice to the model of transmission of systematic knowledge on fostering heritage. This development was enabled by identifying the *need* of people that Museology can meet. This is the need for orientation in what we have inherited from the past. As long as such need exists, museological education (in all its diversity) will make sense.

23 Nikola Krstović, *Muzeji na otvorenom: živetil ili oživetil svakodnevicu?* (Sirogojno: Muzej na otvorenom Staro Selo; Beograd: Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju, 2014).

24 Milica Božić Marojević, *(Ne)željeno nasleđe u prostorima pamćenja. Slobodne zone bolnih uspomena* (Beograd: Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju, 2015).

25 Milan Popadić, *Čiji je Mikelandelov David? Baština u svakodnevnom životu* (Beograd: Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, 2012); Milan Popadić, *Vreme prošlo u vremenu sadašnjem: Uvod u studije baštine* (Beograd: Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, 2015).

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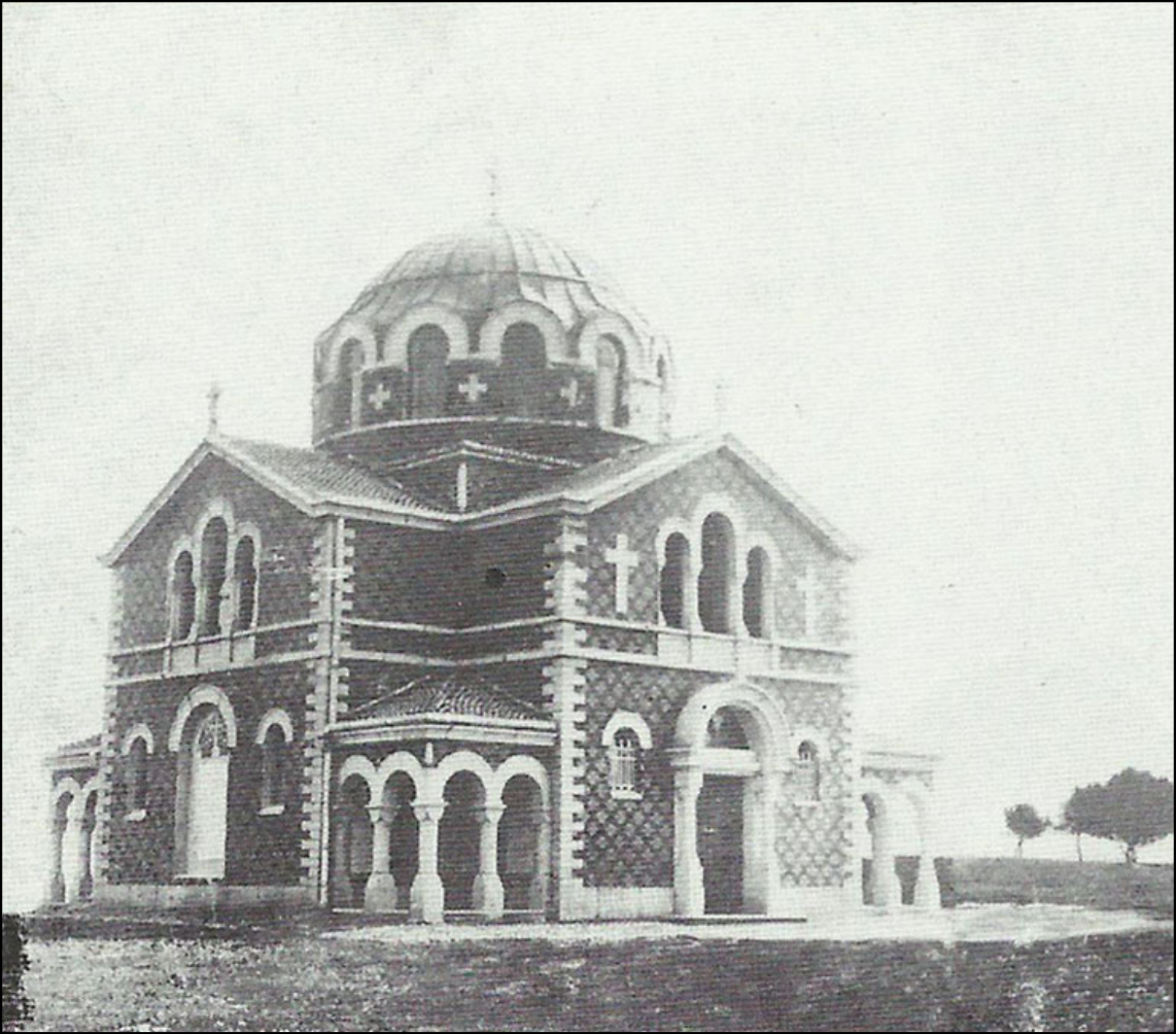
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The Church of the Holy Trinity in Gornji Adrovac, built on the place where the colonel N. N. Raevsky was killed (Date: before the First World War).

SERBIAN CHURCH ART AND CULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 19th CENTURY: RUSSIAN INFLUENCE

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Biography:

Miloš Stanković was born in 1981. In 2007 he received BA in Art History at University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy. Following year he gained MA degree in the same field of studies. He started PhD Studies at the University of Belgrade in 2009 – approved thesis is entitled: “Russia and Serbian Visual Culture in the Nineteenth Century”. His research is based on the Serbian national art history in the Modern period, with the focus on visual culture of the 19th century. Since 2005, Stanković was regularly participating in numerous field researches throughout the Balkans. During his post-graduate studies, Stanković expanded the area of his academic interest to the “political” history of art, *image of the others* and influence of pan-European ideologies on the visual culture of the Balkan states.

Summary:

Serbian Church Art and Cultural Memory in the 19th Century: Russian Influence

Orthodox Church Art as a type of artistic expression in the 19th century among Serbs includes number of examples of church architecture, fresco paintings, painting of icons, woodcarving, printing, etc. In all territories populated by Serbs in the 19th century, these types of artworks are present to a greater or lesser extent. Following the gradual liberation of these territories from the Ottoman rule and even before that, with the reformation within the Ottoman Empire, restoration of the church life has begun. Orientation of the population towards the church institutions in the non-liberated territories, as the only way of the expression of their distinctiveness within the Ottoman Empire, continues through the ruler-state ideologies developed after the proclamation of independence of Serbia and Montenegro in 1878. In the public discourse of newly recognized states, collective memory has been gradually developed and reconstructed, embedded with the representation of the past positively interpreted within the patriotic discourse. Bearing in mind closeness and fresh memories of the events from the wars for liberation, strong intensity of the creation and the function of the collective memory can be understood. This process often had a common direction with the ruler-state activities. Throughout the whole 19th

century, within the cultural memory as a part of a collective memory, so called Russian influence among Serbs is present. This influence is visible in the area of Church Art and two temples, built at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, can serve as a good example to it: Orthodox Cathedral of Saint Basil of Ostrog in Nikšić and the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity in Adrovac in Serbia. Both are built as memorial temples, with slightly different genesis of the construction; analyzed together provide us with the good overview of the scope, strength and the most important elements of the Russian influence in Serbian Church Art at the end of the 19th century.

Résumé :

L'Art religieux serbe et la mémoire culturelle dans le XIX^e siècle : influence russe

L'art religieux orthodoxe, chez le peuple serbe, en tant que type d'expression artistique au XIX^e siècle, comprend de nombreux exemples d'architecture religieuse, de peinture « a fresco », de peinture d'icônes, de sculpture sur bois, d'impression, etc. Dans tous les territoires occupés par des Serbes au cours du XIX^e siècle, on retrouve ces types artistiques présents dans des proportions plus ou moins élevées. On peut suivre la restauration de la vie religieuse en suivant la libération progressive de ces territoires du joug Ottoman. Les prémices se font même ressentir avant lors de la restructuration de l'Empire Ottoman. La population se tourne vers les institutions religieuses dans les territoires occupés, car c'est la seule manière pour eux d'exprimer leur différence par rapport à l'Empire Ottoman, cela se poursuit au travers de l'idéologie dominante développée après la proclamation d'indépendance de la Serbie et du Monténégro en 1878. Dans les discours publics des Etats nouvellement reconnus, la mémoire collective est progressivement développée et reconstruite, avec une réinterprétation positive du passé au sein du discours patriotique. En gardant à l'esprit la proximité et les souvenirs vifs des événements des guerres de libération, on peut comprendre la forte intensité insufflée dans la création de la mémoire collective et dans sa fonction. Ce processus accompagne souvent les activités liées aux règles de l'Etat. Pendant tout le XIX^e siècle, l'influence russe parmi les Serbes est présente dans la mémoire culturelle en tant que partie de la mémoire collective. Cette influence est visible sur le plan de l'art religieux et deux temples construits à la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle peuvent en être de bons exemples : l'église orthodoxe de Saint-Basile d'Ostrog à Nikšić et l'église paroissiale de la Sainte-Trinité à Adrovac. Ces deux églises ont été construites en tant que temples mémoriaux, mais la genèse de leur construction est quelque peu différente ; si nous les analysons comme un ensemble, elles nous donnent un excellent aperçu de l'influence russe sur l'art serbe de la fin du XIX^e siècle tant sur l'étendue, sur la force que sur l'importance des éléments.

SERBIAN CHURCH ART AND CULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 19th CENTURY: RUSSIAN INFLUENCE

Introduction

Russia has been present as an important factor in religious, political and cultural history of Serbs since the Middle Ages. Historical relations between Russia and Serbia have significantly shaped the cultural memory of Serbs in the 19th century. Looking at the Russian influence on the cultural memory of Serbs in that period, we can read different layers, social, political, religious and artistic. Mostly, these layers cannot be observed individually, because they were often causally related.

One of the possible ways for explaining the extent of Russian influence in the sphere of Serbian visual culture is through theory of memory, by combining historical and memory approaches.¹ Historical and other literature, visual materials, memorials and monuments are most commonly used binding elements of what we refer to as “cultural memory”. Cultural memory is the basis of identity of all those who “practice” this memory.² Fixed supporting elements of the cultural memory – important events from the past, archeological findings, memorial places, churches – are indispensable in reconstructing and memorizing the past.³ These elements or repetition/restoration of memory on them, commonly create functioning system of cultural memory. This system is oriented in two directions, past and also future, which means that it possess certain reversibility.⁴ Relations between different ethnic, political and national groups, depending on established perception of participants in these processes, in consequence can create long term and repetitive process of memorizing and passing “the memory” to the new generation. Common changes in the structures of the states in the Balkans contributed to the extensive development of cultural memory and successfully compensated for the lack of state relations with the system of cultural memory and exchange.

1 For more information about “tensions” and “symbiosis” between memory and history consult: Todor Kuljić, *Kultura sećanja, Teorijska objašnjenja upotrebe prošlosti* (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2006), 116-130.

2 Alaida Asman, *Duga senka prošlosti: kultura sećanja i politika povesti* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek: Knjižara Krug, 2011), 30-38.

3 Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1-5.

4 Jan Asman, “Kolektivno sećanje i kulturni identitet,” in *Kolektivno sećanje i politike pamćenja*, ed. Michal Sládeček et al. (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike: Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, 2015), 61-70.

Using interpretative-historical and comparative method, it is possible to position objects of the research (in this case Orthodox temples and their art characteristics) within the framework of memory studies and history of church art and further on evaluate the relation in the realm of church art-cultural memory.⁵

Political influence

After the Serbian medieval kingdom was conquered by the Ottoman Empire, for the next four centuries, until 1878, Serbs did not have an independent state. Because of the political and historical context in the Balkans in the mentioned period, Serbs lived on the territories which were under the Habsburg Monarchy, Ottoman Empire and Venetian Republic.⁶ In the beginning of the 19th century, uprisings of Serbian population in these territories started, which slowly led to autonomy at first, and later on to the full independence of Serbia and Montenegro, confirmed at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. As a consequence of the historical upheavals and long period under the foreign authority, Serbs today live in several states: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Hungary, Albania, Romania, etc.

In this period, when Serbs lived under the Ottoman, Habsburg or Venetian authorities, they progressively perceived Russia as their most valuable and important partner. From the second half of the 18th century Russia was seen as a patron of Serbs throughout the Balkans and the protector of the vital interests of the Serbs.⁷

- 5 For more information about the relation between memory and history consult: Maiken Umbach, "Memory and Historicism: Reading Between the Lines of the Built Environment, Germany c. 1900," *Representations*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (2004): 26-28.
- 6 For more information about history of Serbs in the period under the foreign authority consult: Јованка Калић, ed, *Историја српског народа, Књига друга: Доба борби за очување и обнову државе (1371-1537)* (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1982); Радован Самарџић, ed, *Историја српског народа: Трећа књига. Први том: Срби под туђинском влашћу 1537-1699* (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1993); Радован Самарџић, ed, *Историја српског народа: Трећа књига. Други том: Срби под туђинском влашћу 1537-1699* (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1993); Славко Гавриловић, ed, *Историја српског народа, Четврта књига, Први том: Срби у XVIII веку* (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1896); Славко Гавриловић, ed, *Историја српског народа, Четврта књига, Други том: Срби у XVIII веку* (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1896).
- 7 For more information about the Russian support to the Wars of liberation of Serbian population consult: Мирослав Јовановић, *Срби и Руси, 12 - 21. век (Историја односа)* (Београд: Народна библиотека Србије, 2012), 69-155.

Since the fall of the Serbian medieval kingdom until the end of 19th century, cultural and social connections between Serbs and Russians have strengthened. These interactions were mainly based on the visits to Russia and to Russian Emperors by the delegations representing Serbian monasteries and Serbian Orthodox Church, mostly with the aim of seeking Russian support.⁸

In the 19th century, these connections multiplied and grew into strong political and diplomatic ties between Russia and Serbian autonomous and from 1878 independent territories. Official state contacts between Serbian state and Tsarist Russia stopped with the October Revolution in Russia and the arrival of the Bolsheviks to power in 1917. Although political affairs were main incentive for the strengthening connections between Serbs and Russia in 19th century, it was shown that the spiritual, religious and cultural ties by far exceed the political relations.

Church art in the service of cultural memory

Political and social relations were followed by influences in the field of art and visual culture. In 19th century public discourse among Serbs, relations with this Great Power were very well covered, resulting in what was called “The Image of Russia” in the cultural memory.⁹ This perception was constantly upgraded through numerous newspaper articles, travelogues, visual and war materials during the 19th century.

The most important Russian influence was manifested in church art and architecture, with the obvious direct impact of Russian ecclesiastical ideas, movements and individuals.¹⁰ The elements of this Russian impact on the Serbian church art were numerous and included a large number of liturgical objects, icons, iconostasis, books, paintings, plans for the churches and other constructions, etc. For example, significant Russian assistance was provided for the reconstruction of a great number of churches in *Serbische Wojwodschaft* (autonomous region of Habsburgs Austria 1848/1849-1860 inhabited by Serbs), which were damaged by the Hungarian army during the revolution of 1848-1849. This assistance was provided thanks to the hard work and dedication of

8 Ненад Макуљевић, *Уметност и национална идеју у XIX веку, Систем европске и српске визуелне културе у служби нације* (Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства, 2006), 64.

9 Jelena Milojković-Djuric, *Panslavism and national identity in Russia and in Balkans: 1830-1880: images of the self and others* (New York: East European Monographs, 1994), 54-76, 96-123.

10 Макуљевић, *Уметност и национална идеју у XIX веку*, 322.

numerous Serbs (in Karlovac, Patriarch Josif Rajacic) and Russians, including a Russian priest from Vienna, Raevsky and Moscow governor Zakraevski.¹¹

Among the related works the following stand out by its importance: project, icons and funds for Orthodox Cathedral of St. Basil of Ostrog in Nikšić, the Church of the Holy Trinity in Adrovac near Aleksinac, the plan for the unbuilt Russian church in Cetinje, the plan made in Russia for the Church of the Holy Trinity in Kumanovo, iconostasis in Andrijevića, Nikšić and Sarajevo, icons in the church in Simićevo, the monastery of the Holy Trinity in Pljevlja and the church in the village of Belo Polje near Peć for which a construction aid was provided by Russian Empress Maria Alexandrovna. Russian icons present a significant part of the corpus of the church art in Serbia in the 19th century. Among major Serbian churches from 19th century, the ones that did not possess a significant fund of Russian icons could be rarely found. The reason for this is a positive attitude of the higher clergy of the Orthodox Church in Principalities, later Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, towards the Russian model of religious paintings and the fact that numerous painters have been trained in Russia.¹² Very important person in that sense was Mihailo, Archbishop of Belgrade and Metropolitan Bishop of Serbia, who was educated in Russia.¹³ In the Principality of Montenegro, important role in that sense was played by the Montenegrin prince and later king Nikola I Petrović.¹⁴ Church art and visual culture of Serbs in Vienna were also subject to Russian influence over the Russian priest M. Raevsky, who helped the Serbian community in several ways during the period when the Serbian Church and School Municipality in Vienna did not have its temple.¹⁵

11 Јовановић, Мирослав et al, *Москва - Србија, Београд - Русија: документи и материјали. Том 2. Друштвене и политичке везе 1804-1878* (Београд: Архив Србије; Москва: Главное архивное управление города Москвы: Государственный архив Российской Федерации, 2011), 795-796.

12 For more information about the Russian model of iconography in Serbian Kingdom consult: Ненад Макуљевић, *Црквена уметност у Краљевини Србији 1882-1914* (Београд: Филозофски факултет у Београду, 2007), 159-181.

13 For more information about Metropolitan bishop Mihailo consult: Макуљевић, *Црквена уметност у Краљевини Србији 1882-1914*, 51-57.

14 For more information about Montenegro in the period under Prince Nikola in a short overview consult: Živko M. Andrijašević and Šerbo Rastoder, *Istorija Crne Gore: od najstarijih vremena do 2003* (Podgorica: Centar za iseljenike, 2006), 201-268.

15 Милош Станковић et al, *Црквена општина Светог Саве у Бечу 1860-2010* (Беч - Београд: Црквена општина Светог Саве, 2010), 29-36.

Two memorial temples and memory on the fallen soldiers

Orthodox Cathedral of Saint Basil of Ostrog in Nikšić and the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity in Adrovac are among the most representative examples of Russian influence on the Serbian visual culture. In Nikšić memorial Church, Russian artistic influence was achieved with the active participation of the Montenegrin Prince Nikola, while Adrovac Church, as a memorial to died Russian officers, represents a symbiosis of private endowment with the national, religious and political significance in the context of creation of cultural memory. The idea to build a memorial temple was in the line with the common practice over the Europe in the 19th century.¹⁶ The connection between heroes who fought for the independence, statehood and Christianity was a suitable basis for the creation of historical memory and for strengthening rulers' publicity at the same time. Next to the idea of memorial temple, it is significant to mention that through repetitive mechanism of marking the names of the soldiers who fought for their territories, the cult of the fallen soldiers was created, also common in Europe in the 19th century. The usual space which was marked by the cult of this type was military cemetery that represented a sort of martyrrium.¹⁷ In case of the Nikšić memorial Church, this cult marked the area around the temple as a new type of memorial place, where names of the fallen Montenegrins and Herzegovinians were written on a prominent place.¹⁸ Creating a cult was an element of finalizing the concept of memorial temple.

The construction of the Orthodox Cathedral of St. Basil of Ostrog in Nikšić, Montenegro started in 1895, finished in 1899, and it was consecrated in 1900. It was built to commemorate the solders from Montenegro and Herzegovina who died in the battles against Turks leading to the liberation of Nikšić in 1877.¹⁹ Montenegrin Prince Nikola order its construction. He has initiated many church

16 Макуљевић, *Уметност и национална идеју у XIX веку*, 284-292.

17 For more information about the European interpretation of this type of cult consult: George L. Mosse, "National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers in Germany," in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Sage Publications, Ltd, 1979): 1-20;

18 For more information about the use of the cult of the fallen soldiers in Serbian visual culture, consult: Игор Борозан, „Меморијални пејзаж: Мишарско поље 1806 - 1906. године,“ in *Простори памћења: зборник радова. Том 1, Архитектура = Spaces of memory: collection of works. Architecture*, ed. Александар Кадијевић/Милан Попадић (Београд: Филозофски факултет у Београду, 2013), 111-124.

19 For more information about Church of Saint Basil in Niksic consult: Слободан Бобан Јокић, ed, *Саборна црква Светог Василија Острошког у Никшићу: (1900-2010)* (Никшић: Саборна црква Светог Василија Острошког у Никшићу, 2010); Милош Станковић, "Спомен храм Светог Василија Острошког у Никшићу," in *Простори памћења: зборник радова. Том 1, Архитектура = Spaces of memory: collection of works. Architecture*, ed. Александар Кадијевић and Милан Попадић (Београд: Филозофски факултет у Београду, 2013), 125-137.

constructing and renovating activities in Principality of Montenegro since 1860.²⁰ Architectural planning, construction and decoration of the temple in Nikšić was extensively monitored and reported by numerous Montenegrin and Serbian newspapers.²¹

Russian support for the temple came from the fact that Russian government circles and Slavophil movements actively supported Montenegrin and Herzegovina rebels in the combats against Turks, in the second half of 19th century, both financially and politically. Around 1890 the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church (the highest religious governing authority) sent one of the most famous Russian architects of the second half of the 19th century – Mikhail Timofejevic Preobrazhensky to Montenegro. Coming to Principality of Montenegro he recorded the terrain, collected all the necessary information finishing the project design for the church in 1892. The Synod of Russian Orthodox Church has allowed collecting contributions in churches in Russia to build the temple in Nikšić and Russian Church itself has provided a great financial support for that time in the amount of 75,000 rubles.

Arhitect Preobrazhensky told Montenegrin Prince Nikola that the temple would be built in “Byzantine style”, which was in the line with the most modern tendencies in the church architecture, at the time. Preobrazhensky had tremendous artistic experience as an architect. In the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century he designed projects for Russian churches in Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, France, Argentina, Estonia. His experience contributes to the argument that Russian Orthodox Church had sent one of its most famous architects to Montenegro.²²

20 Živko M. Andrijašević, *Crnogorska crkva 1852 - 1918 (studija sa zbirkom dokumenata o Pravoslavnoj crkvi u Knjaževini/Kraljevini Crnoj Gori)* (Nikšić: Filozofski fakultet Nikšić, 2008), 466-475.

21 “Црква Св. Василија у Никшићу,” *Невесинье, лист за политику и књижевност*, година I, број 23, октобар 7, 1898; Стево В Врчевић, ed, “Монументална црква у Никшићу,” *Оногошт, лист за политику и књижевност*, година I, број 14, август 12, 1899: 198; “Посета руског конзула Шчербина и изасланика руског министарства финансија Милера Никшићу,” *Оногошт, лист за политику и књижевност*, година III, бр. 6, фебруар 10, 1900: 294; “Слава у Никшићу, 15. августа 1900,” *Оногошт, лист за политику и књижевност*, година III, број 33, август 14, 1900; “Свечани дани у Никшићу,” *Оногошт, лист за политику и књижевност*, година III, број 34, август 24, 1900; *Глас Црногорца, лист за политику и књижевност*, година XXIX, бр. 33, август 19, 1900.

22 Анна Леонидовна Павлова, “О деятельности архитектора М. Т. Преображенского (150 лет со дня рождения),” in *Русское искусство Нового времени. Исследования и материалы. Сборник статей. Выпуск 9: Из истории Императорской Академии художеств*, ed. Игорь Васильевич Рязанцев (Москва: “Памятники исторической мысли”, 2005), 297-316; Анна Леонидовна Павлова, “Православные храмы М.Т. Преображенского за рубежом,” in

The Orthodox Cathedral of St. Vasilije of Ostrog in Nikšić was constructed on a hill where it dominates the view and the surrounding. Based on the original project design it is a combination of three-nave base and inscribed cross, with a dome at the intersection of inscribed cross. Interestingly, the bell tower, located on the west side of the church, was not in the original project, but after the insistence of the Montenegrin Prince Nikola, Russian architect has added it, thus changing its initial plan. This intervention of the Prince of Montenegro was made so the project would fit into the local architectural *milieu*. It was not well accepted and approved by Pavel Rovinsky, the Russian scholar and agent at the Montenegrin palace who said “that the bell tower disarrange the style and the appearance of the temple, because it blocks the view to the dome”.²³ The icons on the iconostasis were also gifts from Russia, they were described as “masterly crafted”.²⁴

Second church, used as an example in this study, is located in another area of the Balkans, in the surroundings of the town Aleksinac in Serbia. In 1876 Serbian–Ottoman War was in its peak and was part (same as in the case of town of Nikšić) of a greater conflict over the so-called Eastern Question and Great Eastern Crisis which lasted from 1875 to 1878.²⁵ In the center of the conflict was the question of the Ottoman legacy on the territory of Europe and the liberation of the Balkan states: Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro from the Ottoman authority. Greater Russian influence, strengthened by the military support of Russia to the Balkan states, was a cause of worry for Western powers, Britain and Austria. Several thousand of Russian soldiers, officers and volunteers were sent by the Slavophil’s from Moscow and St. Petersburg to fight at the Serbian front.

Russian colonel Nikolay Raevsky, the grandson of General Raevsky from the Napoleonic era who fought in Franco-Russian wars in the early 19th century, joined the Serbian-Russian army in August 1876.²⁶ He was deployed to the front line near the town of Aleksinac, in Gornji Adrovac. Less than two weeks after his arrival, he was killed in a Turkish attack (the 2nd of September 1876).

Архитектурное наследие русского зарубежья. Вторая половина XIX - первая половина XX в., ed. Светлана С. Левашко. Санкт-Петербург: Дмитрий Буланин, 2008), 212-222.

23 Павел Аполонович Ровински, *Црна Гора у прошлости и садашњости*, Том IV, *Државни живот (1851-1907) – Археологија* (Цетиње: Издавачки центар “Цетиње”, 1994), 161.

24 “Слава у Никшићу, 15. августа 1900”.

25 For more information about the Great Eastern Crisis and Balkans consult: Jelena Milojković-Đurić, *The Eastern Question and the Voices of Reason: Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Balkan States: 1875-1908* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

26 More about the biography and family origins of Nikolay Raevsky: Андрей Шемјакин, *Смрт грофа Вронског* (Београд: Завет, 2006), 17-82.

The remains of Colonel Raevsky were exhibited in the Belgrade Cathedral in the sacral ceremony and afterwards transported by a steamer to Odessa and from there to the village Razumovka in today's Ukraine to be buried in the family tomb.

The Church of the Holy Trinity in Gornji Adrovac was built on the place where the colonel Raevsky was killed.²⁷ After it happened, the wooden cross was situated there to mark the place. In August 1887 the wooden cross was replaced by the small monument stone where it was engraved: "Russian colonel Nikolay Raevsky was killed in this place fighting against the Turks on the 20th of August 1876". The monument was built on the request of the Raevsky family and with the support of the Serbian queen Natalia Obrenović who had Russian-Moldovan family origin. The land for the monument was purchased with the help from Serbian queen Natalia. A mother of colonel Raevsky, Ana Mihailovna, was the one who initiated the building of the church, but was not able to carry it out during her lifetime. She had left 50.000 rubles to her younger son for this purpose. Since he died soon after, his widow Maria Grigorievna Raevska took the obligation to build the monument.

On behalf of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Bishop of Niš Nikanor Ružičić was in charge of construction of the church. The construction started in 1902 with the ceremony in the presence of the Russian diplomats and members of the Raevsky family. The church was completed relatively quickly and in architectural terms represents a church with a basis of a *Greek cross* with a central dome over the junctions. Architectural design for the church comes from the painter Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bruni from Saint Petersburg.²⁸

27 For more historical facts and information about Adrovac church consult: Будимир Поточан, *Вронски: част и љубав* (Beograd: Filip Višnjić, 2002); Јовић Стојан, *Вронски у Адровцу* (Београд: Тетра ГМ, 2003); Љиљана Ђуровић, "Црква Св. Тројице – црква пуковника Рајевског у Горњем Адровцу," *Расински анали*, 2 (2004): 61-65; Андреј Шемјакин, *Смрт грофа Вронског*, ed. Миливоје Лалић (Београд: Завет, 2006); Зоран Стевановић, *Црква Свете Тројице у Горњем Адровцу - Спомен црква руском пуковнику Николају Николајевичу Рајевском* (Алексинац: Центар за културу и уметност, 2010); Марјановић, Наташа. n.d. *Црква Свете Тројице у Горњем Адровцу*, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://www.sgd.org.rs/publikacije/zemlja%20i%20ljudi/57/2007%20-%20Natasa%20Marjanovic%20-%20Crkva%20Sv.%20trojice%20u%20Gornjem%20Adrovcu.pdf>.

28 In *Death of count Vronsky*, Andrei Semykin states that the project design for this church was prepared by painter Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bruni, who will later paint icons for iconostasis in the church in Gornji Adrovac. There is a possibility that the father of the mentioned painter, Aleksandar Konstantinovich Bruni, who was a famous architect and academic in Saint Petersburg, cooperated in the preparation of the project design for the church. Шемјакин, *Смрт грофа Вронског*, 121; "Бруни, Александр Константинович," in *Энциклопедический*

Painting of frescoes was done in 1903 by relatively unknown Serbian painter Dušan Obrenović from Kragujevac. There is inscription in the dome of the church, which confirms that the cardboard templates for fresco paintings were done by the famous Russian painter Viktor Vasnetsov.²⁹ Obrenović's frescoes in the Parish Church in Adrovac which are based on Russian religious-historical topics are almost the same as the one done by Vasnetsov in St Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kiev done a few years before.³⁰ Famous segments of fresco-paintings in this church that are not so common in others, are the representation of Serbian Prince Lazar and St. Aleksandar Nevski. Also, there are compositions of the Baptism of Russia and the Coronation of Tsar Dusan in Skopje. Russian history-based icons are positioned on the north wall of the church, while icons inspired by Serbian state ideology are located on the south wall. With these fresco paintings Dusan Obrenović succeeded to transpose the modern Russian church painting from the "Circle of Abramčev" and to align it with Serbian state and church ideology.³¹ Iconostasis is made of the solid wood and the author of the icons was Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bruni from Saint Petersburg.³² Some icons in the church are attributed as a work of the academic painter professor Andrew Kozil from Russia. Portrait of Raevskiy in Hussar uniform is painted on the west wall of the church by the famous Serbian artist Steva Todorović. Near the church, a school was built as the donation of Raevsky family to the residents of Gornji Adrovac.

On the 2nd of September 1903, 27 years from the death of colonel Raevsky, bishop of Niš Nikanor delivered a ceremony of consecration of both church and school. The representatives of the new Serbian king Petar Karadjordjević, Serbian government and the army, so as the Russian diplomats and relatives of colonel Raevsky, were present at the consecration.³³ This space, similar to the area in Nikšić, is characterized by two functions – of the memorial temple

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словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона, Т. 4А (8): Бос — Бунчук (Санкт-Петербург: Акционерное издательское общество Ф. А. Брокгауз — И. А. Ефрон, 1891), 752.

29 For more information about the Russian painter consult: Елизавета Орлова, *Виктор Михайлович Васнецов* (Москва: Рипол классик, 2014); Лидия Кудрявцева, *Художники Виктор и Аполлинарий Васнецовы, Повесть* (Москва, 1991).

30 А. Д. Эртель, В. Г. М., *Соборъ Св. Равн апостольнаго Кнзя Владимира въ Кіевъ* (Киев: Типографија С. В. Кульженко, 1898), 50-94.

31 Макуљевић, *Црквена уметност у Краљевини Србији 1882-1914*, 185.

32 Шемјакин, *Смрт грофа Вронског*, 125-126.

33 Наташа Марјановић, *Црква Свете Тројице у Горњем Адровцу*, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://www.sgd.org.rs/publikacije/zemlja%20i%20judi/57/2007%20-%20Natasja%20Marjanovic%20-%20Crkva%20Sv.%20trojice%20u%20Gornjem%20Adrovcu.pdf>.

and the cult of the fallen soldier.³⁴ An adequate illustration of the strength of this cult and memory of the fallen soldiers are the lines written by the famous Serbian poet Jovan Jovanović Zmaj dedicated to the monument near Aleksinac: “Mighty stone on the Russian tomb has lot to say, but memory living in the hearts of Serbs goes beyond that grave”.³⁵

Conclusion

We can conclude that these two churches are showing properly the extent of the direct Russian influence on the Serbian church art and Serbian visual culture. Although they were both memorial churches, they had some different patterns of development and construction. The first one, Cathedral in Nikšić was at the same time memorial temple dedicated to the fallen soldiers and ruler’s endowment/legacy (at the time of its consecration Prince Nikola celebrated 40 years of its regency/rule). Russian influence was present to a great extent starting with the financial support, project design and the choice of the main architect. From the Art History point of view, very interesting is the consolidation of Russian Neo-Byzantine architectural project with local architectural elements, primarily the bell tower, which was introduced under the direct intervention of the ruler. As it was mentioned before, Prince Nikola was one of the greatest exponents of the Russia in the Balkans in the second half of 19th century and the church in Nikšić can be perceived as a good example of Russian state-church influence. The Church of the Holy Trinity in Gornji Adrovac, near Aleksinac in Serbia presents some kind of a diverse type of the Russian influence. It belongs to the family endowments with the particular strong significance in political and historical sense.

What gives additional importance to these churches in the context of cultural memory of Serbs is the perception of these buildings that was shaped over time. Since the cultural memory is in the process of constant development, shaping and re-shaping, these churches became general and common place in the development of Serbian cultural memory at that time. The importance of the Cathedral in Nikšić for local population in that period is clearly evident for being the central temple in not such a small town, not yet liberated. Even

34 In case of colonel Raevsky, it is possible that parts of his remains are buried close to the church in Adrovac, in the monastery of St. Roman in Đunis. According to the available data, he was embalmed for the transfer of his remains from Serbia to Russia, so his organs, have probably stayed in the tomb in the monastery of St. Roman. This event presents the basis of the created legend that his heart has forever stayed in Serbia. Шемјакин, *Смрт грофа Вронског*, 105-110.

35 Olga Manojlović Pintar, *Arheologija sećanja, spomenici i identiti u Srbiji 1918-1989* (Beograd, Čigoja štampa, 2014), 176.

today, this memorial church represents “mnemonic” toponym. The Holy Trinity Church in Gornji Adrovac is additionally interesting, because it was able to overcome the importance of the village. Today many people know the church as the “Russian Church” which shows us that memorizing has been conducted with the great success.³⁶

36 Sometimes the church in Gornji Adrovac is called “Church of Vronsky.” There is the hypothesis that the great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy took the story of Colonel Raevsky for developing a character of the Count Vronsky in the novel “Anna Karenina”. This hypothesis, of course, is not completely provable, although there is a possibility that this was indeed the case: Шемјакин, *Смрт грофа Вронског*, 13-14.

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FRENCH PERCEPTION OF SERBIA AT THE 1900 WORLD FAIR: A SUPPORT TO THE SERBIAN NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION

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Biography:

Ksenia Smolović is doing a Ph.D in Contemporary History at the Paris Panthéon-Sorbonne University under the supervision of Antoine Marès, since 2015. Her thesis is about representations of Serbia in France, from the middle of the 19th century to 1920. She tends to understand the divergence of these representations, to analyze how these images were created and, then, evolved. One of the goals of this subject is to renew a nationalistic historiography of the Franco-Serbian relations.

Summary:

French Perception of Serbia at the 1900 World Fair: a Support to the Serbian National Construction

The 1900 World Fair in Paris was organized at the end of a century during which the Oriental question influenced the European context. Serbia obtained its independence in 1878 and France has mostly supported it. An event organized several years afterwards, in 1900, could represent an occasion for us to observe how the French perceived the Serbian Pavilion, in relation to the context we have mentioned. The books published in France on the occasion of the event, as well as the articles in newspapers, are a way to understand the images that the French had about Serbia. Firstly, we can see that architecture of the Serbian pavilion appeared to be the first perception of the country, with the religious and Serbo-Byzantine influences referring to Serbian past. Then, several points mentioned in books seem to be a way to affirm the construction of the Serbian nation, mentioning the mine industry, the education or the commercial field: all these are supposed to convince the audience about the Serbian future, with the potential to develop. Finally, the description of the Serbian identity is a manner to support Serbia and its national and identity construction, compared to the other Balkan countries. The presentation of the national costumes, with their political power, and the entire ethnographical museum bring France closer to Serbia, in a way that goes beyond the national exaltation proper to the World Fairs.

Résumé :

Perception française de la Serbie à l'Exposition universelle de Paris en 1900 : un soutien à la construction nationale serbe

En 1900, l'Exposition universelle est organisée à Paris, à la fin d'un siècle influencé par la Question d'Orient. La Serbie devient indépendante en 1878 et la France a encouragé ce mouvement, prenant parti pour les chrétiens de l'Empire ottoman. L'exposition organisée en 1900 est une opportunité pour comprendre comment les Français ont perçu le pavillon serbe, croisant leurs discours avec le contexte politique. La presse et les ouvrages publiés en France sur cet événement nous permettent de caractériser les représentations françaises de la Serbie. Tout d'abord, l'architecture du pavillon est la première image du pays à être véhiculée, avec les influences religieuses et serbo-byzantines qui font référence au passé de la Serbie. Puis, plusieurs éléments mentionnés dans les ouvrages apparaissent comme des vecteurs d'affirmation de la nation serbe. Y sont décrits l'industrie minière, l'éducation ou encore le champ commercial : tous ces domaines témoignent du potentiel de la Serbie et doivent convaincre le public français que ce pays a un avenir. Enfin, la caractérisation d'une identité serbe est une façon de soutenir la Serbie et sa construction identitaire, en comparaison avec les autres populations balkaniques. Les discours sur les costumes nationaux, à fort pouvoir politique, ainsi que le musée ethnographique dans son ensemble, illustrent alors le rapprochement franco-serbe, au-delà de l'exaltation propre aux expositions universelles.

FRENCH PERCEPTION OF SERBIA AT THE 1900 WORLD FAIR: A SUPPORT TO THE SERBIAN NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION

“Bulgaria takes part in the World Fair for the first time. That is to say its entrance in the European civilization”¹; this is what we can read in a French guide published on the occasion of the 1900 World Fair in Paris. This approach is very significant, as it considers the exhibition as a manifestation of the civilization in Europe. It also considers that Bulgaria has not entered the civilization² before its participation in this event. In this perspective, World Fairs are great vectors to question the French perception of other countries. Furthermore, this 1900 cultural and scientific event had to deal with all the particular issues linked to the end of the Oriental question. From the beginning of the 19th century, Balkan countries highlighted their wish for independence from the Ottoman Empire and fought against the Ottoman authorities in order to obtain it³. We will focus on another Balkan country, Serbia, which got its independence in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin⁴. Though this exhibition was not the first one after Serbian independence, it continued to underline some of the issues related to the European context of the independence in the Balkans. The World Fair is the result of a reflection about the messages nations wanted to transmit to visitors from all over the world and it is very interesting to understand, apart from the fact that the Serbians wanted to show some things about themselves, what the French remembered about the Serbian Pavilion. The historian Manuel Viera de Miguel underlined the importance of the World Fairs in order to understand political and cultural issues of the society⁵. Thus, we will try to link these two aspects analyzing the way the French described the Serbian Pavilion.

As the 1900 Exhibition took place in Paris, numerous French historians did the research on the event, but the study of the Serbian Pavilion was rather brief. However, we could refer to the book of Vesna Dušković, who works at the

1 *Paris Exposition 1900 : guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l'exposition* (Paris : Hachette, 1900), 245.

2 See Manuel Viera de Miguel, “Absolutisme, fanatisme et orientalisme : l’image exotique de l’Espagne à travers le kaléidoscope des expositions universelles du XIXe siècle”, in *Les expositions universelles. Les identités au défi de la modernité*, ed. Christiane Demeulenaere-Douyère et al. (Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014), 101.

3 Georges Castellan, *Histoire des Balkans XIVe-XXe siècle* (Paris : Fayard, 1991), 238-270.

4 Georges Castellan, *Histoire des Balkans*, 320-321.

5 Manuel Viera de Miguel, “Absolutisme, fanatisme et orientalisme”, 101.

Ethnographical Museum in Belgrade, called *Srbija na svetskoj izložbi u Parizu*⁶ [Serbia at the World Fair in Paris], which gave us important information about the Serbian pavilion and its ethnographical museum. Our aim is not to analyze the content of the pavilion, but to question the way it was perceived and described by the French. We examine French works published in 1900 about the Exhibition which mentioned the Serbian pavilion and commented its contents. We referred to the *Catalogue général de l'Exposition* [General catalogue of the Exhibition] and in particular one additional volume which described different nations that witnessed the event. There are also five guide books about the Exhibition, which dedicated one or several pages to the Serbian Pavilion. A few general books published during the event also mentioned the Serbian pavilion, as well as some periodicals and newspapers. By examining the content of these publications, we could understand what made a deeper impression on the French about the Serbian pavilion, and what they remembered. At last, sometimes we needed to introduce some elements of comparison between the Serbian pavilion and the other Balkan pavilions, in order to find out what were the real characteristics of the descriptions of the Serbian one.

The Great Exhibition of 1851, sometimes called The Crystal Palace Exhibition, took place in London: it was the first World Fair⁷. Paris organized another one four years later. For several years, France and England shared organization of these international events and then many cities hosted World Fairs. The historian Christophe Charle links these exhibitions to a tendency of highlighting the modernity⁸, and another French historian, Jean-Christophe Mabire, suggests that “modernity” is the “main theme”⁹ of these exhibitions staging technical and industrial innovation. During following fifty years, these events grew and brought together many countries with an aim to state the development of societies, not forgetting fun, athletic and artistic dimensions that were also important.

Jean-Christophe Mabire traced back the organization of the event: a presidential decree from the 13th of July 1892 established the event. A second decree from the 9th of September 1893, treated the organization of different parts of the Exhibition; then, on the 13th of June 1896, the related Law was promulgated¹⁰. The President of the French Republic, Emile Loubet, wanted to reinforce the

6 Vesna Dušković, *Srbija na svetskoj izložbi u Parizu* (Belgrade: Etnografski muzej, 1995).

7 See Jeffrey Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

8 Christophe Charle, *Discordance des temps. Une brève histoire de la modernité* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2011), 18.

9 Jean-Christophe Mabire et al., *L'Exposition universelle de 1900* (Paris : L'Harmattan, 2000), 15.

10 Jean-Christophe Mabire et al., *L'Exposition universelle de 1900*, 19.

Republic and to gather the French population through the success of the event. On the 14th of April 1900, the Exhibition opened in the French capital. It consisted of eighteen main parts: education and teaching; artworks; instruments and general methods for literature, sciences and arts; equipment and methods for mechanics; electricity; civil engineering and means of transport; agriculture; horticulture and arboriculture; forests, hunting, fishing, picking; foodstuff; mines and metalworking industry; decoration and furniture for public buildings and houses; threads, materials and clothes; chemical industry; other industry; social economy; hygiene and public assistance; colonization; land and sea army forces.

Serbia took part in the Exhibition with a pavilion at the bank of the Seine, next to the Alma Bridge, at the end of the Rue des Nations [Street of the Nations]. In 1897, Serbia was invited to be a part of the Exhibition. Vesna Dušković underlines two points which explain that Serbia took the invitation seriously¹¹. The first one was Serbia's success at the 1889 World Fair and the fact it won a lot of medals. Then, the conflicts with Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey encouraged Serbia to assert itself at the international stage. According to Vesna Dušković, King Aleksandar Obrenović ordered, in his letter from the 4th of September 1897, to reserve the area of 500 square meters at the bank of the Seine for construction of the Serbian pavilion¹². Serbian Professor Milan Kape-tanović and the French architect Viterbeau were responsible for the project of the pavilion¹³. The Pavilion consisted of eight groups: mineralogy, agriculture, public education, military school of Kragujevac works, national industry, wine and tobacco, domestic industry, costumes and embroidery.

Architecture of the Serbian Pavilion as the First Image of the Country

The architectural constructions of different World Fairs have been abundantly studied¹⁴. Historians agree that architecture is an essential in these events and Hélène Mugnier claims that “ephemeral buildings have mostly architectural ambition of showing a synthetic image of their countries”¹⁵. The French

11 Vesna Dušković, *Srbija na svetskoj izložbi u Parizu*, 66.

12 Vesna Dušković, *Srbija na svetskoj izložbi u Parizu*, 13.

13 *Ibid.*

14 See, for example, Mathieu Caroline, *Les expositions universelles à Paris : architectures réelles ou utopiques*. Paris : Musée d'Orsay, 2007. Isabelle Chalet-Bailhache *et al.*, *Paris et ses expositions universelles. Architectures 1855-1937*. Paris : éditions du Patrimoine, 2008.

15 Hélène Mugnier, “Les pavillons de l’Autriche-Hongrie à l’exposition universelle de 1900 à Paris”, *Bulletin de l’Institut Pierre Renouvin*, 03 (1997).

archaeologist and geographer Louis Rousselet already wrote in 1901 that “Every palace thus constitutes the architectural image of the country it represents”¹⁶. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that external appearance is the first impression the visitors (or not). We must therefore think about the image of Serbia spread by its Pavilion’s architecture in 1900, about the architectural elements the French memorized about this Pavilion.

The first observation we can find in the books of the period about the Exhibition is related to the religious inspiration of the Serbian Pavilion. The Flammarion guide of the 1900 Exhibition, for example, explains that “the Serbian Pavilion architecture is inspired by the religious buildings of Serbia”¹⁷. Hachette publishers’s guide agrees that the “Pavilion reminds us of Serbian religious monuments”¹⁸. We can also quote the *Revue illustrée de l’Exposition* [Illustrated magazine of the Exhibition] which goes further and tells that “Pavilion of Serbia is [...] a church”¹⁹. These are the first lines of different extracts which evoke the Serbian pavilion, so this piece of information appears to be essential in the description of the building. The *Supplément illustré du Petit Journal* [Petit Journal Illustrated supplement], which published a page of illustrations of different pavilions every week, goes as far as to identify the Serbian architecture with a religious one: “Serbian architecture is only original when it comes to the construction of religious buildings. Palaces and other monuments [...] imitate architecture from the other nations and do not present anything very interesting. So, it was natural that Serbia built its Pavilion in the style of its temples.”²⁰

This allows us to conclude that architecture and Serbian nation are linked to religion in the French books. This is the first distinguishing feature that is mentioned. Nevertheless, we could find similar observations about Romanian architecture. Indeed, the *Volume annexe du Catalogue general officiel de l’Exposition* [Additional Volume of the General catalogue of the Exhibition] considers that “during one and a half century, [Romania] has suffered from foreign yoke and does not have, at that time, a well distinctive national architecture. [...]”²¹ and that “explains why the religious architecture is the only one that exists in

16 Louis Rousselet, *L’exposition universelle de 1900* (Paris: Hachette, 1901), 56.

17 H. Lapauze, *Le guide de l’Exposition de 1900* (Paris : Ernest Flammarion, 1900), 334.

18 *Paris Exposition 1900 : guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l’exposition*, 242.

19 *L’Exposition en famille, revue illustrée de l’exposition universelle de 1900*, N° 4, June 5, 1900, 70.

20 *Supplément illustré du Petit Journal*, Sunday October 28, 1900, 6.

21 *Volume annexe du Catalogue général officiel*, Groupe VII, Classes 35, 37, 39 et 42 (Paris and Lille: Lemercier/ L. Danel, 1900) n.p.

Romania”²². Here, we can perceive the consequences of the imperial occupation of the Balkans which can explain the lack of national architectures.

Then, there are notes in different books about the “Byzantine”²³ or “Serbian-Byzantine”²⁴ architectural style of the Pavilion. Here we have a reflection on the Serbian national construction. After several centuries of the Ottoman domination, the exhibition highlights the architecture which established itself as affirmation of the Serbian identity. The Serbian art historian Bratislav Pantelić explains that the architecture inherited from the Middle Ages symbolizes Serbian independence, with characteristics which directly remind us of ethnicity and Serbian national religion²⁵. The Hachette guide explains that, inside the Pavilion, visitors can see Serbian arms with the “four symbolic S”²⁶. Even if these symbols are not explained in the book, the author decided to write about them, probably because they are very important for affirmation of the Serbian national identity. Indeed, these four “S” refer to the Serbian motto “*Samo Sloga Srbina Spasava*”, which means “Only unity can save the Serbs”. According to the legend, this motto is attributed to Saint Sava, the first Archbishop of the Serbian church²⁷. The historical fact is that the “sign of four S” reappeared during the Serbian uprisings against the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century: it is added to the Serbian coat of arms by the duke Stefan Lazarević. Thus, it permits the reference to the medieval Serbian Empire and this is the symbolic field the author wants to explore.

After these observations, it could be stated that the French books that evoke the Serbian Pavilion are mostly giving a laudatory representation of its architecture. The *Guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l'exposition* [The practical guide of Paris and Exhibition visitor] and *L'Exposition et ses attractions* [The Exhibition and its attractions] underline the elegance of the Pavilion. The *Supplément illustré du Petit journal* [Petit Journal Illustrated supplement]

22 *Volume annexe du Catalogue général officiel*, n.p.

23 For example in *Paris exposition 1900 : guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l'exposition* (Paris : Hachette, 1900), 242.

24 For example in *Guide Armand Silvestre de Paris et de ses environs et de l'Exposition de 1900* (Paris : Didier et Méricant, 1900), 177.

25 Bratislav Pantelić, “Nationalism and Architecture: The Creation of a National Style in Serbian Architecture and Its Political Implications”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 56-1 (Mar. 1997): 16-41.

26 *Paris exposition 1900 : guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l'exposition*, 242.

27 See Maria Falina, “Religion Visible and Invisible”, in Liliya Berezhnaya, Christian Schmitt, *Iconic Turns: Nation and Religion in Eastern European Cinema Since 1989*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2013. And Dušan T. Bataković et al., *Histoire du peuple serbe* (Paris: L'âge d'homme), 22-23. See also Dušan Bandić, *Carstvo zemaljsko i carstvo nebesko: o gled o narodnoj religiji*. Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek., 1997.

mentions its “graceful impact”²⁸. The book by Louis Rousselet adds that “the outward decoration of the palace is one of the most attractive ones to the eye”²⁹. However, we have to introduce here some new elements of comparison, in order to slightly modify this laudatory tone. Indeed, architecture of other Balkan pavilions is described with the same tone. For example, we can read about the harmony and elegance of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian pavilion, with its “delightful vegetation”³⁰ and its “very specific charm”³¹ and that the Bulgarian pavilion is “very simple [...] but very graceful”³². Thus, we can come to the conclusion that this tone is not a specificity of the description of Serbian Pavilion but a facet of the enthusiast and promotional rhetoric of the World Fairs and their guides, or journalistic campaigns.

Affirmation of Serbian Nation in the Eyes of the French Public

We can underline now that French books about the Exhibition perceived different points which emphasized the affirmation of Serbian nation: descriptions of the pavilion depict a country which asserts itself on the occasion of this international event. Thus, the note about the Serbian pavilion on the *Volume annexe du Catalogue general officiel de l'Exposition* [Additional Volume of the General catalogue of the Exhibition] points out that “Serbia, proud of its economic development, wanted to present itself with dignity at this big and peaceful nations review”³³. Of all the evocations of Balkan architectures we mentioned, here the word “*proud*” does not appear in the descriptions of the other countries. In this official publication, Serbia is not mentioned as a small country but as a country with potential for the future. While several authors³⁴ mention the positive influence of Austria on the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are no comments about the influence of Ottoman Empire on Serbian past and history. Twenty two years after the recognition of its independence, Serbia appears here as a country full of resources and the *Volume annexe du Catalogue general officiel de l'Exposition* [Additional Volume of the General catalogue of the Exhibition] states that the “commission

28 *Supplément illustré du Petit Journal*, 6.

29 Louis Rousselet, *L'exposition universelle de 1900*, 103.

30 *Volume annexe du Catalogue général officiel*, n.p.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Paris exposition 1900 : guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l'exposition*, 244.

33 *Volume annexe du Catalogue général officiel*, n.p.

34 For example in H. Lapauze, *Le guide de l'Exposition de 1900* (Paris : Ernest Flammarion, 1900), 305.

in charge of the preparation of Serbian exhibition in Belgrade was composed of the most distinguished personae”³⁵. For that reason, this national pavilion is considered as more credible, even though we can quote the note about Romania that also underlines the great value of the people who organized the Romanian Pavilion³⁶.

Other more prosaic fields permit to give credibility to the Serbian future. Firstly, the publications about the Exhibition mostly evoke Serbian mines. The Hachette publishers’ guide *Paris Exposition 1900* [Paris 1900 Exhibition] describes the different rooms of the Pavilion and writes about the first one: “when we enter the room, the mineralogy of the country: gold, copper, argentiferous lead ores, extracts of Serbian mines that are still not very developed but which are expected to play an important role in the future”³⁷. The book of Louis Rousselet is similar: “Official Exhibition is particularly represented by a very important collection of the mines. The samples it shows give us an idea of the wealth of the auriferous and argentiferous deposits of the area”³⁸. Here, an objective characteristic is described: this is not a part of the descriptions of other Balkan nations. These extracts about Serbia aim to depict Serbia as a developing country.

We can identify the same elements in the commercial field. The Hachette guide *Paris Exposition 1900* [Paris 1900 Exhibition] mentions “the ground products” with “plums, which are especially exported to Austria”³⁹, but also Serbian tobacco, “one of the most famous, and mostly exported to France”⁴⁰. Another guide writes that “Serbia here shows its wines and... its pigs, as Serbia makes a point of fighting with Chicago”⁴¹. The reference to farming business of Chicago, which slaughters 2.5 million of pigs every year during the second part of the 19th century⁴², authorizes to compare Serbia with this business power. This discourse seems flattering, as the reference seems excessive and should emphasize the Serbian situation. Other elements are mentioned in the same tone – the Serbian public education, which is said to have done a “enormous

35 *Volume annexe du Catalogue général officiel*, n.p.

36 *Ibidem*.

37 *Paris exposition 1900 : guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l'exposition*, 243.

38 Louis Rousselet, *L'exposition universelle de 1900*, 103.

39 *Paris exposition 1900 : guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l'exposition*, 243.

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Guide Armand Silvestre de Paris et de ses environs et de l'Exposition de 1900*, 177.

42 Hélène Harter, “Chicago et l’incendie de 1871 : entre mythes et réalité,” Alain Cabantous *et al.*, *Mythologies urbaines* (Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2004), 219-236.

progress”⁴³ or jewellery, which presents “delicate Serbian jewellery”⁴⁴. All of the extracts we quoted are related to elements that take part in the Serbian national and independent construction and this is the image that remains with French visitors during the days after the Exhibition.

Finally, two specific books were published by the Serbian Ministry of Finance on the occasion of the Exhibition. The first one is about agriculture in Serbia⁴⁵, and the second about Serbian mining industry⁴⁶. The goal of these publications was to underline Serbia’s abilities for the development. Here again, we cannot forget that this is one of the aims of the international event, and that the other nations benefit from the same rhetorical promotion. Moreover, another book was published in France on the occasion of the Exhibition, dedicated to the Serbian Ethnographic museum. The latter allows us to approach the representations of Serbia linked to the identity.

The Description of the Serbian Identity

Different French publications which mention the Serbian pavilion evoke Serbian Ethnographic museum in a representative manner and particularly the exhibition of the national costumes. After mentioning the pig business, Armand Silvestre’s guide explains that “what soothes us of that prosaicness are the beautiful national costumes we can admire in the vast rooms”⁴⁷. In the magazine *L’Exposition et ses attractions* [The Exhibition and its attractions], a promotion of the Serbian Ethnographic museum goes in the same way: “In the elegant royal pavilion, located on the edge of the Street of the Nations, we’ll see this museum, absolutely done in the Belgrade style. Wax figures, very precisely costumed, will show us the varied clothing used in the country for all the classes of the society; we will also see the people’s professions and customs in this country.”⁴⁸

In *L’Exposition universelle de 1900* [1900 World Fair], Louis Rousselet even feels that this is the most interesting part of the Pavilion for the visitors: “But what strikes the visitor’s attention is, with a very important lot of Pirot carpets,

43 *Paris exposition 1900 : guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l’exposition*, 243.

44 *Ibid.*

45 L. R. Yovanovitch and Ministarstvo Narodne Privrede Srbije, *L’agriculture en Serbie. Monographie composée à l’occasion de l’Exposition Universelle de 1900* (Paris : imp. De Chaix, 1900), 106 p.

46 Ministarstvo Narodne Privrede Srbije, *Industrie minière Serbe : Exposition Universelle de Paris 1900, catalogue spécial* (Paris : imp. De Chaix, 1900), 40 p.

47 *Guide Armand Silvestre de Paris et de ses environs et de l’Exposition de 1900*, 177.

48 Jules Rouff, *L’exposition et ses attractions* (1900), vol. 1, 89.

of Belgrade's embroideries and of beautiful filigree gold and silver jewellery, a rich collection of national costumes which shows us the men and women's finery in Serbia."⁴⁹

Therefore, these different extracts illustrate the way that authors insist on the presence of Serbian national costumes and their beauty. These costumes are powerful vectors of political and national representations; they are used to stage the Serbian national specificities. Furthermore, they link Serbia to its history and concentrate Serbian nation in the tradition: Serbia has a past and the costumes are one of its marks. The French historian Anne-Marie Thiesse underlines that "the affirmation of a delighted and intangible yesterday"⁵⁰ allows the construction of the nation, more than the promise of a stunning future. Here, the Pavilion plays its part, by positioning Serbia in a national continuity – without any mention of the Ottoman past. The French perceive the Serbs as the members of a nation built in the continuity, across the centuries. Furthermore, other books do not depict the costumes of the other Balkan countries with the same enthusiasm, or do not describe them at all. For example, the Armand Silvestre's guide evokes Bulgarian and Bosnian costumes, but without describing them. The Hachette publishers' guide *Paris Exposition 1900* [Paris 1900 Exhibition] depicts the great colours that honour the Serbian costumes – and does not write anything about Bulgarian ones⁵¹. Also, it mentions people wearing national costumes in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian pavilion without explaining how they look like. The geographer Louis Rousselet who dedicates a part of his book to the "Countries of Balkan Peninsula"⁵², does not mention Bulgarian, Romanian or Greek national costumes. He wrote that there were some of these costumes in the pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina⁵³ whose description remained within the part related to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but did not describe the costumes. Once again, Serbian national costumes were the only ones to be highlighted: "These costumes, with bright and distinct colors, overloaded by golden and silvered embroideries, dress models artistically positioned. Their group is one of the most interesting ethnological museums. [...] The Serbian feminine costume has for principal distinctive feature a coat, which women from all the classes of the society, from the great lady to the humblest farmer, dress. The only difference comes from the richness of the embroideries. The rest of the costume includes a bolero, *Jeletché*, and a

49 Louis Rousselet, *L'exposition universelle de 1900*, 104.

50 Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales, Europe XVIIIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris : Seuil, 2011), 162.

51 *Paris exposition 1900 : guide pratique du visiteur de Paris et de l'exposition*, 244-245.

52 Louis Rousselet, *L'exposition universelle de 1900*, 103.

53 *Ibid.*, 70.

chalvari, which is a kind of culotte skirt, similar to the French cyclewomen ones. The Serbian women put the belt around their waist, sometimes weaved with fine pearls, and which ends by a high metallic staple that serves as corset in a way; they put on a skullcap weaved with silver and pearls.”⁵⁴

Consequently, we have found what the French specifically memorized about the Serbian identity during the event: the Serbian national costumes, which are associated to the Serbian identity. We have to insist on the political power of these national costumes, which we can link to the French position in the Oriental question. As France was supporting Serbia during its struggle for independence, underlining its national illustration is now a way to honour it.

In the publication of *Ethnographic museum*, the Introduction allows us to complete the representations spread to the French public. This preface, written in French, insists on the notion of tradition in relation to Serbia: “Even though everything changes almost everywhere in Europe, the Serbian race has kept intact its traditions of the past centuries [...] preserving national taste in its purity, thus affirming respect and loyalty to the ancient customs.”⁵⁵ What we felt in this flattering mention of the national costumes is here clearly expressed. Moreover, the preface evokes the “Serbian race”. Anne-Marie Thiesse explains that the word “race” can be a synonym for the “nation”⁵⁶.

Two important elements appear as well: the first one is a South Slaves hierarchy which would be favourable to Serbians. Indeed, we can read that “Reading again the history of Europe’s Eastern peninsula, we see most of the time Serbian people at the head of all the Slaves [...]” and that Serbians can, thus, “rightly consider themselves as the pioneers of the South Slaves’ civilization”⁵⁷. Therefore, the highlighting of the Serbians has to go through a comparison with its neighbours. Once again, the method of comparison allows us to think about the particularities of the Franco-Serbian specific case: the French seem to promote their relation with Serbia and to encourage the emphasis on the Serbian development. Then, a description of the South Slaves’ “race”, which the text considers the typical Serbians: “[...] they are courageous, despite a rather peaceful temperament, kind, men of order, respecting property, with an independent spirit; they are also fond of modern progress. The race is beautiful, strong and very welcoming.”⁵⁸

54 Louis Rousselet, *L'exposition universelle de 1900*, 104.

55 *Musée ethnographique serbe : Exposition universelle de Paris 1900* (Strasbourg, 1900), V.

56 Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales*, 181.

57 *Musée ethnographique serbe : Exposition universelle de Paris 1900*, V.

58 *Ibid.*

In addition to the reference about the independence, which appears as a direct support to the Serbian one, we also have to perceive the notion of progress that we have already found in different publications we referred to. The tone is specifically laudatory one and replies to the national exaltation proper to the World Fair. Furthermore, the favourable stereotypes about Serbian identity have a political role: they come as a political support to Serbian nation, when the European context encourages France to draw closer to Serbia. The Exhibition appears to be a vector of these politics.

It is difficult to conclude about the laudatory French tone about Serbia on the occasion of the 1900 World Fair, as we could also notice the same tone about other pavilions, including the Balkan ones. Indeed, we could not consider the French point of view about Serbian pavilion without comparing it to its neighbours. Even if we could observe the kind tone in the mention of the Serbian Pavilion, we have to be careful: we cannot forget that publications about the Exhibition wanted to attract visitors and to spread favourable representations of the different nations that were a part of it. However, the study of the French books and newspapers permitted us to observe French support to the Serbian national construction. The representations of Serbia are underlining an acceptance of the Serbian independence and a support to its development. Beyond the notes about Serbian progress in several fields, we have to underline the highlighting of the Serbian national costumes, which appear to be, with the emphasis of the Serbian ethnological and stereotypical particularities, the French symbolical way to approach the young nation. While Serbia had a geostrategic and diplomatic situation between Austria-Hungary and Russia, the country was under the alternate influence of these two countries. The Franco-Russian alliance from 1893 led the French politicians to integrate Serbia in their strategic considerations⁵⁹. Thus, we can conclude about the links that exist between the French laudatory representations and speeches about Serbia and this geostrategic atmosphere in Europe about the Balkans. Support to Serbia was a way to get closer to it, as the French wanted to take advantage of economic and cultural potential of Serbia.

59 Stanislav Sretenović, *La France et le nouveau Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes (1918-1929) : des relations inter-étatiques inégales* (Florence: Institut universitaire européen, 2006), 27.

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HERITAGIZATION OF THE MARAIS DISTRICT IN PARIS: ACTORS AND CHALLENGES

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Summary:

Heritagization of the Marais district in Paris: Actors and Challenges

The Marais district in Paris is important in the patrimonial sense for two reasons. The first one is existence of numerous monuments and historical remains at this location. The second and probably even more important reason, which is making all of these traces of the past "part of the present", is the engagement of numerous associations, institutions and communities in the preservation of certain elements of its past. This paper thus analyzes some of the actors that are defining, using, reinterpreting and transmitting the heritage of the Marais. At the beginning, some of the historical aspects of the district are accented focusing on the remains that could be found in the Marais today and events that influenced its appearance. Heritagization of certain parts of the district, carried out by various actors, is outlined in the second part of the paper, namely, the work of different associations related to the protection, valorization and raising awareness for the Marais' heritage, policies that affected the legal protection of the district, institutions that create different programs about it and communities whose part of the identity is the district itself and which are involved in the transmission of the memories related to it in their everyday life.

Résumé :

*La patrimonialisation du quartier du Marais à Paris :
acteurs et enjeux*

Il y a deux raisons qui font du Marais un quartier de Paris important en terme de patrimoine. La première est la présence de nombreux monuments et vestiges historiques dans ce quartier. La seconde raison, probablement plus importante, qui fait de ces traces du passé une « part de présent », est l'engagement de nombreuses associations, institutions, ainsi que de communautés dans la préservation de certains éléments de son passé. Cet article se propose donc d'analyser les acteurs qui définissent, utilisent, réinterprètent et transmettent le patrimoine du Marais. Dans un premier temps, il s'agit de mettre en relief quelques aspects historiques du quartier, soulignant les vestiges que l'on peut trouver dans le Marais aujourd'hui et les événements qui influencèrent l'apparence du quartier. Puis, la patrimonialisation de certaines parties du Marais, effectuée par les acteurs variés, est abordée dans la deuxième partie, avec notamment l'activité de différentes associations sur la préservation, la valorisation et la sensibilisation au patrimoine du Marais, mais aussi la politique qui a influencé la protection légale du quartier, les institutions qui y organisent des programmes variés, ainsi que les communautés dont l'identité est le quartier lui-même et qui sont investies dans la transmission des souvenirs sur le Marais dans leur vie quotidienne.

HERITAGIZATION OF THE MARAIS DISTRICT IN PARIS: ACTORS AND CHALLENGES

“Heritage wasn’t only about the past – though it was too – it also wasn’t just about material things – though it is that as well – heritage was a process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present”.¹

Laurajane Smith

The Marais district represents one of the Parisian districts consisting of the parts of the 3rd and the 4th arrondissement². It is one of the first places from which the city of Paris started to develop in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, it is the district that was one of the most prestigious places to live in when several kings of France resided there alongside with numerous officials and aristocrats who built luxurious and famous residences. Yet, there were times when it was one of the poorest areas inhabited by merchants, artisans and immigrants who lived in overpopulated apartments without sewerage system. Marais is one of the first Parisian Jewish districts as well and one of the most famous gay districts in the world. It is also one of the two Parisian *secteurs sauvegardés* – protected sectors – declared by the 1962 “Malraux law” and one of the districts of Paris that was later on highly influenced by gentrification during its renovation.

Still, what makes the Marais so important in the patrimonial sense? The first reason is the existence of numerous monuments and historical remains. The second and probably more important, is the engagement of numerous associations, institutions and communities in the preservation of certain elements of the Marais’ heritage. All of them are developing different definitions of the district’s heritage and memories and they constantly reinterpret the past.

The aim of this paper is to analyze heritagization of some parts of the Marais, perpetrated by different actors who are defining, using, (re)interpreting and transmitting its past. Some historical aspects of the district will be pointed out at the beginning focusing on the remains that could be found in the Marais today and events that influenced its appearance. The heritagization of the district, carried out by various actors, will be outlined in the second part: the work of different associations related to the protection, valorization and raising awareness for the Marais’ heritage, policies that affected the legal protection of the district, institutions that create different programs about it and communities whose part of the identity is the district itself and which are involved in the transmission of the memories related to it in their everyday life.

1 Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1.

2 City of Paris is divided into 20 administrative districts – arrondissements.

Important Phases of the Marais' History that Affected its Appearance

One of the most important characteristics of the Marais are numerous remains that testify about diverse cultural aspects of the district's past. These are the remains that inspired numerous associations and institutions to act for their preservation, valorization and protection. However, before presenting initiatives for the protection of the Marais' past, let's reveal some crucial parts of its history.

Significant development of this part of the city started in the 12th century with establishing of different marketplaces in its proximity which influenced the increase of its population. At the end of the 12th century the creation of the Wall of Philip Augustus started in order to protect the citizens.³ This is the eldest protective wall in Paris whose remains could be found in the Marais even today. Successively, various urban enlargements affected this part of the city. Initially, they were focused around two churches, later parishes (Saint Paul and Saint Gervais), which represented the centers of small towns inside the Wall, inhabited by traders, artisans and professionals in agriculture and textile industry. Other abbeys consisted of numerous *hôtels* where prelates lived were established soon afterwards. From the 13th century onwards, princes started to inhabit the parts of today's Marais, and to build their *hôtels*, especially after the king Charles V moved there during the seventh decade of the 14th century. Together with the king, court officials and aristocracy came, which all affected urbanization of the area. Until the relocation of the court in Versailles, other French kings resided longer or shorter in Paris.⁴ Until the second half of the 16th century they were living in the Marais. However, aristocracy remained in the district after the kings moved to the Louvre, and they continued to build their luxurious residences. Thus, the biggest parts of the *hôtels* preserved in the district until today dates from the period of the 16th, 17th and the beginning of the 18th century.⁵ However, other classes lived in the Marais as well – within

3 Simone Roux, "Paris à l'époque médiévale (du XII^e au XV^e siècle)," in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 20; Boris Bove, "Vies du quartier autour de Saint-Gervais vers 1300," in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 82-86.

4 Boris Bove, "L'urbanisation et le peuplement du quartier Saint-Gervais au Moyen Âge," in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 59-79.

5 Jean-Pierre Babelon, "Paris de l'époque classique (du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle)," in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 120-122; Clément Gurvil, "Le Marais au XVI^e siècle : le grand

the *hôtels* and big bourgeois residences, smaller apartments and houses were built for their household staff or were rented to merchants and artisans.⁶

During the 18th century new urban projects were undertaken in other city areas where elites started to establish their residences gradually leaving the Marais.⁷ From 1853 important transformations of the capital were carried out under Napoleon III and managed by the current Prefect of the Seine, Georges-Eugène Haussmann. These transformations were a consequence of demographic, social and economic revolutions and boiling of ideas developed in the first half of the 19th century. Paris became commercial and financial center of the country which attracted numerous immigrants. Haussmann's enterprise led to important urban changes: the boulevards were pierced and canalization, gas and water network introduced.⁸

The situation in the Marais at the first half of the 19th century was worse than in other arrondissements – district was one of the poorest and overpopulated. Some smaller parts of today's Marais have been changed during Haussmann's reforms, however, in some parts of the district, the medieval disposition of the streets still existed at the beginning of the 20th century, with narrow streets, buildings that were close one to another and small and overpopulated apartments, with no sewerage system.⁹ At the end of the 19th century, the Parisian population increased for a million inhabitants. Since this part of the city was still one of the poorest ones, many workers and foreign immigrants settled right there.

Due to these conditions, in 1921, one part of the Marais – mainly consisted of Saint Gervais district, was declared as the 16th of 17 unsanitary areas of Paris (*îlot 16*). The city has started to plead for its destruction. From that moment on, more concrete actions for study and protection of this part of the city have appeared.¹⁰ Several projects were done for the *îlot 16* from the 1920s. The architects proposed different solutions – some of which were to tear down the whole area.¹¹

bouleversement,” in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 127-132.

6 Gurvil, “Le Marais au XVI^e siècle,” 132-135.

7 Babelon, “Paris de l'époque classique,” 122.

8 Alain Plessis, “Paris, de la Restauration à la fin du Second Empire,” in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005) 217-218; 226-228.

9 Plessis, “Paris, de la Restauration à la fin du Second Empire,” 217-218; 226-228; Plessis, “L'inégale incidence de l'haussmannisation,” 241-242, 245-247.

10 Plessis, “L'inégale incidence de l'haussmannisation,” 241-249.

11 Isabelle Backouche, *Paris transformé, Le Marais 1900-1980, De l'îlot insalubre au secteur sauvegardé* (Grane : Créaphis éditions, 2016), 79-113; 240-244.

A significant migration wave affected the Marais demographically at the end of the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century when mainly Jewish immigrants inhabited it, running away from the political changes in Russia and Poland.¹² Between two wars Sephardic Jews from the North African countries, mainly Algeria, started to settle in the Marais as well. The reasons were either because they had the profound fondness for France or they were driven by advanced pogromist violence that affected their countries.¹³ However, not only the members of different Jewish communities were living there, but numerous other ethnic and national minorities, almost all belonging to poorer social classes. The fact that nationalists were on the power in the Saint Gervais district during the first half of the 20th century was not that favorable for numerous foreign inhabitants.¹⁴ Xenophobic tendencies started to emerge gradually and culminated with the anti-Semitism which became quite visible with the arrival of Germans running away from the Nazis during the 1930s.¹⁵ The position of the French Jews got worse during the Occupation – the outcomes were massive deportations, imprisoning, shutting down of the restaurants and the markets and spoliation of the goods of French Jews living in the Marais.¹⁶

The Occupation coincided with the decision of the Prefecture of the Seine to change urbanistically the *îlot 16*, and, as several authors emphasize, to change the demographic structure of its inhabitants. For these reasons, the area was declared unsanitary in its totality in 1941, which, with the new laws adopted to facilitate the operation, permitted the destruction of buildings. In the same year, expropriation of buildings started, without architectural and urban plans for the area, alongside with eviction of inhabitants, lacking the solutions for their rehousing. Nevertheless, not many buildings were destroyed in the end.¹⁷ However, following these laws, it will be proceeded with the urban change of

12 Jeanne Brody, “La rue des Rosiers, espace urbain et identité juive” (Ph.D diss., École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1986), 34.

13 Jean Laloum, “Des Juifs d’Afrique du Nord au Pletzl ? Une présence méconnue et des épreuves oubliées (1920-1945)” *Archives juives* 2005/2, Vol. 38 (2005): 47-53.

14 Philippe Nivet, “L’évolution politique du quartier Saint-Gervais sous la III^e République,” in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 271-275.

15 Marie-Claude Blanc-Chaléard, “Les étrangers, des Parisiens à l’épreuve des convulsions nationales (1849-1940),” in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 279-292.

16 Jean Laloum, “Entre aryanisation et déportation : le drame du quartier Saint-Gervais sous l’Occupation,” in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 367-390.

17 Backouche, *Paris transformé*, 21-26; 31-32.

the area after the Second World War as well, alongside with expropriation and evictions.¹⁸

The immigration of Jewish communities to the Marais continued after the War and North African countries gaining of independence movements.¹⁹ At this moment also, the Chinese immigration in the upper part of the district started, particularly of the people from the city of Wenzhou. From that time, many leather and tailoring shops were opened²⁰, some of which still exist today alongside with Chinese restaurants and supermarkets. These new immigration waves continued to change the district's appearance.

Another important phase that influenced the district's social structure and its appearance, as well as the future renovations, was the Malraux 1962 law enactment. From that moment on it became possible to preserve larger "sectors" – not only particular monuments, but the whole districts as well. This law gave inputs to the restoration of some parts of the Marais and affected important social and demographic changes. Yet, numerous scholars argue that this provoked the district's gentrification. As it has been mentioned before, the social structure of the district before the Malraux law enactment was mainly consisted of merchants, artisans, laborers and immigrants who lived in modest yet overpopulated apartments and in poor conditions. Renovation started with a tendency not only to provide a rentable offer for the new owners, but to attract new clientele for which parceling and small apartments were not suitable. Thus, old residents were relocated, either by force or by termination of leases. Many of them have undergone through the legal processes against the city of Paris.

What numerous inhabitants argue is whether the renovation led to "touristification" and "museumification" of the Marais.²¹ Furthermore, they think it destroyed the atmosphere of conviviality and perception of the district as a small town where everyone knows each other and where people live together.

Alongside gentrification and the change of the Marais inhabitants' structure, increase of number of gay bars, stores and business has started during the 1970s, so today, a part of the district represents one of the world's most

18 *Ibid.*, 84-88.

19 Brody, "La rue des Rosiers," 34-36.

20 "Les Quartiers Chinois," accessed September 10, 2017, <http://www.parismarais.com/fr/styles-de-vie-du-marais/le-quartier-chinois/les-quartiers-chinois>.

21 Valérie Guillaume, "Le Marais en héritage(s) – cinquante ans de sauvegarde, depuis la loi Malraux," in *Le Marais – en héritage(s), 50 ans de sauvegarde depuis la loi Malraux* (Paris: Paris Musées, 2015), 7-15; Wolfgang Scheppe, "L'invention de l'image de la ville – notes sur les métamorphoses du Marais," in *Le Marais – en héritage(s), 50 ans de sauvegarde depuis la loi Malraux* (Paris: Paris Musées, 2015), 19-20.

famous gay districts.²² Numerous *hôtels* were bought by the city and transformed into cultural institutions (museums, archives, libraries) and many art galleries started to operate.²³ All of these events affected the appearance of the district, its protection and interpretation.

Heritagization of the Marais district

In the described historical context, the Marais represents an emblematic place in the patrimonial sense because various “stakeholders” are involved in its heritagization. This could be perceived through the work of cultural associations created in order to influence the valorization and preservation of the district, policies that affected protection, different cultural and professional institutions that problematize heritage of the Marais in their programs and exhibitions, and finally, actions of the communities that once lived or still do live in this part of the city.

Associations for the protection and valorization of the district (bulletins and festivals)

An important question is how some more significant heritage protection has started in the Marais and how the interest of the actors mentioned above began to be profiled. After the transformations of Haussmann, other urban projects had been developed and started to be carried out in the capital. Some areas perceived as “old Paris” were threatened to be destroyed. Hence, numerous intellectuals, academics, professionals and amateurs as well, initiated the creation of the first groups for protection. Primarily these groups were related to monuments studying, but afterwards to more concrete actions for their preservation. These activities influenced not only the awareness of the citizens towards the capital’s heritage, but also the definition, development and widening of the “patrimonial field”. As the French historian of heritage Ruth Fiori emphasizes, the groups began studying periods and objects not perceived as heritage up to then giving more attention to historical than to artistic values.²⁴

22 “L’atelier Marais,” *Exhibition Le Marais – en héritage(s), 50 ans de sauvegarde depuis la loi Malraux*. Musée Carnavalet, 4 novembre 2015 – 28 février 2016; Laurent Villate, “La place des gays,” in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 501-518.

23 Laurent Villate, “Le quartier Saint-Gervais au cœur du Marais sauvegardé,” in *Vivre et survivre dans le Marais. Au cœur de Paris du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Édition Le Manuscrit, 2005), 493-494.

24 Ruth Fiori, *L’invention du vieux Paris, Naissance d’une conscience patrimoniale dans la capitale* (Wavre: Édition Mardaga, 2012), 13-15; 18-22; 108; 121-129; 290.

There were groups founded with the aim to protect particular districts, among them *La Cité, the Historical and Archeological Society of the 4th district (La Cité, société historique et archéologique du IV^e arrondissement)*, established in 1902. Throughout the 20th century the society included 3rd, 11th and 12th district in the sphere of its interest.²⁵ Similar to other groups related to particular districts, *La Cité* was interested in the preservation of local memories by studying the history of the district, publishing notes from archeological excavations, engravings and photographs, establishing the registers of the books, paintings and engravings, collecting the lapidary remains and organizing conferences and visits. By publishing bulletin, initially quarterly, they wanted to make history and archeology of the district closer to their readers mainly the members of the association.²⁶

Other groups for protection were active in the Marais and they have published bulletins and organized various events with aim to raise awareness about the heritage of the district. The *Association for protection and valorization of the Old Paris (L'Association pour la sauvegarde et la mise en valeur du Paris historique)* was established in the Marais in 1962 and propelled the annual festival, the *Festival of the Marais (Le Festival du Marais)*, which was organized in the district until 1987. Even though it was imagined as an artistic festival, it's been impacting the visitors' awareness about the Marais, thus striking one of the primary objectives.²⁷ During the Festival, Association organized conferences where famous scholars, architects, historians or art historians participated, as well as different exhibitions, thematic visits, etc. The program of the Festival was published including sometimes quite theoretical texts related to the Marais' history, architecture, renovation and present state of the buildings.²⁸

Association of friends of the 4th district (L'Association des amis du 4^e arrondissement) was founded in 1987 with the aim to preserve memories and heritage of the district. The Association was related to one of the Ashkenazi Jewish communities of the Marais. A group of friends wanted to make a place where they could meet each other and play Scrabble or Bridge, establish library, organize journeys. However, another very important objective of the Associations' activities was the preservation and transmission of the Jewish tradition to children.²⁹ they organized conferences and published texts fol-

25 *Ibid.*, 26-27.

26 *La Cité, Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du IV^e arrondissement de Paris*, 1^{er} année, n° 1 (Janvier-Avril 1902): 1-23.

27 Association pour la sauvegarde et la mise en valeur du Paris historique, *À l'origine de Paris historique, Le Marais sauvé par son Festival* (Paris, 2013), 2-6.

28 *Ibid.*, 24-28.

29 « Le Pletzl », *Bulletin de l'association des amis du 4^e arrondissement*, N° 1 (Mars 1988): 1-3.

lowed by engravings and photographs in the bulletin that opened questions of identities, demography, and social economy. Nevertheless, the accent has always been on the personal memories of the members, cafes they had visited, memories on their parents who died in the Holocaust and the values that elder members of the family had transmitted to them. They were writing about the people who lived in Pletzl,³⁰ old crafts, conferences they have organized during the time. Important part of every bulletin's issue was dedicated to the memory on the people who died during the Holocaust and different days of Shoah commemoration.³¹

Today, one of the most active associations in the district is the *Association of Inhabitants of the Historical Center of Paris*, “*Vivre le Marais!*” (“*Vivre le Marais!*”; *Association des habitants du centre historique du Marais*), founded in 2000, by Gérard Simonet. Originated from an observation that the district was not in a good shape, the Association was established to “defend its environment”. In 2006, the Blog was created that from its start represented a platform for people to share their preoccupations in relation to district. Thus, encompassing important things that are happening in the Marais – from cultural events, important heritages of the district, to more militant actions as advocating in municipalities or informing that the Protection and Valorization Plan of the Marais is not being followed, the articles have usually several comments from numerous members of the association, whose number today has risen to 2000.³²

The Malraux law

Some of these initiatives' activities influenced legislation, pleaded against the demolition of different buildings or created an atmosphere in which the public could become aware of the works, renovations or destructions that were planned for the district. For some parts of the Marais were quite devastated, especially the *îlot 16*, the necessity of renovation was vastly emphasized during the 1940s, and a debate on modernization, but having in mind the monuments, started. Thus, artistic and urbanistic projects that were made in the context of “old Paris” had to represent the solution for the adaptation of old and historical

30 The term “Pletzl”, which means “little square” on Yiddish, was used for the Ashkenazi part of the district. It was particularly common among the immigrants from Eastern Europe who lived here.

31 « *Le Pletzl* », *Bulletin de l'association des amis du 4^e arrondissement*, N° 1 (Mars 1988) – N° 27 (Juin 2000).

32 Gérard Simonet, Interviewed by Isidora Stanković, Personal interview, Paris, May 11, 2017; “Vivre le Marais!”, accessed September 10, 2017, <http://vivrelemarais.typepad.fr/blog/>.

districts (sometimes affected by the war) to the modern life.³³ Some buildings were expropriated, evacuated and destroyed, however, this discussion influenced significantly the reflection about the protection and renovation of larger sectors of the city,³⁴ which will find its apogee in the Malraux law.

The law was adopted in 1962 in the collaboration between two ministries: Ministry of Culture led by André Malraux at the time and Ministry of Construction led by Pierre Sudreau. It was prepared in the European historical and cultural context – the Venice charter was approved in 1964 on the *II International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments* and adopted by ICOMOS in 1965 problematizing preservation of urban or rural areas and integrity of historic sites thus following the ideas from the earlier Athens charter adopted during the *First Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments* in 1931.³⁵ However, the law was prepared in accordance to previous French laws, decrees and decisions that tended to gradually preserve surroundings of particular historic monuments, old districts and picturesque villages or even whole cities – the 1930 law on the Reorganization of the Protection of Natural Monuments and Sites of Historical, Scientific, Mythological and Picturesque Character and the law about the Surroundings of the Historical Monuments from 1943.³⁶ In the legal sense, protection of heritage was extended by the Malraux law from historical monuments (law from 1913) and their surroundings (law from 1943) to the larger complexes of buildings.³⁷

In 1959, Pierre Sudreau asked the Department of Architecture of the Ministry of Culture to do “an inventory and set the actions priorities for the protection of big cities’ districts or villages that represent historical or aesthetic interest” to which André Malraux gave a positive answer. In 1961 Department of Architecture started the preparation of a new bill. The law was adopted in 1962 and tended to avoid the destruction of old districts by promoting their renovation.³⁸

33 Xavier Laurent, *Grandeur et misère du patrimoine : d'André Malraux à Jacques Duhamel, 1959-1973* (Paris: École des Chartes: Comité d'histoire du Ministère de la culture, 2003), 167-169.

34 Backouche, *Paris transformé*, 353-397.

35 International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964), *II International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments* (Venice, 1964). ICOMOS, “Engl. Venice charter. doc.” accessed October 14, 2016, http://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

36 Laurent, *Grandeur et misère du patrimoine*, 163-166.

37 Chantal Ausseur-Dolléans (ed.), *Les secteurs sauvegardés* (Paris: Ministère de la culture et communication, Direction de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Ministère de l'équipement, des transports et du logement, Direction générale de l'urbanisme, de l'habitat et de la construction, 2000), 12.

38 Laurent, *Grandeur et misère du patrimoine*, 169-173.

Each sector chosen for protection had to have the Plan for Protection and Valorization. The Marais' Plan development started in 1964, but the first actions for the renovation were carried out in 1973.³⁹ After the research of the district had been conducted, the Plan had to define in detail the operations that will be undertaken having in mind social, economic and cultural aspects.⁴⁰ However, this first version of the plan was not accepted and was highly criticized for being unrealistic because it aimed to decrease the number of district's residents for nearly 20 000. Another negative aspect was the negligence of the 19th and the 20th century heritage and a tendency to destruction and relocation of nearly 7000 artisans' workshops that were developed here during centuries because revitalization idea was the re-appearance of the district as it looked like in the 17th and the 18th century. Furthermore, it was criticized for favoring aesthetic aspects over the urban ones.⁴¹ New architect continued the elaboration of the plan which was finally approved in 1996. The new plan took into account all the subsequent changes that have affected the district's appearance since 1965 – modification of artisan, industrial and commercial activities, or gentrification which all changed social structure of inhabitants. Up to the moment, the newest "final" version was written in 2013.⁴²

In fact, the general problem with the law was the lack of financial resources.⁴³ This is the reason why the periods between studies, their adoption and the actual renovation were often very long. Other negative aspect was destruction of some buildings and expulsions of their inhabitants against which many civil associations fought. From 1972 to 1974 the *Intercommitee of the Marais (L'Intercomité du Marais)* mobilized artists (*Front of the Artists of Fine Arts – Front des artistes plasticiens*), architects (*Popular workshop of architecture and urbanism of the Marais – l'Atelier populaire d'architecture et d'urbanisme du Marais*) and citizens to fight against a private initiative for the district's renovation, presented to the city authorities, which planned relocation of around 530 residents from their apartments. Firmly supported by the press and merchants

39 Isabelle Backouche, "L'invention des secteurs sauvegardés entre îlots insalubres et rénovation urbaine (1958-1980)," in *Les secteurs sauvegardés, Actes de rencontre à Bordeaux 15-17 novembre 2012*, Hors série n° 5 de la revue *Présence d'André Malraux* (Paris, 2013), 44-45.

40 Ausseur-Dolléans (ed.), *Les secteurs sauvegardés*, 16.

41 Backouche, "L'invention des secteurs sauvegardés," 54-58; Laurent, *Grandeur et misère du patrimoine*, 177-179.

42 *Exhibition Le Marais – en héritage(s), 50 ans de sauvegarde depuis la loi Malraux*. Musée Carnavalet, 4 novembre 2015 – 28 février 2016.

43 Backouche, "L'invention des secteurs sauvegardés," 45.

this was one of the actions that developed the architectural reflections about the inhabitants' accommodation as well.⁴⁴

Inhabitants had their influence in the discussions about the law, either through public debates, or civic activities and mobilizations. For example, the public survey from 1994 of Plan for Protection and Valorization showed that the inhabitants were in favor of preservation of the “popular” character of the district so the prices in it would not increase.⁴⁵ In order to analyze the social consequences of the district's preservation initiated by the Malraux law, a collaborative research was undertaken by Carnavalet Museum and different universities in the framework of exhibition *The Marais: a Living Legacy (Le Marais : en héritage(s))*. During the work students of history and urbanism did the interviews with the inhabitants of the Marais conducting parallel archival research. They emphasized particularly the social changes that occurred with the renovation, protection and embellishment of the district – for instance, reduction of the artisans' workshops number. Furthermore, they pointed out that the “touristification” of the district influenced the transformation of the Marais into emblematic tourist and nightlife place especially because of the homosexual community presence since 1980.⁴⁶

Exhibitions and programs about the district's heritage organized by cultural institutions in the Marais

Cultural institutions that are located in the Marais have various programs related to the district – they have organized several exhibitions about the Marais from 1962. Either exhibition catalogues or monographs about the history of the district followed the most of these exhibitions.

The first ones were mainly related to historical and Art Historical components of the Marais' heritage. This was the case with the exhibition *The Marais, golden age and renovation (Le Marais, Age d'or et Renouveau)* that was organized in 1962 in the Carnavalet Museum. The exhibition primarily highlighted the architectural and artistic heritage of the district and its *hôtels*.⁴⁷ Another exhibition, *The Marais: myth and reality (Le Marais : mythe et réalité)*, was organized in 1987 in the *hôtel Sully* by the National Fund of Historical Monuments and

⁴⁴ Intercomité du Marais, “Oui à la réhabilitation, - non aux expulsions !” in *Le Marais – en héritage(s), 50 ans de sauvegarde depuis la loi Malraux* (Paris: Paris Musées, 2015), 146-149.

⁴⁵ Backouche, “L'invention des secteurs sauvegardés,” 56-57.

⁴⁶ “L'atelier Marais : enquêtes et collectes par les étudiants en histoire de l'Université de Paris 1 et en urbanisme de l'Institut d'urbanisme de Paris,” in *Le Marais – en héritage(s), 50 ans de sauvegarde depuis la loi Malraux* (Paris: Paris Musées, 2015), 150-153.

⁴⁷ Ville de Paris, *Le Marais. Age d'or et Renouveau [1962-1963. Catalogue par Bernard de Montgolfier et Michel Gallet. Préface de Jacques Wilhelm]* (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 1963).

Sites (*Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites*)⁴⁸ in the collaboration with the Historical Library of Paris. Even though the main subject of the exhibition was district's historical and artistic heritage once again, it opened the questions of artisans' workshops from the 19th and the 20th century and Marais' Jewish heritage.⁴⁹

Other exhibitions were more specific, as the exhibition *From the refuge to the trap. The Jews in the Marais (Du refuge au piège. Les Juifs dans le Marais)* organized in 2005 to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Nazi concentration camps. History of the Jewish community in the Marais presented on the occasion particularly accented the period 1942-1945.⁵⁰ Museum of Jewish Art and History and the Shoah Memorial have their special programs, exhibitions and visits related to the Jewish heritage of the district as well.

Other institutions continue to problematize and valorize the heritage of the district – thus, in 2014, a cultural network *Marais Culture +* gathered 20 institutions with a purpose to “present the historical and patrimonial richness of the district... all by guaranteeing its valorization and protection”. The network has already organized several events that took place in the cultural institutions of the Marais (for example, festival the *The Crossings of the Marais – Les Traversées du Marais*, organized in September 2015, 2016 and 2017).⁵¹

The most recent exhibition related to the district *The Marais: a Living Legacy (Le Marais – en héritage(s))* was organized in the Carnavalet Museum for the 60th anniversary of the Malraux law in late 2015 early 2016. The exhibition explored the conditions that led to the law's proposing and adoption, the first Plan for the Protection and Valorization and its later versions, and the influence of the law on the social changes in the district. Even though additional programs about different aspects of the Marais' heritage were organized (like guided tours *Jewish Marais* in collaboration with Museum of Jewish Art and History or *Marais, a Love from the Ghetto* in collaboration with *Paris Gay Village Association*) these themes in particular were not the part of the exhibition itself.⁵²

48 That will later on become the “Center for national monuments” located in the same hôtel – Sully.

49 Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites (France), *Le Marais : mythe et réalité. Exposition présentée à l'Hôtel de Sully, 62 rue Saint-Antoine du 30 avril au 30 août 1987* (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites, 1987).

50 Les Clionqutes, “Du refuge au piège : les juifs dans le quartier du Marais – les Clionautes”, accessed October 16, 2016, <https://www.clionautes.org/test/spip.php?article798>.

51 “Marais culture +”, accessed October 16, 2016, <https://maraiscultureplus.wordpress.com/>.

52 *Le Marais – en héritage(s), 50 ans de sauvegarde depuis la loi Malraux. Exposition 4 novembre 2015 – 28 février 2016. Dossier de Presse* (Paris: Musée Carnavalet – Histoire de Paris, Octobre 2015).

Social groups

Finally, beside official or museums' discourses, important question is where ordinary people are. Are they preserving the heritage and memories of the district and is the district playing an important role in making of their identities? Additionally, what is affecting people's relations to the past and to heritagization?

People are part of diverse communities, and these influence how their members are perceiving the heritage of the district and how, and if, they are enrolled into the processes of preservation and transmission. There are many communities (Jewish, immigrants', gay's, Chinese's, etc.) which are dealing with the past of the district in a different way. As it was mentioned, different associations and institutions have their own events, programs and activities somehow related to the communities. For instance, *Paris Gay Village Association* is organizing guided tours about the gay history of the Marais. On the other hand, Shoah Memorial and Museum of Jewish Art and History are organizing exhibitions, guided tours and other programs related to the Jewish community of the district.

To return to previous questions – in the context of Marais' heritage, why and how the past of the district is used and what role this past plays in the identity making of the inhabitants? Some of the people interviewed either by the author, or within different projects, documentaries or television programs emphasize their *need* to remember and to transmit the past of the Marais. Florence Kahn, the owner of the shop and bakery of Yiddish specialties, points out that she is enrolled into transmission of the Yiddish traditions and culture.⁵³ The attachment to the district motivated in some cases the creation of the private archives related to Marais' heritage⁵⁴, or, in others, resulted in bigger photo or artistic projects. Thus, Marianne Ström, Art Historian and a photographer who is living in the Marais from her arrival to Paris as a student, dedicated several books and exhibitions to Marais' history and heritage.⁵⁵ On the other hand, confronted with the changes that are affecting the district for several decades now, Sophie Bramly did a documentary about the Jewish heritage of the Marais – *Taam, ou le goût de la rue des Rosiers*.⁵⁶

53 Florence Kahn, "Les Escapades de Petitrenaud – Cuisine Yiddish!" filmed [Janvier 2014], YouTube video, 25:40, posted [February 2014], <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cC9ORUYsFvM>.

54 Élie Allal, Interviewed by Isidora Stanković, Personal interview, Paris, April, 9, 2017.

55 Marianne Ström, Interviewed by Isidora Stanković, Personal interview, Paris, May, 24, 2017.

56 Sophie Bramly, *Taam, ou le goût de la rue des Rosiers*, 2016. My TF1 VOD, accessed April 24, 2017. http://mytf1vod.tf1.fr/films/genre-14/media-34200-Taam,_ou_le_go%C3%BBt_de_la_rue_des_rosiers.html?PHPSESSID=gcbhdsbs2tkisb6sbmoi1mmgn7; Sophie Bramly, Interviewed by Isidora Stanković, Personal interview, Paris, March, 3, 2017.

Furthermore, a particular attachment of the inhabitants to the Marais is perceived during the interviews, which is often related to district's past. Elisabeth Kurztag, a lecturer from the Museum of Jewish Art and History, the author of the guided tours of the Marais that this museum organizes and a former inhabitant of the district, sums up perfectly this feeling: "There are traces [of the past/heritage] in the Marais, that we are transmitting" and these traces could not be removed from the district. It is the process of transmission that is important, not the value of the object or the way in which it will be transmitted (by food, architecture, religion, or pieces of paper).⁵⁷

Conclusion

The number of tourists in the Marais is increasing every year. So do the programs dedicated to them – for instance, in 2005 ParisMarais website was created to promote luxurious tourism in the district.⁵⁸ The number of Airbnb apartments is growing as well. On the other hand, residents are complaining that numerous galleries whose number today in the Marais is around 85⁵⁹ are replacing grocery stores and that the prices are constantly growing. For that reason, many who influenced the appearance of the district and the definition of its heritages are today leaving the Marais.

In this context of the contemporary city, what role would heritage have? Or, more importantly – how to find a balance between the development of modern cities and preservation of heritage not by petrifying it, but enabling it to develop, still remains a challenge that all the stakeholders involved in the problem should approach together and in a strategic way.

⁵⁷ Elisabeth Kurztag, Interviewed by Isidora Stanković, Personal interview, Paris, March 10, 2016.

⁵⁸ "PARISMARAIS: The Marais insider travel guide since 2005," accessed September 10, 2017, <http://www.parismarais.com/en>.

⁵⁹ "Vivre le Marais!: Le Marais est devenu le quartier préféré des galeries d'art contemporain," accessed September 10, 2017, <http://vivrelemarais.typepad.fr/blog/2014/06/le-marais-est-devenu-le-quartier-incontournable-des-galeries-dart.html>.

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“SCULPTURAL GRAVEYARDS”: PARK-MUSEUMS OF SOCIALIST MONUMENTS AS A SEARCH FOR CONSENSUS

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Biography

Ina Belcheva is a Ph.D candidate at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. The title of her dissertation is *Socialist Monuments in the Post-Socialist Public Space: conflicts, memories, and aesthetics. The Bulgarian case in the South-East European context*, and is being written under the tutelage of Professor Dominique Poulot. Belcheva defended her Master thesis at the EHESS (*Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales*) in Paris, with Professor Eric Michaud on the problem of *The Monumental Sculpture in Sofia During the Establishment of the Communist Regime (1947/8 - 1956)*. In 2014 she also worked as a curator at the Bulgarian National Art Gallery, in its newest branch – the Museum of Socialist Art.

Summary:

“Sculptural Graveyards”: Park-Museums of Socialist Monuments as a Search for Consensus

After the fall of Communist regimes in Europe an important part of the monumental propaganda remained as a haunting memory of the past. Just like after every revolution, one of the first impulses was to take down the statues or to de-sanctify them by painting them over with graffiti. This impulse was sooner or later stifled, depending on the country, and in most cases this was achieved by removing the monuments from the public space and relocating them to what is commonly defined as “sculptural graveyards”. Temporary solution or permanent open-air museums, this is one of the new phenomena in museum practices in Central and Eastern Europe from the last couple of decades. In this paper we examine the practice, but also the linguistic code behind it. The idea of a graveyard, burying, is opposite to that of heritage and preservation of memory. Thus the inauguration of sculptural parks-museums could be part of what James Young defined as an attempt to forget. By examining the differences those open-air museums represent in their museum practices, the question of memories of the recent past and the conflicts arising from them, as well as the intent behind the common use of the term “graveyard”, our

aim is to paint a broad picture of the contemporary problem of conservation of the monuments of Socialism in museums.

Résumé :

« Cimetières de sculptures » : les parcs-musées de monuments socialistes et la quête de consensus

Après la chute des régimes communistes en Europe une partie importante de la propagande monumentale est restée dans l'espace public tel un souvenir-fantôme du passé. Comme avec chaque révolution, une des premières impulsions était de renverser les statues ou de les désacraliser en les recouvrant de graffiti. L'apaisement des passions, plus ou moins rapide selon les spécificités de chaque pays, dans la plupart des cas s'est produit suite à la délocalisation des monuments vers les communément dénommés « cimetières de sculptures ». Solution temporaire ou musées permanents, c'est un nouveau phénomène dans les pratiques muséales en Europe médiane que nous observons depuis deux décennies. Dans cet article nous nous interrogeons sur des questions muséologiques mais aussi sur le code linguistique spécifique. L'idée de cimetière et d'enterrement est contraire à celle de protection du patrimoine et de la mémoire. Voilà pourquoi l'inauguration de parcs-musées de sculptures pourrait être qualifiée en tant que tentative d'oubli (James Young). Nous nous tâchons à dépeindre une image générale du problème actuel qui est la conservation des monuments du socialisme dans des musées en examinant les caractéristiques principales de ces musées en plein air, le conflit des mémoires et le code discursif.

“SCULPTURAL GRAVEYARDS”: PARK-MUSEUMS OF SOCIALIST MONUMENTS AS A SEARCH FOR CONSENSUS

“When men die, they enter history. When statues die, they enter art. This botanic of death is what we call culture.”

Les Statues meurent aussi, 1953¹

The public statuary characteristic for Communist regimes, for the most part highly ideologically charged, is still abundant in the post-socialist space. As ignoring it or removing it quietly is not a solution, different countries in the region have sought out diverse methods of dealing with this monumental heritage of the recent past.

The quote from Alain Resnais and Chris Marker’s controversial documentary film illustrates the best the principal problem of the Socialist artistic heritage today. While some works of art from other difficult periods in history have found their way to art museums, official public sculpture from the second half of the 20th century in Southeastern Europe is either absent or “exiled” in special museums that would allow specific contextualization and evaluation.

We are interested in the appearance of the new type of museums that are the sculpture parks of socialist monuments. Those museums have been created in different moments of the post-period; they have different concepts and are received in a different way. Yet they share one common trait – they exhibit half a century of creations of public art² and are commonly renamed as “sculptural graveyards”. In this article we try to follow the history of this denomination, see the various interpretations made by specialists and try to propose a new classification of the park-museums that exist until now by separating them in two groups: museums with a more or less pronounced ironic approach (*Grūtas Park*, *Memento Park*) and art museums with a more conservative approach (*Park of Arts*, *Museum of Socialist Art*). A special attention is paid to the newest sculpture park-museum in Southeastern Europe – the Museum of Socialist Art – as an example of the difficulties met to reach a consensual decision and the problem of the conflict of memories. The questions of aesthetics, as well as that of memory, are mentioned, but as those are complex issues that involve a more in-depth analysis of the situation, the nostalgia and the bitterness of the different actors, they are not developed here.

1 Chris Marker, *Les statues meurent aussi*, directed by Alain Resnais, Chris Marker, Ghislain Cloquet (France: Présence africaine, Tadiécinéma, 1953).

2 Of course, they exhibit only a selection of those monuments that were removed from the public space. Others, such as monuments to the Soviet Army, are still in their original emplacement and their existence is object of different debates and heritage policies.

“Sculptural graveyards”: preservation politics or politics of forgetting?

History has shown that museums of the recent past whose goal was to preserve its heritage usually appeared a few years after the political change, or revolution had taken place. The first museum of this kind was the Museum of French Monuments that opened to the public in 1795, just six years after the French revolution. Its mission was to preserve the heritage that was under threat of destruction and vandalism, while proposing historical and somewhat didactic vision of the exhibited works. The main role of this first museum was to preserve and to spread the awareness of the need to protect the heritage. In a recent exhibition in the Louvre, dedicated to the Museum of French Monuments, the introduction underlined that the word “monument” at the time was used as a definition of “witness of the past”,³ and as such had to be in service of the preservation of memory for future generations. In his article,⁴ Richard Esbenschade makes a parallel between this first French museum and Lenin’s Plan for monumental propaganda. In fact, after the October Revolution, Lenin had a similar project in mind: to remove all public art that glorified the monarchy and, after careful evaluation of works, to preserve those that have “undeniable” aesthetic qualities as well as to destroy the “superfluous” others. Such a museum was not created, to our knowledge, at the time, but numerous royal sculptures were removed, and their pedestals either remained empty or the statues were replaced by ephemeral monuments of ideological figures.

After the fall of the Communist regimes in 1989 (and the dissolution of the USSR in 1991), countries from Eastern Europe had to prepare for the destruction that was sure to follow. Of course, many statues and monuments were destroyed in a sort of symbolic taking down of the former regime, but also as a type of therapeutic liberation from the oppressive past. Some countries had a more swift reaction than others and hurried to protect the most emblematic examples of monuments in the public space. In 1993 Hungary inaugurated the Park of Statues that is now called *Memento Park* in Budapest and the Russians placed their monuments of ideological figures, such as Lenin, Stalin or Felix Dzerzhinsky, in Moscow’s *Park of Arts* in 1996.⁵

3 Press release for the exhibition: *Un musée révolutionnaire. Le Musée des monuments français d’Alexandre Lenoir* (April 7th – July 4th 2016) (Paris: Musée du Louvre).

4 Richard S. Esbenschade, “Remembering to Forget: Memory, History, National Identity in Postwar East-Central Europe,” *Representation* 49 (Winter 1995): 72-96.

5 A more particular way of preserving was chosen in Crimea, cape Tarkhankut, in 1992. By a local initiative, in order to preserve the monuments of leaders that existed in the public space, but also in different factories, those were quickly collected and put at the bottom of the sea in an underwater museum that is today known as the “Alley of Leaders”.

Today, open-air museums that exhibit public sculptures from the years of Socialism could be found not only in Russia and Hungary, but also in Lithuania (*Grūtas Park*, also known as Stalin's World) and in Bulgaria – the Museum of Socialist Art. One thing that those museums share is the way they are commonly referred to – “sculptural graveyards”.

It is important to be able to differentiate those parks and to understand why they came to be called that way. The idea of a graveyard is strictly related to that of memory, but also of burial, so to the memory of something long gone and that could never come back. Some of the sculpture parks of monuments of Socialism are even positioned in the outskirts of the cities (the case of *Memento Park*) so that they keep out of sight and out of mind (just like graveyards do). A public statue is specific in a way that it has an inherent connection with the place it occupies. This is especially true for monumental sculpture from the years of Socialism, where almost every monument was included in a social ritual: a commemoration date, an anniversary, beginning or end of the school year, national holiday or simply an organized group visit. After the fall of Socialism, sculptures, as the most visible vestiges of the past, became focal points for social unrest, mainly by becoming places for manifestations. But they were also a way to release the social tension: they were covered with graffiti and different artists found their expression by working on the monuments themselves.

The destruction of the monuments was seen as a way of physically “taking down” the former power. Some countries, such as Romania, destroyed the majority of their monuments, and today are struggling to preserve the few that were left;⁶ others kept them in storage or simply discarded them in different and often random places.⁷ Finally, a few tried to protect those vestiges of the past and quickly came to create new museums to exhibit them. The need to remove monuments from their original emplacement and to put them in a specially arranged context is what symbolizes the “death” of a monument. Once removed, extracted from its ideological role, it is now to be seen only as a witness of the past and as a work of art.

The Museum of French Monuments was the first to have an exhibition park, even though it was quite different from the later post-Socialist examples. The Elysées gardens were used to exhibit tombstones and sculptural compositions in order to “commemorate the virtues and the memory of illustrious people”.⁸

6 See Ioana Ciocan's Golden Age Museum Project, “Ioana Ciocan – Independent Curator”, accessed October 4, 2016, <http://ioanaciocan.com/goldenage-museum/>.

7 This is the Estonian case – today the Estonian history museum has a project to open a Park of Monuments and this is an object of many debates.

8 Press release for the exhibition: *Un musée révolutionnaire*.

It was a place that could be used for walks and for reflections, but what is interesting is that the curators of the Louvre exhibition define it as a *timeless space*,⁹ which is, of course, a term that we often associate with graveyards.

The origin of the ironically used denomination “sculptural graveyard” is quite unclear. It is a term used by numerous journalists, politicians, researchers in different countries, independently from each other. Researchers use “sculptural graveyard” either as a way to describe the post-Socialist sculpture park-museums and their initial “storage” use,¹⁰ or as a reference to the way the public usually talks about them.¹¹ As a consequence, it is not rare to see tourist websites, such as Trip Advisor, to describe the Moscow park-museum or the Museum of Socialist Art as “Graveyard of Fallen Monuments” or “Socialist Sculpture Graveyard”. Talking about the Museum of Socialist Art, Russian journalists state that those type of sculpture park-museums are the “perfect graveyard for the fallen heroes” and that the importance of their existence could be found in the fact that “one can run away from exile but not from a museum”.¹² In this sense, the museum is seen as a form of punishment and revenge towards the past. And while this symbolic “burial” of the former ideological leaders was not part of the conception of the creators of the sculpture park-museums, the public sees them as such and this transforms their whole purpose.

Admittedly, the metaphor of cemetery is inspired not only by the symbolism of the death of a statue, but also by the way the majority of the sculpture park-museums is organized. What is common for the museums in Hungary, Russia, Lithuania and Bulgaria is that the sculptures are arranged in alleys that allow the visitor to circulate along them and, eventually, to be told a story. The homogenous materials used – stone, granite or bronze – as well as the realistic style or dramatic imagery provoke an immediate association with a cemetery. Also, the fact that those sculptures are usually left to themselves, with no mediation or other information, as of their role, their authors or their symbolic importance in the past, makes the visit in the park often silent and resembling a pilgrimage.

Even though Paul Williams does not adopt the quasi-term that “sculptural graveyards” has become, he uses the metaphor of death quite freely, by

9 *Ibid.*

10 Charles Merewether, “The Rise and Fall of Monuments”, *Grand Street* 68 (Spring 1999): 182-191.

11 Anne-Marie Losozcny, “Du Parc des Statues au Memento Parc à Budapest”, *Rue Descartes* 71 (2011): 88-101.

12 BTA, “Russian newspaper: The Bulgarian Museum of Socialist Art is the ‘perfect graveyard of fallen heroes,’ August 28, 2011, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://www.svobodata.com/page.php?pid=6503&rid=712&archive=1> [In Bulgarian].

entitling his article “The Afterlife of Communist Statuary”.¹³ He argues that this is meant in the sense that sculptures get a “second life”¹⁴ in the new museums, but it seems that this life after social death is different for all the sculptures, depending on the museum to which they were relocated.

Sculpture Park-Museums, a Possible Road to a Consensus?

We would like to propose a classification of this new type of museums, which are on the border between memorial museums and art museums, between historical museums and amusement parks. We insist on the fact that neither the Hungarian, nor the Russian, Lithuanian or Bulgarian cases have a somber and graveyard-esque concept and approach to the past. While visually the organization of a multitude of statues in straight alleys recalls specifically a cemetery, these museums today, more than 27 years after the fall of the Communist regime, have a new role. In his article Paul Williams asks the question of whether or not those parks are a temporary solution or they can continue to exist even after the memory of Socialism fades away?¹⁵ It is a valid question bearing in mind that their revolutionary character, their impulsive creation in some cases and their subsequent concentration on memory struggles cannot go on forever. The range of visitors is becoming larger; those are no longer limited to the carriers of the traumatic or nostalgic memory. The Socialist past is becoming more and more of interest, the younger generations and a lot of foreign tourists visit the museums that preserve the heritage of the past, free of emotions and judgment. And while museums evolve according to their visitors, they also develop according to the new research in the fields of History or Art History, according to the new museological concepts, that have known a serious development in the last two decades.

Grūtas Park

To propose a classification of the sculpture park-museums, it should be noted that out of all four, only one is private (even though supervised by the State), and this is the Lithuanian *Grūtas Park*. This special status makes it difficult to position, because while the other museums could be held accountable for

13 Paul Williams, “The Afterlife of Communist Statuary: Hungary’s Szoborpark and Lithuania’s Grutas Park,” *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 44/2 (2008): 185-198.

14 *Ibid.* 186.

15 *Ibid.* 196.

the state policy towards the heritage of the past, in Lithuania the park is managed by a private individual. This does not mean, however, that the park is not representative for Lithuania’s attitude towards its monumental heritage. Paul Williams traces back the history of the *Grūtas Park*, from the competition for its creation in 1998 to its almost privatization by Viliūmas Malinauskas.¹⁶ He goes as far as to call it a “theme park”¹⁷ because of its immersive scenography and overly ironic approach. *Grūtas Park* is also the only one that is located in a place far away from the capital and this makes its public quite different than that of the museums in Russia, Hungary or Bulgaria. In “Stalin’s World”, as it is playfully renamed, the visitor could have a stroll in the forest and take notice of the sculptures that come out from behind trees, as well as experience different aspects of everyday life during Socialism.

Memento Park

Its private management aside, *Grūtas Park* could be compared to the first sculpture park-museum in Southeastern Europe, the Park of Statues in Budapest, inaugurated in 1993.¹⁸ Its conception was to house 41 emblematic ideological monuments and to organize them around three thematic axes: the infinite alley of the monuments that glorify the liberation; the infinite alley of the personalities of the workers’ movement; the infinite alley of the ideas of the workers’ movement.¹⁹ At the beginning, it was a museum that had a distinctly negative message that was centered mainly on the repressive character of the regime; it had a cold, graveyard-like feel to it. In 2005 the Hungarian government took the decision to renovate the museum for the celebration of the anniversary of the 1956 uprising. This is how the Park of Statues became the *Memento Park* in 2006. From that moment on it had an exhibition hall, a Witness square, as well as an artistic center, a tourist center and an educational center. It would seem that the museum has gained a lot from this revision of the past, since it now presented a lighter atmosphere. The new approach is, however, strongly ironic (with the Red Star Store, the Telephone booth with speeches by Lenin, Stalin, Mao-Tse-Tung, the cinema hall with the movie “The Life of an Agent” and the Trabant car) and could be related to that of the *Grūtas Park*. Then again, *Memento Park*’s website insists on the fact that it is “not

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 187-189.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁸ For an in depth analysis, see Losozcny, “Du Parc des Statues au Memento Parc à Budapest,” 88-101.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 92.

about Communism, but about the fall of Communism!”²⁰ It should be pointed out that *Memento Park* is not a history museum, nor it is an art museum. Its concept was to talk about the recent past with irony, but without malice, all the while concentrating on two moments of Hungarian history – the 1956 uprising and the fall of Socialism in the country – which is an interesting way to evade the most conflictual memory points. Zsolt Horvath²¹ quotes the architect Akos Eleöd, the creator of the Park of Sculptures in Budapest, who says that the museum is based on *both self-irony and self-control*,²² a museum that should not take revenge on monuments since they were never put into question by the public: “everybody lived silently among these ‘propaganda objects’”;²³ a museum that does not insist on moral or ethical deficiencies of the regime. And yet, after its renovation in 2005, the *Memento Park* has become an extreme case of the “Disneyfication” of museums.²⁴ If it is now a museum of the “fall of Communism”, it is because its concept has changed, it relies more on the spectacular, the game, the absurdities of the past and all of those led to the fall of the regime. Marianne Hirsch proposes the term of *postmemory* to illustrate the connection to the objects “not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation”.²⁵ This look upon the question of memory is essential to the studies of post Socialism since it treats the memory and the formation of the attitude of the younger generation regarding the past they never lived in, but is still felt in the present.

Paul Williams sees the Hungarian museum as a form of “derisive nostalgia”,²⁶ a mature way to deal with the past, not through denying it or judging it, but by laughing at it. It is true that *Memento Park*, *Grútas Park*, as well as other museums of Socialism in general have adopted this approach, as it allows

20 Conception – Memento Park Budapest, accessed July 2, 2016, <http://www.mementopark.hu/pages/conception/>.

21 Zsolt K. Horvath, “The Redistribution of the Memory of Socialism. Identity Formations of the ‘Survivors’ in Hungary after 1989,” in *Past for the Eyes: East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989*, ed. Oksana Sarkisova and Peter Apor (Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2008), 261.

22 *Ibidem*.

23 *Ibidem*.

24 For similar cases of theme-park-museum attempts in Germany, see Esbenshade, “Remembering to Forget,” 72-96 and on the *Disneyfication* of Communism see Svetla Kazalarska, *Museum of Communism: Between memory and history, politics and market* (Sofia: Sv. Kliment Ohridski, 2013) [in Bulgarian].

25 Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1997), 22.

26 Paul Williams, “The Afterlife of Communist Statuary: Hungary’s Szoborpark and Lithuania’s Grutas Park,” *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 44/2 (2008): 186.

a better “diverting” experience, but also does not echo the museums of the past, that had a predominantly didactic discourse. The metaphor of “death” is, however, still present, and this is where Williams proposes an alternative terms to that of “graveyard” – “banishment”: “While the banished person was made non-present, their absence was also intended to be visibly apparent as a cautionary lesson to others”.²⁷ The theory of a derisive approach to the heritage, an approach that completely integrates the idea of its symbolic death, is adequate for the appearance of those museums that are created at the beginning of the political change. With the case of *Memento Park* we saw the difference that time can make in the conception and the development of a museum that has such a sensitive and conflict topic.

But not only a person can be *banished* – this is also a term used to fight the non-tangible fear, a spirit or a ghost. And in the context of fighting for the establishment of a new system, while exiling the public statues in parks in the outskirts of the capital is a first step, a second one is the inauguration of a memorial museum that can concentrate on the haunting memory of the recent past. In the Hungarian case, in 2002 another museum dedicated in part to the period of Socialism opened its doors, this time in the center of Budapest: The House of Terror Museum. As such, the Memento Park was no longer the only carrier of the memory of Socialism, with the multitude of museums the different discourses (nostalgic and traumatic) could find their place in a search for balance and consensus.

Park of Arts

Back at the beginning of the 1990s, some of the removed Soviet-era monuments found themselves in the park behind the Central House of Artists in Moscow. The mayor of the capital at the time, Yuri Luzhkov, said that this was “an excellent thought. It called into being a longtime dream: to gather together all of the bronze and granite Soviet leaders, heroes, farmers, to enclose them in a fence, and allow children to play there.”²⁸ In 1996 the statues were restored, put in a specific order and the park was named the *Park of Arts*. The park is now a place for all kinds of statues, from the Soviet era, but also religious ones, as well as busts of famous artists, writers, composers, and illustrious people.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 194.

²⁸ As quoted by Benjamin Forest and Juliet Johnson, “Unraveling the Threads of History: Soviet-Era Monuments and Post-Soviet National Identity in Moscow,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 3 (2002): 524-547.

While the *Park of Arts* is in a central location in Moscow, it continues to be commonly named Graveyard of Fallen Monuments. As Dominique Poulot writes in “Museum and museology”: “The museum has to conserve the elements of the past and to give them consciousness, to construct a narrative, without reducing the visitors to silent observers but also without giving up to the too empathic representation and to engage affective responses.”²⁹ The *Park of Arts* has no story to tell, it does not have a specific discourse, and this renders it almost obsolete. James Young quotes Robert Musil: “Nothing in the world is more invisible than a monument”.³⁰ In James Young’s logic, this is quite true, especially if we believe that monuments (and we add to this – museums of monuments) are created in order to forget or to liberate from the events they depict.³¹ Today, the *Park of Arts* is not well known as a museum dedicated to the public art of the Socialist period, it is often omitted in works dedicated to the problem of the monumental heritage of the past and it seems it has not managed to respond to the expectations of Russians.

Forest and Johnson dedicate a very important article to Moscow’s park-museum and emphasize one extremely important detail, revealing its somewhat conservative approach. At the end of the 1990s, panels had been installed on the most important Soviet-era statues in the *Park of Arts*, identifying the subject, artist, material used, and location where the piece had been displayed. After this description, the panels ended with a depoliticizing disclaimer: “It has historical and artistic value. The monument is in the memorializing style of political-ideological designs of the Soviet period. Protected by the state.”³² Since the panel states irrevocably that the monument is of historical and artistic value, we could return to Alain Resnais’ and Chris Marker’s quote from the beginning and say that this is a case of an attempt of a consensus on the importance of Socialist heritage and inscribe it in a long and continuous tradition. It is a step that was of extreme importance to the acceptance of the art of the Socialist period, especially that of Socialist Realism. An example of this is the new permanent exhibition at the Manege in Moscow, dedicated to Vera Mukhina’s emblematic sculpture “The Worker and the Kolkhoz Woman” that has a purpose to follow the development of this ideological image through the years and its artistic appropriations until today. It is a collection that has pretended neutrality in the vision, with a balance between this omnipresent

29 Dominique Poulot, *Musée et muséologie* (Paris, La Découverte: 2009): 26.

30 James Young and Anne Tomiche, “Ecrire le monument : site, mémoire, critique,” *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 3 (1993): 741.

31 *Ibid.*, 735.

32 Forest and Johnson, “Unraveling the Threads of History,” 537.

symbol of Socialism in the East and the irony towards it. This not only is, we find, an excellent attempt of making peace with the past, but also a way to put aesthetics before politics, aesthetic memory as an appeasement of the conflict of memories.

Bulgaria has waited for more than 20 years in order to create its first museum dedicated to the Socialist period. In the 1990s sculptures were removed from the public space and discarded without care. The Museum of Socialist Art is a representative for those “sculptural graveyards” that appear in post-Socialist countries. The main question is: are the monuments of historical and artistic value? With the creation of the Museum of Socialist Art, the state tried to finally give an answer.

The Museum of Socialist Art: an art museum?

The debate surrounding the creation of a museum of Socialism in Bulgaria had been going since the beginning of the political changes.³³ While the other countries from the former Eastern Bloc were creating different types of museums dedicated to the recent past, in Bulgaria there was a lot of indecision on this subject. The conflict of nostalgic and traumatic memory made a consensual decision extremely difficult and this is why art, somehow naturally, stepped up. The first exhibitions dedicated to the period were exclusively art exhibitions. Sofia Municipal Art Gallery presented two of them: “The Poster in Bulgaria 1946 – 1955” (March - April 1999) and “Socialist Realism from the Collection of the Sofia Municipal Art Gallery” (15 January – 15 February 2002). In 2009, the National Art Gallery proposed the exhibition “Underground Stores”.³⁴ The common denominator in all of these exhibitions was the art period and the artistic method exhibited – that of Socialist Realism. As a part of the traumatic discourse, an image of the art of Socialism was being conveyed, an image of a permanently imposed and non-evolving normative aesthetics during the whole duration of the period.

The discussions on the musealization of Socialism continued, but a museum that responded plainly to the expectations of the carriers of traumatic memory is still not a fact. A museum of the nostalgia towards Socialism, called *Retro Museum*, a private initiative, however has opened its doors in Varna in 2015. And in 2011 in Sofia opened a museum in search for a consensus of memories, memories that have not really had the possibilities to be expressed.

33 See Kazalarska, *Museum of Communism*, [In Bulgarian].

34 For more information about the exhibition, see: Gabriela Petkova-Campbell, *Five Essays on Bulgarian Museums and Communism* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2015).

On the 19th of September 2011, the Museum of Socialist Art was inaugurated. The Minister of Culture Vezhdi Rashidov – a well-known Bulgarian sculptor – announced it as a representative part of the best works of art created during the years 1944-1989³⁵ and Simeon Dyankov, the Minister of Finances, declared that “socialism has finally gone where it belonged – into a museum”.³⁶

The long awaited museum of Socialism was finally inaugurated in Sofia. It was, however, not what most people expected, since it was an art museum, a branch of the National Art Gallery. Maybe because of the arts affiliation of the Minister of Culture, and maybe as an attempt of a consensus and a less controversial approach, the Museum of Socialist Art is the only one in former Socialist countries that is solely dedicated to the art production of the period, at the same time mass production, big state commands and selection of the best sculptural works of the time.

The Museum consists of a single exhibition space, a sculptural park and a video room where fragments of news reportages could be seen, showing everyday life during the different decades of Socialism, manifestations on public holidays, as well as emblematic moments of the post-period, like the destruction of the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov in 1999.

The inaugural exhibition, that was initially supposed to be a permanent one, represented works of art from different periods and of the most prominent Bulgarian artists from the second half of the 20th century. This approach was not accepted by the general public that found it was degrading for artists to be exhibited in what was more or less seen as a “collaboration” museum, or a museum that would exhibit the art of collaborating with the regime artists. That is why relatively quickly this first exhibition, that carried no title, was replaced by the second one, entitled “The Totalitarian Art”. It represented the art from the first decade after the *coup d'état* from 1944 in Bulgaria and was, just like the previously organized exhibitions in Bulgaria, particularly interested in Socialist Realism. The political poster was, of course, the logical thematic continuation of the exhibitions of propaganda art.

Followed some others (*Recorded Memories* (March-May 2013), *25 Years of Infinite Transition* (November 2014-April 2015)) concentrated more on the contemporary period and the question of memory but they were not really part of the wholesome conception of the museum as much as singular initiative

35 Nataliya Hristova, “Introduction 1,” in *Socialism in the Museum of Postsocialism*, ed. Nataliya Hristova (Sofia: New Bulgarian University, 2015), 7. [In Bulgarian].

36 As quoted by Hristo Hristov, “Part of the Art of Communism Entered in a New Museum,” accessed September 5, 2016, <http://desebg.com/2011-01-06-11-55-24/405-2011-09-19-17-34-04>. [In Bulgarian].

of different curators. It was in March 2016 that a more general exhibition plan was announced by the new curator of the Museum of Socialist Art, Nikolay Ushtavaliysky. With the “Image of the Leader”³⁷ he manifested his desire to start a series of exhibitions that would reveal different types of official canon and trends in the art during Socialism. This is one of the crucial moments in the existence of this young museum, as it would allow for it to create a more constant image and to finally define its role in the debate in the search for a consensus.

The name of the museum was another object of controversy: “Socialist art”. This is a term that was used as a way out of “Socialist Realism” since the 1960s and that could more or less pretend to be everything. Prof. Chavdar Popov defined it in his article simply as “an art created during the Socialist period.”³⁸ This is one of the main reasons the name was so harshly criticized by the public and by art historians, since it was leaving the field too large, not to mention that the term has not been officially adopted by Art History. We could even allow ourselves to add to this discussion by making a comparison between the uses of the term “Socialist art” today in the post-socialist times, while during Socialism Western art was often designated as “Capitalist art”. Terminologically speaking, the term “Socialist art” is important here in its significance for the search for a consensus. The name of the museum was changed numerous times before its inauguration and the strongest emotions were exhibited towards changing it to the term “Totalitarian art”, as it would convey at least a part of the repressions that were characteristic for the regime. But the term was judged as not corresponding to the idea of representativeness of the art creation of the Socialist period. A compromise was made with the second exhibition, that of Socialist Realism and many of those that followed.

In the sculptural park, which is the *de facto* permanent exhibition of the Museum of Socialist Art, the most emblematic monuments from the public space of different Bulgarian towns are presented, alongside with, bizarrely, indoor sculptures from the collections of the National Art Gallery as well as the former Museum of the Revolutionary Movement and Home of the Active Combatants Against Fascism and Capitalism. The more or less chaotic order of the sculptures that does not obey any possible logic – thematic, chronologic or even size-wise – is a basis for important critiques. The Minister of Culture

37 See (Exhibition catalogue) *The Image of the Leader (March-November 2016)* (Sofia: National Gallery, Museum of Socialist Art, 2016), 7. [In Bulgarian].

38 Chavdar Popov, “Totalitarian Art and Socialist Art: A Comparative Study,” in *Socialism in the Museum of Postsocialism*, ed. Nataliya Hristova (Sofia: New Bulgarian University, 2015), 259. [In Bulgarian].

has personally chosen the sculptures for the park and he has supervised their placement. Many saw this as an attempt for a personal vendetta against his colleagues, some of them his rivals in the art field.

The sculptural park is also the main object of interest of the Museum of Socialist Art. It may be incomplete when it comes to information about the former placement of the monuments or the context of their creation, but the mixture of official ideological cult figures and contemporary works has an effect of surprise and thus of breaking the misconceptions of the art of the period. The Bulgarian sculpture park-museum is the only one that actually proposes sculptures this diverse in style, thematic and purpose. Among the cult figures of Lenin and Dimitrov could be found representations of the Republic (as the one by Lyubomir Dalchev from 1974), of the Rachenitsa, a Bulgarian folk dance (by Velichko Minekov, 1972) or a Requiem (by Nedko Krastev and Nikolina Kanarova, 1984). This is what makes this museum unique and it explains why its approach towards the past is this different than its counterparts in Hungary and Lithuania. The Museum of Socialist Art does not convey even an ounce of irony. It presents the artistic heritage of Socialism in a traditional and conservative way, which actually reinforces its impact. However, the representation of the sculptures is such, that the association valid for other park-museums is coming full-force: that of a “sculptural graveyard”.

The neat alleys and the freshly cut grass, as well as the concrete standardized pedestals, strive to make a neutral environment from the park. And while the surrounding eclectic architecture, from old storage buildings to modern office towers, shows movement, development, life, the park seems timeless. The cemetery metaphor is fully realized, if not by anything else, then by the fact that in the first weeks after the inauguration of the museum many people came to leave flowers at the feet of some statues, in a sort of commemoration ceremonial, that repeats itself each year on the 1st of May and on the 9th of September.³⁹

As a fully assumed art museum, a branch of the National Art Gallery, the Museum of Socialist Art attempted to reach above the numerous ongoing debates and discussions and to propose an emotion-free view of the recent past. However, the creation of this park-museum was not seen as a symbolic death of the sculptures, but more as a resurrection. This is why, barely a year after its inauguration, an association of Bulgarian writers and the heirs of the poet Nikola Vaptsarov⁴⁰ demanded that a statue of him be removed from the

39 The date of the *coup d'état* from 1944 and a national holiday until 1989.

40 Nikola Vaptsarov (1909-1942) was one of Bulgaria's most modern and well-known poets. He became a symbolic figure for the Communist regime because of his work as a revolutionary

museum and returned to its original place, in the park behind the National Art Gallery, from where it was taken down at the beginning of the 1990s. The presence of this statue in a museum dedicated to Socialism was seen as a stigmatization and tarnishing of his memory, reducing it to his political activity. With no debate and little to no arguments for the preservation, from the side of the National Art Gallery, the statue was removed and reinstalled at the center of the capital. The *Poet-worker* by Nikolay Shmiregela⁴¹ became the only sculpture to leave with a scandal the Museum of Socialist Art, because of the uneven stance on memory that the museum has taken.⁴²

Conclusion

The pedestal of the *Poet-worker* is still empty in the sculptural park of the museum. And somehow this is a louder statement for the conflict of memories than any other. The fact that statues could be removed from the museums that are supposed to preserve them is revealing as for the raging conflict of memories, but also for the living, active and engaging aspect of the sculpture park-museums. Sofia is not the only place where an empty pedestal has remained as a witness to conflicts and indecision about the rightful approach to undertake towards the past. In Bucharest, Lenin’s pedestal had remained empty for more than 20 years at the center of the capital, until a contemporary art project inhabited it temporarily and thus sped along the creation of a new monument on its place.⁴³ In Kiev, once again it is Lenin’s pedestal that is left empty and is now animated by artistic projects.⁴⁴ For the moment, sculpture park-museums have remained fixated on their double approaches – ironic or conservative. We now notice a new vague of investment in the field of preservation and readaptation of Socialist monuments in the contemporary art field. This is one of the focal points of the contemporary debate and slowly it could find its way to haunt the “sculptural graveyards”.

and his execution by the Bulgarian government in 1942 for communist activities.

- 41** Nikolay Shmiregela (1911-1999) was one of the most prominent Bulgarian sculptors.
- 42** Ironically, in the museum there is a head of the same poet, at the end of a central alley, but there has never been a question of its removal.
- 43** For more information see: Caterina Preda, “‘Project 1990’ as an Anti-Monument in Bucharest and the Aesthetisation of Memory,” *Südosteuropa* 64 (2016): 307-324.
- 44** See Cynthia Gutierrez’s *Inhabiting Shadow, Social Contract – Izolyatsia*, accessed December 1, 2016, <http://izolyatsia.org/en/project/social-contract>.

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MUSEUMS FACING THE DANGERS AND CATASTROPHES THAT THREATEN THE PRESERVATION OF COLLECTIONS: THE LOUVRE IN TOULOUSE

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Summary:

Museums facing the Dangers and Catastrophes that Threaten the Preservation of Collections: the Louvre in Toulouse

This article examines how heritage was protected when the French public collections of the Louvre were evacuated during the First World War. The author focuses on the decision-making process for establishing lists of works to be evacuated and how they varied. This research describes the practical details of operations and discovers new elements for a political history of heritage and an ideological history of taste, with all the national and international controversies around the heritage policies from that time.

Résumé :

Les Musées face aux dangers et catastrophes qui menacent la préservation des collections : le Louvre à Toulouse

Cet article étudie la protection du patrimoine français lors de l'évacuation des collections du Louvre durant la Première Guerre mondiale. L'auteur s'intéresse au processus mis en place pour établir les listes d'évacuations et à leurs évolutions. Cette recherche décrit les détails pratiques de ces opérations et permet de découvrir de nouveaux éléments pour une histoire politique du patrimoine et une histoire idéologique du goût, tout en soulevant les enjeux nationaux et transnationaux des politiques patrimoniales contemporaines.

MUSEUMS FACING THE DANGERS AND CATASTROPHES THAT THREATEN THE PRESERVATION OF COLLECTIONS: THE LOUVRE IN TOULOUSE

At the beginning of the First World War, the modernization of the weapons of destruction and the systematization of bombardments made huge human and patrimonial losses. Belligerents enlisted the culture in the war effort, the xenophobic judgments towards the foreign heritages were multiplied, and art historians and curators were mobilized to demonstrate enemy's incapacity to protect own heritage from danger. The Germans were accused of destroying heritage while the French were guilty for not finding the appropriate ways to protect monuments during the revolutionary destructions and their inadequate use.¹ Caricatures of the German press were particularly explicit against the French vision of heritage: "Cunning for using the cathedral of Reims as a cover, tricky French are going soon to use the Louvre as a body armour²".

From the first days of the conflict, "the previous [evacuation] of 1870³" was in the mind of the curators of the Louvre⁴. When empress Eugénie has run away from the Tuileries, via the Grande Galerie of the Louvre, on the 4th of September, 1870, she walked in a museum whose main paintings had been evacuated towards the Brest military arsenal⁵. The fear of Prussian looting, akin to the revolutionary and imperial spoliations that took place at the beginning of the century, could be seen as a reasonable explanation of this evacuation⁶. The fear to see the enemy act like the French did, though unconscious and never clearly mentioned, probably led to such decision. Indeed, this idea was reinforced by the discretion and the unusual amount of precautions taken to carry the evacuation order. Therefore, from August 1870 until September 1871, the

1 Ernest Steinmann, "Die Zerstörung der Königsdenkmäler in Paris," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* (1917): 337-379.

2 *Kladderadatsch*, 4 octobre 1914.

3 Paris, Archives nationales (AN) 20150044, ex Archives des Musées Nationaux (AMN) Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 9 septembre 1914, lettre de Le Prieur à Paul Jamot.

4 Arnaud Bertinet, "From Model Museum to the fear of the Uhlans, Museums' Relations between France and Germany during the Second French Empire," in *The Museum is open. Towards a Transnational History of Museums 1750-1940*, ed. Bénédicte Savoy and Andrea Meyer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 117-129.

5 Barbet de Jouy, Henri, "Son journal pendant la Commune," *La revue hebdomadaire*, Tome X (septembre 1898): 182.

6 Arnaud Bertinet, *Les musées de Napoléon III, une institution pour les arts* (Paris: Mare&Martin, 2015), 517-555.

Louvre's collections of painting remained in Brest, safe from the bombing that took place during the siege of Paris, safe from the potential "curiosity" of the invaders and safe from the fires during the Paris Commune. Arsène Houssaye, the Provincial museum inspector during the Second French Empire, also sent a note asking the curators to "detach the paintings of the whole gallery from their frames in order to take them to safety⁷". Following the decision taken in 1870, Albert Dalimier, State's undersecretary for Fine Arts, asked finally for the evacuation of the French collections on the 28th of August, 1914. What values and visions of the heritage could guide these men during the evacuation decided upon in the complete haste?

In the Louvre, the curators quickly set up the first security measures against the bombing by reinforcing the structures of the museum with the help of sand-bags⁸. The government asked the curators' council to estimate the relevance of an evacuation of collections to the cities of Toulouse and Pau. The curators thought it was important, but answered that even during the strongest level of the centennial floods of the Seine in 1910 the Louvre was not evacuated⁹. Furthermore, they thought that the enemy knew the treasures of the Louvre, so, whatever happened, they would take the collections in hostage in case of a defeat¹⁰. The council was more worried about possible seizures and despoilments because Germany created in 1915 the Degering commission to get back the objects plundered during the Napoleon's wars.¹¹ The destruction of the city of Leuven, on the 25th of August and the disappearance of the university library in flames frightened politicians by the destructive potential of weapons engaged in the conflict¹². This destruction created numerous debates in Europe while many German intellectuals supported the Kaiser Guillaume II in the *Manifesto of the 93* asserting: "in spite of our immense love for art, we refuse to pay the preservation of a work of art by the German defeat¹³".

7 Bordeaux, Archives municipales 1434R8 Musées de Bordeaux, correspondance 1870-1875, janvier 1871, circulaire d'Arsène Houssaye aux conservateurs des musées de France.

8 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier IV, 30 novembre 1917, rapport au ministre de l'Instruction publique et des beaux-arts et croquis de renforcement des voûtes des salles du Louvre.

9 Paris, AN 20144794/ ex AMN T2 (D) 1910 janvier-novembre : inondation provoquée par une crue de la Seine. Compte-rendu ; mesures préconisées.

10 Paris, AN 20150157 ex AMN *1BB38 Procès-verbaux du conservatoire des musées, 24 août 1914.

11 Bénédicte Savoy, *Patrimoine annexé, Les biens culturels saisis par la France en Allemagne autour de 1800* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'Homme, 2003), 305-307.

12 Christina Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi ? Le patrimoine artistique en Belgique et en France occupées, 1914-1918* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2006), 42-43.

13 Quoted by Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi ?*, 48.

Thus, after short tergiversations, Albert Dalimier took the decision to evacuate French collections¹⁴. On the 28th of August, he ordered to Henri Marcel, national museums' director, to move 250 major works of the collections of the Louvre¹⁵. The operation took place in the utmost urgency. The collections were stored in removal trailers. The trailers left the Louvre and were placed on trains departing Paris¹⁶. As in 1870, it was mainly paintings and small arts and crafts pieces, easier to move in the urgency than sculptures, which were concerned. Some pictures, which could be attributed to André de Ridder, assistant curator of Antiquity department¹⁷, testify about the evacuation that took place in the Louvre¹⁸. As in 1870, only the *Venus de Milo*¹⁹ was evacuated and moved alone in one of the trailers²⁰. The *Victory of Samothrace* was protected *in situ*²¹.

Exceeding Dalimier's wishes, 770 works of art²² were sent to the south of France, under the guard of the curator Paul Jamot²³. Only 240 paintings were placed in boxes, the others were relocated "wrapped in some paper²⁴". Some paintings from Versailles, Chantilly, objects of the Cluny's Museum, and a part

14 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 27 août 1914, minute de la lettre de Marcel à Dalimier demandant validation de l'ordre oral d'évacuation.

15 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 28 août 1914, lettre de Dalimier à Marcel.

16 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 6 septembre 1914, note pour le service des réquisitions.

17 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier IV, septembre 1914, épreuve collée sur papier représentant l'évacuation des salles attribuée à Ridder.

18 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier I.

19 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier I, 7 octobre 1914, lettre de Héron de Villefosse à Marcel.

20 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier I, liste des œuvres évacuées.

21 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier I, photographie de la Victoire de Samothrace dans son berceau protecteur par André de Ridder.

22 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier I, liste des œuvres évacuées.

23 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 31 août 1914, minute de la lettre de Marcel à Dalimier confiant le convoi d'évacuation à Jamot.

24 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 6 octobre 1918, brouillon de lettre de Jamot au ministre de l'Instruction publique.

of the collections of Reims that had just escaped the bombing of the cathedral, were also added to the collections of the Louvre²⁵.

After a tough trip, the first convoy arrived to Toulouse on the 3rd of September²⁶. After a quick review of the available storage places, the curator of the Oriental Antiquities, Paul Jamot, had chosen the church of the Jacobins. The church gathered three essential elements: “isolation, safety, aeration²⁷”. After some work in the church²⁸, trailers were removed from the trains and put into the church, as the photos kept in the archives of the Louvre show it²⁹. Paul Jamot painted some oil on canvas, which represented the inside of the church, the boxes and the trailers³⁰. During all the time of the Toulousian exile, soldiers were in charge of preserving the collections³¹, while some of his colleagues joined temporarily Jamot. A system of surveillance was set up with double passwords changing every day³². The heritage protection was so important that the Education Minister came himself to examine the church on the 21st of June, 1915³³. Paul Jamot was faced with a “painful session³⁴” with the Minister who wished to look some of the large format paintings to make sure if they are well preserved because the “people whom he did not name (painters, art lovers, critics) suggested to him they feared for the deposit, particularly the rolled

25 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 31 août 1914, minute de la lettre de Marcel à Dalimier confiant le convoi d’évacuation à Jamot.

26 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 3 septembre 1914, télégramme de Jamot à Marcel.

27 *Ibid.*

28 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 4 septembre 1914, lettre de Jamot à Marcel.

29 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier I.

30 RF1977-198, RF1941-13, RF1941-14, RF1941-15, RF1941-16 et INV20444.

31 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier I, septembre 1915, consignes pour l’église des Jacobins.

32 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, enveloppe contenant la série de mots de passe de septembre 1915.

33 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 21 juin 1915-2 juillet 1915, sous-dossier concernant la visite du ministre et contenant une série de lettres de Jamot à Leprieur.

34 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 21 juin 1915, lettre de Jamot à Leprieur.

paintings [...]”³⁵. However, the inspection allowed Jamot to obtain additional financial sources “to protect all the paintings in boxes”³⁶.

The storage of the paintings was then rethought by Jamot and Leprieur, the chief curator of the paintings of the Louvre, in a fascinating enterprise combining the reflection about the history of taste, question of conservation and priorities for evacuation³⁷. Between August and September, 1915, they changed the classification of paintings in the boxes, but also the location of the boxes in every trailer in case of an emergency evacuation of the church. 516 paintings were moved in this occasion³⁸. Leprieur concluded: “As much as we can assert it, all our invaluable paints are shielded from any danger”³⁹. At the same time, 23 tapestries from Cluny among which *The Lady with the Unicorn*, were moved in a specific trailer. The drafts of these works were kept in the archives but their interpretation remains problematic⁴⁰. To understand and explain them, it is necessary to compare the numerous versions of the same lists that were kept. First difficulty is that the works have numbers which do not correspond to their classic numbers of inventory, and the index cards are not dated and do not allow to know the moment of the revision to which they correspond to. But we can resume the paintings in these trailers as a summary of the European artistic production from the end of the Medieval Era to the 19th century⁴¹.

If the curators of 1870 were focused on the works of the *Grande Galerie*, showing their taste for the Italian painters, in 1914, curators mixed paintings from Rubens, Mantegna, Murillo, David, Champagne, Poussin, Raphael, Ingres, Chardin, Greuze, Delacroix, Barye, Corot, Courbet, Théodore Rousseau, Millet,

35 *Ibid.*

36 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 22 juin 1915, lettre de Jamot à Leprieur.

37 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier I, État des voitures et des caisses, chapelle des Jacobins 1915-1918, nouveau classement par voitures des tableaux et œuvres d’arts expédiés à Toulouse (après travaux effectués en août-septembre 1915).

38 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 26 septembre 1915, rapport de Leprieur à M. Sarraut, ministre de l’Instruction publique.

39 *Ibid.*

40 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier I, État des voitures et des caisses, chapelle des Jacobins 1915-1918, brouillons du nouveau classement par voitures des tableaux et œuvres d’arts expédiés à Toulouse (après travaux effectués en août-septembre 1915).

41 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier I, État des voitures et des caisses, chapelle des Jacobins 1915-1918, nouveau classement par voitures des tableaux et œuvres d’arts expédiés à Toulouse (après travaux effectués en août-septembre 1915).

Manet, Degas, Sisley, in the trailers. The works of the French artists of the 18th and the 19th century were present during this evacuation while they were almost absent in the evacuation of 1870. If Corot, Delacroix, Ingres or Manet had not entered the museum yet in 1870, the place given to Chardin or Greuze by the critics of Art History explains their presence in this evacuation. The artistic taste of Leprieur and Jamot could be perceived in this new classification. Jamot, attached to the Department of the Oriental Antiquities and Greek Ceramic, has already published on French painters in 1914. We know his love for Poussin and Delacroix that he “considered as an example of superior humanity⁴²” or Corot, I quote: “the poet who gives to the most commonplace a mystery⁴³”.

Another proof of the importance given to the French painters of the 19th century is the transfer of Manet’s *Olympia* in 1915 in the box 104, with Leonardo da Vinci’s *The Virgin of the Rocks* and Watteau’s *Embarquement pour Cythère*. Marie de’ Medici cycle of Rubens was protected with the French large format paintings of the 19th century, among which are Delacroix’ *Liberté Guidant le peuple*, David’s *Le Sacre de Napoléon* and Ingres’ *Apothéose d’Homère* in the trailer 177. The aim of moving the paintings in 1915 was to balance the number of boxes by trailers while mixing schools and important works. Cars 51 and 143, which only contained *Le Sacre de Napoléon* and *Venus de Milo*, are used “for the new boxes”. Certain boxes did not however evolve in their contents. The “M.L.1” box always contained the same nine paintings following the index cards of 1914, 1915 and 1918. In the box there were Leonardo da Vinci’s *Saint John the Baptist*, Luini’s *Salome with the Head of Saint John the Baptist*, Gentile da Fabriano’s *The Presentation in the Temple*, or *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels with a Velvet Baret* by Rembrandt. The new boxes give few indications of the priorities that Jamot and Leprieur gave to the new ranking⁴⁴.

In July, 1918, the appearance of mould in the boxes threatened the collections⁴⁵. Paul Jamot suggested to move them to Pau, in a bigger space than Jacobins’ church⁴⁶. But he abandoned his project and decided to keep the

42 Christiane Aulanier and Maurice Denis, *Donation Paul Jamot* (Paris, 1941).

43 *Ibid.*

44 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 26 septembre 1915, rapport de Leprieur à Sarraut, ministre de l’Instruction publique.

45 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 7 juillet 1918, copie d’une note de Pol Neveux au ministre de l’Instruction publique.

46 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 21 août 1918, lettre de Paul Jamot au ministre de l’Instruction publique.

works in Toulouse⁴⁷. According to the correspondence of Jamot, the inspection of boxes continued until the 11th of November, 1918⁴⁸, and on the Armistice day Jamot said: “we should not regret the meticulous job which we have just finished. It enables our paintings to wait the hour of return, away from any danger. Allow me to believe that this hour is not very far anymore!⁴⁹”

However, beyond these concerns of preservation, the correspondence with the Louvre intensified in 1916. The deputy of Toulouse Ellen-Prévoit tried to organize an exhibition in Toulouse in which he wanted to show *Mona Lisa*. After its robbery in 1911 and its return in 1914, the wooden panel painted by Leonardo da Vinci had a particular status in the French public collections. *Mona Lisa* was hidden between 11 paintings among which were *Balthazar Castiglione* from Raphael or Watteau's *Jupiter et Antiope*. History of the painting fascinated the French people, also it is not a surprise to learn that Antoine Ellen-Prévoit was trying to pull a political profit from its presence in his district⁵⁰. The deputy obtained the support of Minister Dalimier. He asked the national museums' director, Henri Marcel, to say to “Mr Jamot to contact Mr Ellen-Prévoit⁵¹”. Jamot was frightened of being delivered “bound hand and foot, in the good pleasure of the Toulousian municipality⁵²”. He asked for precise orders from Paris to slow up the choice of paintings. In Paris, Henri Marcel and the council of museums hoped, in vain, that the cost of the exhibition could stop the idea⁵³ and Jamot threatened to resign⁵⁴. For Leprieur, exposing the *Mona Lisa* “would be

47 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 2 septembre 1918, copie d'une lettre de Paul Jamot à Henri Marcel.

48 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 11 novembre 1918, double d'un rapport de Paul Jamot au ministre de l'Instruction publique.

49 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 11 novembre 1918, double d'un rapport de Paul Jamot au ministre de l'Instruction publique.

50 AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 31 janvier 1916, lettre de Jamot à Marcel.

51 AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier VI, 27 décembre 1915, lettre de Dalimier à Marcel.

52 AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier, dossier VI, 20 janvier 1916, lettre de Jamot à Marcel.

53 AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier, dossier VI, [s. d.], note manuscrite de Marcel.

54 AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d'art, dossier, dossier VI, 25 janvier 1916, lettre de Jamot à Leprieur.

madness and would create too many risks, increased by the war⁵⁵. Politicians and curators fought in the press. Jean Locquin, deputy and old student of the *École du Louvre*⁵⁶, questioned the government at the National Parliament⁵⁷. Finally, Dalimier stopped the Toulousian and the masterpieces of the Louvre continued “their peacefully and hidden life⁵⁸”.

In Paris, the Louvre reopened twice from March, 1916 until February, 1917 and from May, 1917 until January, 1918, but the multiplication of the destructions and the peace treaty between Russia and Germany finally provoked a complete evacuation of the national museums and the museums of the North and from the east of France⁵⁹. In 1916, the Jacobins’ church becomes the refuge of the collections of the museums of Reims, Amiens, Calais and Dunkirk. The operation was accelerated with the first bombs thrown on Paris in 1918. Thus, the collections which stayed in the Louvre, but also in the museum of the decorative arts, in the museum of the Luxembourg or in the museum of Cluny were moved. Additional patrimonial loss became unacceptable. But these last evacuations were quickly followed by the definitive return of the paintings to the Louvre. After more than four years under protection of the Jacobins’ church, Paul Jamot left definitively Toulouse on the 22nd of December, 1918 at the head of the convoy returning the trailers of the national museums to Paris⁶⁰.

This unprecedented event is still obscure today, though the awareness it raised about the value of the French Museums collections, and the necessity to preserve them in a time of political turmoil, appears to be essential to illustrate the importance the cultural heritage had for the European society. Apart from the possible fear to be judged by History, what is here highlighted is the moral obligation of a Nation to protect its cultural heritage. In 1930, a new plan for the evacuation of the Louvre and the French public collections was done and used in 1939. This idea is always in the mind of French politics and curators, as the flood of the Seine showed in 2016.

55 AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier, dossier VI, 7 février 1916, lettre de Leprieur à Marcel.

56 AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier, dossier VI, 24 mars 1916, lettre de Leprieur à Jamot.

57 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier, dossier VI, 6 février 1916, lettre de Leprieur à Jamot.

58 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VI, 5 juillet 1916, lettre de Jamot à Leprieur.

59 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier VIII, 31 janvier 1918, ordre d’évacuation des collections donné par le ministre de l’Instruction publique au directeur des musées nationaux.

60 Paris, AN 20150044, ex AMN Z2 Administration 1792-1964, tous départements, 1914-1918, Protection des œuvres d’art, dossier III, 22 décembre 1918, télégramme de Jamot annonçant le départ du convoi de retour.

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Museum of 4th of July, Archive of the Belgrade City Museum

CULTURAL POLICY AND FORMATION OF THE MUSEUM NETWORK IN FEDERAL PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA. EXAMPLE OF BELGRADE

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Summary:

Cultural Policy and Formation of the Museum Network in Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Example of Belgrade

After the Second World War (WWII), Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) became in charge over the country. Members of the Party had no governing experience, had lack of educated people and inherited country that even before the war was not economically developed. CPY was centrally organized, with three main Departments in charge of all other institutions. One of those was the Department for Agitation and Propaganda, better known as AGITPROP, responsible for the culture, too. CPY, unlike previous regime, leded very active cultural policy, which was committed to maintaining memories of the People's Liberation War (PLW), victims of the war, history of the Party, as well as presenting and popularizing Party's believes and ideals among citizens. That kind of approach and decision that all the cultural institutions become State's property had a great influence on museums and the formation of museum network in FPRY. Already in 1945, four museums were re-opened, only in the People's Republic of Serbia (PRS). The number of museums in PRS after the Second World War increased from 23 to 86, by the year of 1959. Belgrade, as capital, was a starting point for all the changes. Every bigger museum in Belgrade got new permanent exhibition, was restructured, and some were moved to new buildings.

New museums were established, and among them were those that were dedicated to the activities of CPY during the WWII, like the Museum of Illegal Party Printing Offices or Museum of the 4th of July. The practical side of this process was not always consistent with the theories of museology we know and use today, but also was not in the total opposition. The main goal of museums was to use them as educational tool, or medium for transferring the Party's ideas. At the same time, they had to present the points of separation from the previous regime, where the culture was available only for chosen. In Communism, where all people were seen as equal, museums were to welcome everyone.

Résumé :

Politique culturelle et création du réseau des musées en République Fédérative Populaire de Yougoslavie. Exemple de Belgrade

Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale le Parti communiste de Yougoslavie (PCY) a gouverné le pays. Les membres du Parti ne possédaient aucune expérience en matière de gouvernance, ils avaient un manque de personnes instruites et ils ont hérité un pays qui n'était pas économiquement développé même avant la guerre. Le PCY était centraliste avec trois départements principaux qui étaient en charge de toutes les autres institutions. Un d'entre eux était le Département de l'agitation et de la propagande, plus connu sous le nom AGITPROP, qui était également chargé de la culture. Le PCY, à la différence du régime précédent, a mené une politique culturelle très active dédiée aux souvenirs de la Guerre de libération nationale (GLN), aux victimes, à l'histoire du Parti, mais aussi dédiée à la présentation et la popularisation des croyances du Parti et ses idéaux parmi les citoyens. Ce type d'approche et de décision, lorsque toutes les institutions culturelles deviennent propriété de l'Etat, influence les musées et la formation du réseau des musées en RFPY. Déjà en 1945, dans la République Socialiste de Serbie (RSS) quatre musées ont été ouverts de nouveau. Le nombre de musées en Serbie après la Seconde Guerre mondiale a augmenté jusqu'à 1959, il est passé de 23 à 86. Belgrade, en tant que capitale, était le point de départ de tous les changements. Chaque grand musée à Belgrade a obtenu de nouvelles expositions permanentes, ils ont été restructurés, et certains ont été déplacés dans de nouveaux bâtiments. De nouveaux musées ont été établis, et parmi eux on trouvait ceux qui étaient consacrés aux activités du PCY pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, comme le Musée de l'impression illégale du Parti ou le Musée du 4 juillet. Le côté pratique de ce processus n'était pas toujours en accord avec les théories de la muséologie que nous connaissons et utilisons aujourd'hui, mais il n'était pas en opposition totale non plus. Les objectifs principaux des interventions menées dans les musées consistaient à les utiliser comme un outil éducatif ou un moyen de transmettre les idées du Parti. En même temps, ces modèles représentaient une façon de se séparer du régime précédent dans lequel la culture était disponible seulement aux élus. Dans le communisme où tous les gens sont considérés comme égaux, les musées accueillent tout le monde.

CULTURAL POLICY AND FORMATION OF THE MUSEUM NETWORK IN FEDERAL PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA. EXAMPLE OF BELGRADE

Introduction

At the beginning of this paper, it is important to explain the historical period and the case study of this paper. The period in question is the period of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY), precisely years from 1945 to 1963. These are the formative years for the country, during which the main activities around the museum network's formation were conducted, the influences of the Government and the Party were the strongest, and the foundations of the future projects were laid. Case study of Belgrade, the capital, is chosen as the most illustrative one, because the first and main activities were set in Belgrade. Also, the example of Belgrade represents the way things were functioning on the whole territory of People's Republic of Serbia. With centrally organized State's governing, the same model was used in all the Republics.¹

After the Second World War (WWII) ruling regime in Yugoslavia was changed. Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) gained the ruling power after the uprising against occupiers. Members of the CPY were governing the country for the first time, and, in parallel, they had to maintain new political system, having in mind that not all were pro-Communist. At the same time, CPY had to lead the country that suffered much during the war – country without roads, enough housing capacity, industry, economy, enough food – the country of poverty. They had a difficult assignment in front of them, and had no experience. However, the ideological actions, ideals of communism and People's Liberation War (PLW) and change of political system were more important than ever. Maintaining the organization of the CPY and appointing party members on all important positions was seen as a way to remain on power and to preserve the ideals of the Labor movement.² This was true for all segments of social life: politics, economy, health care, culture, education, etc. All decisions were made by Central Committee of the CPY. By the same model, every republic had its own Central Committee that was in charge for all the Republic and regional organizations, but responsible to Central Committee of the CPY.³

- 1 Besides PR of Serbia, these republics were: PR of Croatia, PR of Slovenia, PR of Macedonia, PR of Bosnia and Herzegovina and PR of Montenegro.
- 2 Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918–1988*, knjiga 3 (Beograd: Nolit, 1988), 29–30.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 33.

Before the WWII, Yugoslavia was mainly agricultural country. Thus, the CPY consisted mainly of farmers during the war. Fewer in number, workers and students were in charge of organization. After the war, the situation did not change. Most of the members of the CPY were undereducated, which needed to change. Ideological upbringing was very important. As a part of the Central Committee of the CPY, The Party Higher School for ideological education existed, which actually carried on ideas through the courses that were set up during the war. This school was available to the members that had upper or mid positions inside the Party, while members at the lower positions were sent to the smaller schools that were organized by the Central Committees of every Republic. Some of the subjects studied in these schools were: history of All-Union Communist Party, political economy, PLW of Yugoslav people, forming of a new state, etc.⁴

As one of main goals of ideological upbringing was the development of expertise and the general culture. Political and cultural emancipation were not that important. They were used by the CPY to ensure realization of its program, mainly in connection with industrialization and renewal.⁵

Cultural Policy after the WWII

In the field of culture, Government of FPRY had completely different approach than the previous one.⁶ Main ideas of post-war cultural policy were: victory of the revolution, ideals of the CPY, change of the political and social order.⁷ Renewal of economy was seen as impossible without overall national progress, which also referred to culture. The main assignments were to popularize the new Government and economy restructuration, to inform masses of the CPY goals and ideas and to prevent foreign influences.⁸ Having in mind that cultural policy before the WWII had no interest in cultural needs of the masses, majority of citizens was illiterate, uneducated and culturally uninformed. Main goal of the new Government was to “overcome cultural backwardness”. Methods for achieving that goal were training and education of employees in domain of new cultural policy, renewing the cultural and educational institutions (University, theatres, museums, libraries, archives and galleries) and forming the

⁴ *Ibid.*, 32–35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶ Vladimir Krivošev, “Muzejska politika u Srbiji: nastajanje, kriza i novi početak” *Kultura* 130 (2011), 298.

⁷ Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije*, 126.

⁸ Ljubodrag Dimić, *Agitprop kultura. Agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji 1945–1952* (Beograd: Izdavačka organizacija Rad, 1988), 20.

network of the new ones, developing cultural production in the spirit of Marxism and Leninism, conducting systematic actions against enemy's influences in cultural life and ideological education of employees.⁹

In order to accomplish the above-mentioned, Government controlled and planned cultural development by influencing distribution of the budget. Each of the six republics had its own Committee for Culture and Art that was reporting its activities to the Federal Committee every month. There was a special report concerning museums, containing data about: founding, opening, reorganization, special exhibitions and mass visitation, personnel changes, preserving objects, etc.¹⁰

The CPY had very strict vertical hierarchy. One of three main departments was Department for Agitation and Propaganda (AGITPROP), responsible for cultural and educational policy. It had jurisdiction over press and agitation, theory and lecturing, culture, organization and education. Its main task was that party's ideas, beliefs and goals were explained to the masses and that the plan for "ideological upbringing and political education of masses" was established.¹¹ AGITPROP was in charge of every cultural and educational institution, as well as of planning the different celebrations: anniversaries, jubilees and dates connected with important personalities.¹²

After-war changes made it possible for all material cultural capital to become property of the State.¹³ In that way, controlling the work of cultural institutions became easier. Considering that the CPY insisted that "all people were equal", one of its priorities was that everybody had an equal access to culture. Also, culture was seen as a good medium for transferring of ideology of the CPY.¹⁴ Through different ways of governing, the CPY tried to "clearly define the areas of work and internal organization for each cultural institution".¹⁵ For these reasons cultural institutions were organized in the same hierarchical way as the administrative ones, while administrative institutions were deciding about contents and activities of the cultural ones, about competences and jurisdictions of their managers and relations between different institutions.¹⁶

9 *Ibid.*, 28-29.

10 Бранка Докнић, *Културна политика Југославије: 1945–1963* (Београд: Службени гласник, 2013), 72-73.

11 Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije*, 120.

12 *Ibid.*, 124.

13 Ljubodrag Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, 20.

14 *Ibid.*, 28.

15 *Ibid.*, 49–50.

16 *Ibidem*.

New cultural policy was very active and had a strong impact on museums.¹⁷ CPY was especially dedicated to the formation of museum network over the whole State's territory. Numerous individuals, organizations and political structures were engaged in that project and significant financial resources were secured for their activities. Special interest was directed towards the subjects related to the Socialist Movement in Yugoslavia and its history, as well as PLW. All those cultural and museum activities had following goals: strengthening the Party's ideology, traditions of PLW and Partisan Movement, but also the victory over enemies in war, as well as in politics. According to Vladimir Krivošejev, Serbian theorist and museum advisor, what happened was a "museum boom". Through that "boom" State tried to improve development of museums and protection of cultural heritage, but in the same time to use museums as "instruments of political propaganda".¹⁸ It was necessary for museums to serve Party's ideas as much as possible. With those aims museum and exhibitions were founded and created.

Changes and Establishment of Museums in Belgrade

Four museums were re-opened in PR of Serbia already in 1945, while in 1946 ten, and in 1947 twenty-four museum were founded or re-opened.¹⁹ The number of museum in Yugoslavia after the WWII increased from 76 to 311, by 1959. In Serbia, these numbers escalated from 23 to 86.²⁰ As mentioned before, according to the Government's regulations, every existing museum became Government's property, as well as any new-founded. Types of these museums were different: there were specialized museums (for one type of objects), than local (in the bigger cities), homeland (related to the region) and complex (with different kind of materials).

New museums were established as well: Museum of Vuk and Dositej (1949),²¹ Museum of Applied Art (1950),²² Gallery of Frescos (1951),²³ Museum of Nikola

17 Krivošejev, "Muzejska politika", 298.

18 *Ibid.*, 298–299.

19 Андрејевић Кун, "Задаци музеја", 2.

20 Krivošejev, "Muzejska politika", 293–294.

21 Museum was established by the Decision of Presidency of Government of PR of Serbia on the 28th of February, 1949. Unknown author, "Музеј Вука и Доситеја у Београду," *Музеји* 3–4 (1949), 177.

22 Museum was established by the Decision of Government of PR of Serbia, the 7th of November 1950 and opened the 9th of December 1951. Б. Р, "Отварање Музеја примењене уметности у Београду," *Музеји* 7 (1957), 240.

23 Museum was established on the 1st of January 1951. Unknown author, "Галерија фресака," *Годишњак Музеја града Београда* 1 (1954), 352.

Tesla (1952),²⁴ Museum of the First Serbian Uprising, that later became Historical Museum of Serbia (1963)²⁵ and Museum of Contemporary Art (1965).²⁶

Museums that already existed went through considerable changes. During 1945, new permanent exhibition was opened in the Belgrade City Museum.²⁷ In 1950, two new museums were added to it: Museum of Illegal Party Printing Offices, set up in the house where actual illegal printing offices were working during the WWII, and Museum of the 4th of July, set up in the house where, on the same day in 1941, Central Committee of the CPY decided to raise an armed uprising. These museums were open on the Labor Day, the 1st of May, 1950. They were established and organized by the History Department of Central Committee of the CPY and employees of the Belgrade City Museum were not involved in creating their collections and exhibitions.²⁸ The Central Committee of the CPY assigned these two museums to the Executive Committee of People's Board of Belgrade, which made Belgrade City Museum in charge of it.²⁹ Later on, several museums were adjoined to the Belgrade City Museum as well: Museum of Toma Rosandić (1963), Museum of Jovan Cvijić (1965) and Museum of Banjica Concentration Camp (1969).³⁰

Ethnographic Museum was reorganized in 1946. Six departments were set up, with twenty one sections and the number of staff was tripled. On the Labor Day of the same year, new permanent exhibition was opened. Only three years

24 "Muzej Nikole Tesle," accessed September 13, 2016, <http://nikolateslamuseum.org/web/page.php?p=4&s=89>.

25 Museum was established by the Decision of the Executive Council of PR of Serbia on the 20th of February 1963. Андреј Вујновић, "Предисторија Историјског музеја Србије. Историјска музејска делатност у Србији од 1840. до 1963. године," in *Педесет година Историјског музеја Србије*, ed. Слађана Бојковић (Београд: Историјски музеј Србије, 2013), 36.

26 Museum was opened the 20th of October 1950. Миодраг Б. Протић, "Музеј савремене уметности у Београду," *Годишњак града Београда* 11–12 (1964-1965), 361.

27 "Историјат музеја – Музеј града Београда," accessed September 19, 2016, <http://www.mgb.org.rs/muzeju/istorijat-muzeja>.

28 History Department of the Central Committee of the CPY was founded in January 1949, and its main assignments were documenting and archiving. In 1950, Department started to research the history of the Labor Movement, from 1929 to 1941. During the years, Department and its research topics were changing, until 1992 when it became the Institute for the Recent History of Serbia, "INIS – Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije," accessed November 23, 2016, <http://www.inisbgd.co.rs/celo/istorijat.htm>.

29 Document 2 No. 638/1 from Jun 22, 1961. Administrative archive of Belgrade City Museum, archival box No. 46.

30 "Историјат музеја – Музеј града Београда."

later, Museum was moved to a new building, and on the Republic Day (the 29th of November), new permanent exhibition was opened.³¹

In 1951, new building on Republic Square was assigned to the People's Museum.³² In 1952, the Museum was opened.³³ By 1963, numerous objects that belonged to the People's Museum were transferred to other museums: Military museum, Museum of Vuk and Dositej, Historical Museum of Serbia, Museum of Applied Art, Museum of Contemporary Art.³⁴

Military Museum was also relocated to a new building at Kalemegdan fortress. Its collection was increased mostly with objects from the WWII and PLW. New permanent exhibition was opened in 1961 by Josip Broz Tito, the president of FPRY.³⁵ Simultaneously, the *Muzeji (Museums)* journal appeared, published for the first time in 1948, by the Serbian Museum Association. Four years later, the journal became federal publication, edited by the Association of Museum and Conservation Workers of FPRY. The journal was dedicated to different topics, which mainly tried to resolve issues concerning the everyday museum work, as well as the role of museums in the new society.

Even the headlines of articles are very informative about topics, the journal dealt with: *Tasks of the Museums in the New Social Conditions in Our Country*,³⁶ *About the Professional and Ideological Work of Museum's Employees*,³⁷ *Role of Museums and Museum's Employees in Our Country*,³⁸ or *Reorganizing Our Museums*³⁹.

Nada Andrejević Kun is describing in her paper, pre-war museums as capitalistic projects which mainly served interests of individuals and groups that were part of ruling regime, while ordinary people were "harshly deprived and estranged from all that richness".⁴⁰ New Government provided conditions for "all-inclusive cultural life of the people", helped and supported museums as

31 З. М, "Етнографски музеј у Београду," *Годишњак Музеја града Београда* 1 (1954), 320-321; "Етнографски музеј у Београду – Историјат," accessed September 12, 2016, <http://etnografskimuzej.rs/rs/o-muzeju/istorijat/>.

32 Name of this museum is mostly translated as National museum, which is not a precise translation. Translation "People's Museum" is much more accurate.

33 Ђ. М. З, "Народни музеј у Београду," *Годишњак Музеја града Београда* 1 (1954), 314.

34 "Istorijat muzeja « Narodni muzej u Beogradu," accessed September 13, 2016, <http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/o-muzeju/istorijat-muzeja/>.

35 Идрис Чејван, "Нова поставка војног музеја ЈНА," *Годишњак града Београда* 8 (1961), 503.

36 Андрејевић Кун, "Задаци музеја", 1-4.

37 Лиза Бихаљи, "О стручном и идеолошком раду музејских радника," *Музеји* 1 (1948), 49-52.

38 Војислав Ђурић, "Улога музеја и музејских радника у нашој земљи," *Музеји* 2 (1949), 3-8.

39 Unknown author, "Реорганизација наших музеја." *Музеји* 3-4 (1949): 1-10.

40 Андрејевић Кун, "Задаци музеја", 2.

educational and scientific institutions.⁴¹ The main goal of new museums was seen as a “mass education”, which should be carried out through exhibitions. The aim of exhibitions was not only to represent beautiful things – to the contrary, they should be educational tools.⁴² Special attention was given to objects and monuments from PLW, socially engaged works of art, and results of the first Five Year Development Plan of FPRY.⁴³ Museum’s employees were also given new roles. According to Liza Bihalji, they could not be only experts in their field, they should also have progressive thinking and follow ideas set by Marx and Engels, further developed by Lenin and Stalin. This was seen as an only adequate way of interpreting art and heritage.⁴⁴

At the same time, Vojislav Đurić wrote that the socialist reconstruction was developing in two parallel directions, economic and cultural. These two aspects were seen as equally important and codependent. For economic development, cultural development was required, and vice versa. This defined obligations of employees in cultural institutions, especially in the museums. Đurić also wrote that, contrary to capitalistic museums, which resembled the interesting antique store visited only by devotees or idlers, socialist museums were schools for working people where they come to learn, see, and hear. For that reason he perceived museum employees as teachers, and their education and ideological upbringing were the priority. Their knowledge about socialism became one of the most important things, without which all their other knowledge was seen as insufficient.⁴⁵ According to Đurić, museums also had to become schools, with several very important assignments of which two were crucial: fighting against religious prejudices, superstitions and every similar belief, as well as upbringing of working people in the spirit of patriotic socialism.⁴⁶ To accomplish this, museum had to be able to show the necessity of progress, the necessity of progressive ideas, beauty of Socialism opposed to the ugliness of capitalism, accomplishments of the people in the society where the government is in the hands of workers. Having in mind such important role of museums in new socialist society, Đurić point out as necessary for the museum employees to educate themselves professionally and ideologically, so they could become worthy of such an important task.⁴⁷

41 *Ibidem.*

42 *Ibid.*, 2–3.

43 *Ibid.*, 4.

44 Бихаљи, “О стручном и идеолошком раду”, 50.

45 Ђурић, “Улога музеја и музејских радника”, 3.

46 *Ibid.*, 5–6.

47 *Ibid.*, 7–8.

How all these ideas and rules continued after 1963 is easily perceived through the *Belgrade – 20th Anniversary of Freedom*, that opened on the 17th of October, 1964, with an aim to present “twenty years of development of our capital”.⁴⁸ The exhibition was a part of celebration program of the 20th anniversary of freedom, given as an assignment to the Belgrade City Museum to organize it, by the celebration Committee. This Committee was formed by another one, City Committee of Socialist Union of Working People of Belgrade. Having no convenient material in its collection, Museum first made a basic concept of the exhibition, and then started to collect necessary objects.⁴⁹ Curators in charge mainly decided to acquire works from contemporary photographers, especially those representing construction works, housing, infrastructure and development of Belgrade. Before the exhibition was open these works were registered in the Museum inventory books, as works acquired for this specific exhibition.⁵⁰ With this act, according to the Law of cultural goods,⁵¹ they became exactly that – cultural goods and heritage of Yugoslav people. This situation was rather common and this is only one of the numerous examples, especially during period that preceded the exhibition, namely period of FPRY.

Museum network in FPRY in relation to museology and memory studies

Having in mind that the main goals of the CPY were maintaining the memories of heroism in combat, victims and cruelty of the enemy, as well as keeping them alive through public ceremonies, movies, monuments, and of course museums and exhibitions,⁵² it is very useful to see how the activities connected with formation of museum network in FPRY could be related to some theories of museology or memory studies, developed particularly in the Eastern Europe and in the Balkans.

The “theory of museum selection” by Zbynek Stransky, Czech museologist, assumed that humans are selecting objects from their reality, because they have some meaning for them. This meaning is always connected with the historical moment in which the selection is happening. After the selection,

48 Дивна Ђурић Замоло, “Изложба Београд – двадесети рођендан слободе,” *Годишњак града Београда* 11–12 (1964–1965), 507.

49 *Ibid.*, 507–508.

50 Inventory books of Collection of Architecture and Urbanism, Belgrade City Museum.

51 *Zakon o kulturnim dobrima*, *Službeni glasnik RS* 71/94, articles 49 and 50.

52 Holm Sundhaussen, “Jugoslavija i njezine države sljednice. Konstrukcija, dekonstrukcija i nova konstrukcija “sjećanja” i mitova” in *Kultura pamćenja i historija*, comp. Maja Brkljačić and Sandra Prlenda (Zagreb: Golden Marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2006), 248.

the essence of object is changed, and it became “the document of reality”.⁵³ This indeed happened during the museums establishing and exhibition creating in FPRY. Those in charge of museum selection were selecting objects that commemorate the WWII. This kind of approach appeared because, according to Holm Sundhaussen, German historian, WWII presented the “central social experience” that provided sense and legitimacy to the new State.⁵⁴ The war was “starting point and an anchor of Yugoslav identity.”⁵⁵ Mythologization of war had started before the war ended, and the CPY was deciding what was important to be remembered, and what should be forgotten.⁵⁶ Here, it is useful to refer to Peter Burke and his expression “history as collective memory”, by which he is defining “complicated process of selection and interpretation”, having in mind that history is written by victorious side. But, the victorious side also has a monopoly over oblivion, and the most important thing in this model is to make clear distinction between “us” and “them”.⁵⁷ In the same way, main ideas in FPRY were differentiation of good and evil, friend and enemies, etc. Enemy was anyone who wasn’t on the side of the Party.⁵⁸

According to “theory of museum thesaurus”, also of Stransky, thesaurus presents all knowledge that is produced from a museum collection. Because of that, creation of collection has to be free of any external interests, highly scientific and methodology based. It must not be accidental or influenced.⁵⁹ In the same manner, Dragan Bulatović, Serbian museologist and former chair of the Seminar of Museology and Heritology at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Belgrade, wrote that “museum objects have to follow the criterion of truth and ethical neutrality, and they are independent on the context”.⁶⁰ It cannot be said that this principals were followed during the establishment of the museum network in FPRY, since the created collections had to testify about the desirable history and acceptable truth. However, during creation of collections, certain corpus of knowledge had also been created and later on became part of the museum heritage and people’s memory. Despite the theory of Stransky, objects were used to present, or sometimes even to create, certain reality. As

53 Zbynek Stransky, “Temelji opće muzeologije,” *Muzeologija* 8 (1970), 46–50.

54 Sundhaussen, “Jugoslavija i njezine države sljednice”, 243.

55 *Ibid.*, 245.

56 *Ibid.*, 246.

57 Piter Berk, “Istorija kao društveno pamćenje,” *Reč: časopis za književnost i kulturu, i društvena pitanja* 56 (1999), 84, 89.

58 Holm Sundhaussen, “Jugoslavija i njezine države sljednice”, 246.

59 Stransky, “Temelji opće muzeologije”, 55, 57, 59.

60 Драган Булатовић, “Музеј као економија жеље,” *Зборник семинара за студије модерне уметности Филозофског факултета у Београду* 5 (2009), 33.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill wrote, “it was to be no longer enough for material things to present themselves on a table of knowledge: the way in which things would be understood was in their relationship to man; ‘it is no longer their identity that beings manifest in representation, but the external relation they establish with the human being’. The stories of man, life, and civilization were to become more important than the physical identities of material things.”⁶¹

According to Stransky’s “theory of museum communication”, public activity of any museum is a form of mass information transfer, and its function is similar to function of any other mass media. The exhibition just presents unique way of visual communication, through which museum objects are put on display, not because the way they look, but because the information they carry. They are presented in the particularly created context with a previously set aim of transferring certain idea, message or similar.⁶² Bulatović wrote that museum object is a “communication” object, with infinite number of interpretations, concerning its social, historical, or geographical context. For the transfer of information to happen, the recipient is crucial. This means that museum communication is also about creating recipient, or creating visitor.⁶³ As it was already mentioned, museums and exhibitions in FPRY were used to popularize certain ideas. CPY did a great effort to form its audience, and to bring as much people as possible to museums. This was true for school children, especially students and youth, then army and workers. Museums like those of Illegal party printing offices or Museum of the 4th of July had numerous visitors belonging to these groups.⁶⁴ Their main goals were to educate visitors about heroism, history and victims of CPY.

Croatian museologist, Ivo Maroević, born in 1937, several years before the WWII, grew up and was educated in FPRY. Maybe his education and working experience had influence on his definition of museum network as a necessary structure of museum activity on a certain territory, which main aim is to provide

61 Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), 198. The quote inside of the quote is from: Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970), 313.

62 Stransky, “Temelji opće muzeologije”, 63-70.

63 Булатовић, “Музеј као економија жеље”, 33.

64 For example, Secretary for Education and Culture of Executive Board of the City of Belgrade was sending memos to museums questioning their collaboration with schools, number of school children that visited museums, ways of attracting this kind of visitors to the museums, etc.; Document 2 No. 1419/1 from the 11th of November 1957. Administrative archive of Belgrade City Museum, archival box No. 32. Also, Association of Museum and Conservation Workers of PRS was sending memos about number of youth in the total number of visitors; Document 2 No. 662/2 from July 23, 1958. Administrative archive of Belgrade City Museum, archival box No. 33.

qualified museum institutions at that same territory. This structure should emphasize the importance of different museums, as well as their vertical and horizontal relations regarding the territory.⁶⁵ This was definitely characteristic of museum network established in FPRY, where, as the CPY itself, everything else was organized hierarchically. That is how so-called “central” museums existed, and still exist today. Furthermore, that is how they were, and still are, in charge of providing regulations, assistance, guidance and every other kind of help for smaller museums.⁶⁶

It is obvious that practice and theory were not on the same page every time, but it is useful to observe how practical experience influenced theoretical standpoints, or how sometimes theory and practice developed in different directions. It cannot be said that formation of museum network in FPRY was carried out on the museological principals we are representing today, but also it cannot be said that it was in total opposition to them.

Conclusion

We could say that ideas of Government and the CPY, filtered through the activities of AGITPROP, did achieve their aim in the museum field. New museums were opened, existing one were restructured, every bigger museum got department in charge of PLW, there were PLW museums, memorial museums, etc. Already mentioned “museum boom” indeed happened, which is clear only by having in mind the number of new museums that opened. Hierarchical structure and organization that existed prove how the museum network was organized, and how it developed during the years. In relation to this, it has to be emphasized that the people employed in museums, especially in managing places, were also people of the Party. Most of the authors of the papers published in the journal *Muzeji* were at the managing places in museums or held important places in the CPY.⁶⁷ The CPY planned activities in a great detail, invested a lot in the organization of museum network, as well as in its employees, and saw all of it as an important tool in conducting the Party’s goals.

65 Ivo Maroević, *Uvod u muzeologiju* (Zagreb: Zavod za informacijske studije, 1993), 80.

66 These museums are set in Belgrade, and the highest position is held by People’s Museum in Belgrade. The same goes for the institutes for preservation of cultural monuments, where the highest position is reserved for Institute for Preservation of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia.

67 For example, one of the editors, in the same time manager of new-founded Museum of Applied Art was Nada Andrejević Kun, member of the CPY and wife of the well-known CPY member and active Communist even before the WWII, painter Đordje Andrejević Kun.

It is important to have in mind that most of the people included had no or very little experience in the museum work. They also had no role models, or knowledge in theories in which they could embed their practices. As it was seen from some of the papers that were published in *Muzeji*, the only role model that existed was the Soviet one; it lasted only until 1948 and the Resolution of the Informbiro. In a way it is understandable how only strong ideas in the museum field were those set by the CPY, and how the main goals of interventions conducted were to use museums as educational tool, or medium for transferring the Party's ideas. At the same time, they presented ways of separation from the previous regime, where culture was available only for the chosen ones. In Communism, where all people were seen as equal, museums welcomed everyone.

List of Abbreviations:

WWII	Second World War
CPY	Communist Party of Yugoslavia
PLW	People's Liberation War
FPRY	Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
AGITPROP	Department for Agitation and Propaganda

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THE HERITAGE OF IMMIGRATION: RETHINKING THE MUSEUM'S ROLE AS A MEDIATOR IN IDENTITY BUILDING

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Biography:

Andrea Delaplace is a Ph.D candidate in Museum studies and heritage, ED 441 History of Art, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University, under the direction of Professor Dominique Poulot. She presented her Master's dissertation on the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration at the EHESS – École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Mention Ethnology and Social Anthropology). In 2015, she published an article – « Un palais pour les immigrés? Le Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration à Paris : une collection et un musée en devenir » – in the *Cahiers de l'École du Louvre on the Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration* (<http://www.ecoledulouvre.fr/cahiers-de-l-ecole-du-louvre/numero7octobre-2015/Edito.pdf>). She is also a member of the Research Group in History of heritage and museums – HiPaM: <http://projet-hipam.blogspot.fr/> and of the Research association on the photographic image – Arip: <http://arip.hypotheses.org/>.

Summary:

The Heritage of Immigration: Rethinking the Museum's Role as a Mediator in Identity Building

Public sites increasingly harbor the memories of migrants in their diversity and specificity, making audible and visible versions of the past that had been occluded or simply neglected. Museums increasingly believe that you empower immigrants by remembering and redeeming their memories, which have often been absent from national narratives. Henceforth, the transformation of old facilities that used to receive and accommodate immigrants – such as *Ellis Island* in New York – into sites that revive their histories. This shows a transformation in attitudes towards immigration, which has changed the status of “diaspora” and has given visibility to a range of cultural identities. Changing migrants' relationship with their identity: from overseen and transitory memories to recognition and empowerment. The integration of migration history continues to be a challenge within museum spaces and narratives even though it is an increasingly notable feature of the international museum landscape. Thus, it raises a lot of questions such as: What is an

immigration heritage? How to exhibit immigration? Do attempts at representing migrants mirror a national paradigm?

Résumé :

Patrimoine et immigration: le rôle du musée comme médiateur dans la construction de l'identité

En tant qu'institutions mémorielles, les musées jouent un grand rôle dans la construction identitaire. Les représentations du passé et du patrimoine culturel local sont essentielles pour le développement de l'identité nationale ou régionale. Désormais, la transformation d'anciennes installations qui accueillait les immigrants – comme *Ellis Island* à New York – dans des sites mémoriels qui mettent en scène leurs histoires. Grâce à cette patrimonialisation des mémoires d'immigrés, un nouveau discours sur l'immigration et l'identité se met en place : les mémoires souvent oubliées – un oubli volontaire parfois – trouvent leur place dans les musées et permettent de créer une narrative sur l'immigration à partir de récits personnels. Pourtant, la mise en musée de l'histoire de l'immigration reste un défi dans le paysage muséal international. Ainsi, plusieurs questions se posent: Qu'est-ce que le patrimoine de l'immigration? Comment exposer l'immigration? Les tentatives de représentation des immigrants reflètent-elles un paradigme national?

THE HERITAGE OF IMMIGRATION: RETHINKING THE MUSEUM'S ROLE AS A MEDIATOR IN IDENTITY BUILDING

As memorial institutions, museums play an important role in the construction of identity. The representations of the past and of local cultural heritage are essential for the development of national or regional identity. Today, under the impact of globalization and due to a growing awareness of the positive role played by cultural diversity, museums can no longer claim to represent societies and cultures considered exclusively in national or local terms. The contributions of other cultures are essential to understand the construction of identity – national or regional. And it is this context that sets up and organizes the study of museums on immigration that belong to the category of museums of history and society.

These museums highlight other narratives, largely ignored in the past, which are also part of a larger narrative, national or regional, complex and differentiated. Consequently, an increased awareness of the importance of an inclusive identity is essential for strengthening social cohesion and mutual understanding in contemporary multicultural societies. Thus, the challenge of representing societies increasingly diverse, multilingual and multicultural, museums are faced with a series of questions:

- How can museums represent memory and identity in a multicultural perspective?
- What are the challenges and opportunities faced by museums in their role as cultural mediators?
- How to achieve multivocality in curatorial practice?
- Paradoxically, does giving minorities a voice actually marginalize their cultural diversity from the mainstream national citizens?
- How can museums represent and talk about inclusive identity and multiculturalism?

Given the crucial role that museums play in the narrative of national identities and cultural backgrounds, the goal of my research is to explore the museum practices and its possible renovation in the light of contemporary migration issues as well as its impact on our understanding of identity constructions.

The objective of this article is to question the relationship between memory, heritage, immigration and cultural diversity in an attempt to understand the challenges of museums dedicated to the history of immigration. How immigration museums institutionalized immigration heritage and what it is composed of? How to exhibit immigration? What narrative on immigration is

created through the permanent exhibition of such museums? Do attempts at representing migrants mirror a national paradigm?

To discuss these topics, I will present two case studies of immigration museums to try to prove how the construction of a narrative about immigration actually highlights the construction of the national or regional identity itself. Firstly, I will present the project of the Immigration Museum (*Museu da Imigração*) in São Paulo: the history of the building and then the project of the museum itself. Secondly, we will draw a timeline of the French Immigration Museum (*Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration*) at the Palais de la Porte Dorée in Paris, followed by an analysis of this museum's missions that are defined in its project. Then raise questions from it and draw hypothesis and lines of reflection on how these two different projects constitute an attempt of creating an inclusive narrative on immigration¹.

The Immigration Museum (*Museu da Imigração*) in São Paulo, Brazil

The *Museu da imigração* of the State of São Paulo² – former *Memorial do Imigrante* – located in São Paulo, Southeast region of Brazil – is an important center of documentation and memory of immigration in the context of Brazilian museums. It consists of a central archive and documentation center from the state of São Paulo, a museum and a meeting place for immigrant communities (so, a memorial place). The museum was reopened with a new permanent exhibition in May 2014, after being closed for 4 years. The original project has undergone a complete reformulation during this period.

In this article, it will be considered how this museum is an attempt to recognize the immigration heritage as a regional heritage. At first, I will present a timeline of the history of the building. Then, I will discuss the creation of the museum and its transformations over the years and finally, the “new museum” with its new permanent exhibition from 2014.

History of the building

The Immigration Museum is located in the old building that used to host officially the immigrants who arrived in São Paulo, at the end of the 19th century from Europe or Japan, to work in coffee plantations. The permanent exhibition

- 1 Both museums analysed here present their exhibitions as a way of including immigrant's history in a larger narrative, be that national or regional.
- 2 Brazil is a federative republic, so each region is actually a state. São Paulo is a state localized in the Southeast region of Brazil and its capital is the city of São Paulo.

focuses on how the cultural contributions of these immigrants helped building the regional identity. Opened in 1887, this building was intended for the official welcome of newly arrived immigrants in Brazil. More than 2.5 million people were welcomed to the *Hospedaria*³ *do imigrante* between 1887 and 1978. Immigrants who arrived at the Port of Santos, on the coast, traveled by train to the *Hospedaria* in São Paulo, capital of the state of São Paulo. At their arrival, they were received there by state agents and had access to several services: official documentation, medical check out, etc.

Afterwards, they were sent directly to their workplace: coffee plantations in the countryside or the flourishing industry, in the city of São Paulo. The *Hospedaria* has also hosted migrant workers from other Brazilian states during the 1930s. It lost its original function in the 1970s, becoming rather an archive, and in 1978 it received the last group of Korean immigrants, just before closing. In order to ensure the preservation of its history, the old building has been classified by the Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Touristic Council (Condephaat) from São Paulo region in 1982.

Institution's history

Since the 19th century, the State of São Paulo followed the guidelines of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the migration policies. In this light, immigrants' documents were carefully preserved and most of these records were in the *Hospedaria do Imigrante*. In 1978, the state of São Paulo progressed in the national migration policies to adopt a specific scheme. Thus, the *Hospedaria* closed its doors that year and then stopped to archive documentation on immigrants. The building became regional archive for the state of São Paulo and one of the institution's directors proposes in 1980 to destroy the archives about immigration which he considered as "unnecessary" and "useless". Midori Kimura Figuti, Japanese descendant and employee of the regional archives, opposed to the idea and was designated to be responsible for the classification of all those "useless files". She alone began to struggle against oblivion, wear and neglect of the evidences about immigrants' passage through the *Hospedaria*. At that time, Midori intended to preserve the memory of immigration because she was aware of the social, historical and cultural importance of this official documentation. However, this is more of a personal initiative than a real conservation project. The idea of developing an immigration museum

3 In this article we'll be referring to the building that hosts the Immigration museum as *Hospedaria* which means *inn* in Portuguese and it was the name given to the official building that was used to process immigrants at their arrival in São Paulo.

was not even mentioned, and the government wasn't involved at all in this archive-conservation initiative.

The project was institutionalized in 1986 with the creation of the *Historical Center of Immigration* as part of the Secretary for Social Promotion of the state of São Paulo. An exhibition with preserved materials was organized in 1988. There were photos and other evidences such as everyday objects that belonged to the immigrants. Meanwhile, the team working within the *Hospedaria* began to contact immigrant associations in order to expand its portfolio and thus created a true collection. From that moment on, the building of the *Hospedaria* has already become a memorial center and exhibition space, but not a museum itself.

Although it was not a museum, the *Hospedaria* became a memorial site. Commemorative events were held there as well as folk and traditional musical performances; it was also a meeting place of different immigrants' descendants and migrant associations in São Paulo. Indeed, some associations did not have the resources to finance a place to host their community events and the *Hospedaria* became a place of social gathering and meetings for the majority of the immigrant communities⁴. Thus, the building was transformed into a place of preservation of tangible, and transmission of intangible heritage. In 1993, the Secretary of Culture of São Paulo proposed the creation of an official museum institution and created a foreshadowing of the project team with Lois Jussara Ferreira (wife of the Deputy Governor of the state at the time). The proposal that emerged was spectacular: exposing the path of immigrants since leaving their country up to their living conditions in Brazil and the cultural contributions of immigration in Brazilian culture. These were to be collected from heritage preserved in the buildings of the State Cultural Secretariat, in charge of migration policy at the time, furthermore, from the immigrant associations, and from other immigration memorial sites, national or even international, due to a policy of cooperation. This project had the ambition to be the most innovative in Brazil at the time.

This museum should have been extended to three buildings including one that would showcase immigration history to the public in Ibirapuera Park – the green heart of the city of São Paulo. The experts of the project took the *Ellis*

4 During an interview on May 2017 with Mariana Martins, head of collections and research at the *Immigration Museum*, she said that the use of the *Hospedaria* as a meeting place for the different migrant communities was a process built over time. During the 1980's, as the project of the immigration museum was gaining force in between researchers and museum professionals, the migrant communities were invited to use the space of the *Hospedaria* and that way create a network of associations and communities that felt linked to the building and its history. A clever strategy to strengthen the memorial status of the building.

Island Museum in New York and the *Museum of Migration* in Australia as models. According to the institutional project of 1993 the museum was created: “with the purpose of telling the story of immigration in São Paulo, protecting from oblivion and preserving its memory, the immigration museum is of unique importance to the understanding of the sociocultural and economic heritage and identity building of São Paulo”.

Immigrants played a key role in the development of the State of São Paulo coffee plantations in the 19th and early 20th century, as well as in the industrialization and urbanization of its capital. It would be surprising, if not disturbing, that the state has done nothing to preserve this piece of history that still resonates today in the hearts and memories of the *Paulistas*⁵. The São Paulo state needed to invest considerably in the preservation of its historical and cultural heritage. Yet, if this memorial policy seemed of significant importance, the so far implementation of the *Immigration Museum* was not easy. The museum is created, but is restricted to one building: the *Hospedaria* itself⁶.

In 1998, the *Memorial do Imigrante* opened its door within the configuration that we saw until recently: museum archives on immigration, the permanent exhibition focused on the processing of immigrants in the building, clearly highlighting the memorial character of the site, and a meeting space for immigrant associations.

The Immigrant Memorial (Memorial do Imigrante)

When speaking of the *Immigrant Memorial*, it is the expansion of the functions of the *Immigration Museum* that opened in 1993. In addition to the museum’s activities, the memorial is committed to preserve the memory of the building and its documentation as well as those who passed through its halls. So, the first scientific project of 1993 is transformed and restructured in 1998 to ensure that the memorial character of the museum and its collections – especially the intangible heritage of immigrants – is highlighted and preserved. According to Ana Maria da Costa Leitão Vieira, former director of the *Immigrant Memorial* “... it was restructured in 1998 to collect, preserve, organize, study and promote

5 *Paulista* means someone who is born in the state of São Paulo.

6 When analyzing the archives of the original project from 1993, we can see clearly that the *Hospedaria* was destined to actually hold the archives and the technical reserves of the museum. The actual permanent exhibition was intended to occupy the new building at the Ibirapuera park. But by 1995-1996, as the project of opening this new building wouldn’t take off, the museum staff working at the *Hospedaria* decided to present the permanent exhibition at the *Hospedaria* itself. From this point onwards, the project of the immigration museum is concentrated in one building (the *Hospedaria*) and the permanent exhibition is downsized considerably from the original.

the documents and stories on immigration history and the memories of the immigrants that arrived in São Paulo from 1820 onwards”.⁷

Another interesting point in this new scientific project was the will to preserve the remains of the old railway system in the surrounding area of the museum. Having in mind the close historical links between the railway system and immigration, a contract is signed with the Brazilian Association of Railway Preservation (body that manages and maintains the Brazilian railways) to incorporate an old locomotive in the museum collection. The later reproduced part of the journey that the immigrants used to take after arriving at the port of Santos and it was the “favorite attraction of visitors.” It also recalled the story of the coffee crop in the state. In addition, it was a tribute to immigrants and their contributions to the city and state of São Paulo.

Furthermore, the memorial was the research center for people interested in their ancestors and obtaining dual nationality, getting their names rectified or resolving inheritance problems. In addition to its own records and archive, it exceeded its physical limits by offering references and information online. It was also an important center for academic research. The institution aimed to become a reference in the field of immigration research, by becoming a place of cooperation between the academic, governmental and non-governmental spheres. To ensure better sharing of information and a resonance at national level, the *Immigrant Memorial* contributed to the creation of the Brazilian Network of Organizations and Institutions for Immigration Studies (RBOIEI). With the participation of UNESCO and the IOM (International Organization of Migration) the memorial became the part of the Migration Museums Network International.

Thus, one can say that the institution has an unrivaled prestige in Brazil. Indeed, in the southern states (Santa Catarina, Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul), the migratory flow from Europe has been as important as the one in São Paulo, but their documentary resources, memorial sites and museums, even in the states capitals – Curitiba, Florianópolis and Porto Alegre – are not as developed and successful as the results found in São Paulo.

The closure of the former Immigrant Memorial and the new Museum of Immigration

The museum remained closed due to renovation works, between 2010 and 2014. The building went through a thorough restoration – it was the first time

7 Ana Maria da Costa Leitão Vieira, “The São Paulo Immigrants’ Memorial: fields of research and challenges in the twenty-first century,” *Museum International*, Volume 59, Issue 1-2 (May 2007): 117–126.

that the building was fully restored since its opening in the 19th century – and the adequacy of its archives and collection spaces as well as restoration and digitalization of documents and artworks, was achieved. The museum scientific project also went through a reformulation – it broadened the scope of its narrative about immigration by widening its discussion on the construction of a regional identity shaped by the cultural contributions of immigrants, and also by bringing new approaches into analyses of contemporary immigration in São Paulo. The name of the museum was also changed from *Immigrant Memorial (Memorial do Imigrante)* – that highlighted the memorial site as mentioned before – to *Museum of Immigration (Museu da Imigração)*⁸.

In the new scientific project of the Museum was stated⁹: “The new museum will be inaugurated on the 31st of May 2014 on the occasion of the *Feast of Immigration (Festa do Imigrante)* which takes place every year at the end of May or the beginning of June. It is a festival that brings together all the different communities of origin immigrated to São Paulo (Italian, Polish, Russian, Portuguese, Bolivian, Japanese, etc.)” This represented the will of the museum not only to be a historical site, but to be a part of different immigrant communities’ gatherings and festivities, becoming the part of their lives and therefore creating an emotional bond and network between memorial site and these communities. The initiative of creating a supporting network between the museum and the surrounding immigrants’ communities has also been visible in others immigration museums like the *French Immigration Museum (as we will see later in this article)* which clearly states in their scientific project that the museum should be a forum for discussions and becomes a link in a network of immigrants’ communities in Paris and in France.

Mariana Esteves, head of collections and research at the *Immigration Museum*, explained during an interview that the São Paulo government has established a contract with the same museum staff that is also in charge of the Coffee Museum – *Museu do Café* – in Santos and that will create a link, over time, in between the two museums – as most of the immigrants that arrived in the Port of Santos and passed through the *Hospedaria* actually worked in the coffee plantations.¹⁰

The museum followed the steps of museums like the *Football Museum* and the *Portuguese language Museum*, which are among the most visited

8 In this part of the article, we are going to use the name of the Museum in Portuguese – *Museu da Imigração* – as a way of differentiating it from the previous projects.

9 *Museu do Imigrante. Projeto científico* (São Paulo: Expomus – Exposições, Museus e Projetos Culturais, 2014).

10 Mariana Esteves, Interview with Andrea Delaplace, Personal Interview, São Paulo, January 2014 and February 2015.

museums in São Paulo. These museums introduced interactive experiences, which would enable visitors to have a more immersive experience. So the new team in charge of the *Museu da Imigração* saw it as a way of making the visitors feel closer to the hardships immigrants' went through when arriving at their local destination. It could be argued that relying on an entirely interactive and high-tech exhibition platform, could easily dislocate the focus on the actual narrative of the museum focused on the history and importance of the building within the immigration history of the region of São Paulo. But that's not the case, the museum managed to create an interactive exhibition without losing sight from its main goals. The interactive activities are there as additional supports for the main narrative.

Temporary exhibitions

In addition to the new permanent exhibition, a new team in charge of the museum prepared temporary exhibitions circulating in various train stations in the city of São Paulo. The aim of staging the theme of immigration in the train stations is to draw the attention of the public that could directly identify, and again, to make the visitor feel closer to the exhibition because of the location – a “*transit place*”. One of the stations that have been chosen is *Estação do Brás*, located in a popular and central district of the city, very close to the museum. This district, which historically hosted a working population of Italian immigrants during the first half of the 20th century, still keeps its character of the “place of arrival” with its main railway station (train and metro station today). The old railway running alongside the museum building could still be found here.

Since 2013, various temporary exhibitions were presented to the public in several cultural centers in São Paulo. The temporary exhibition *Travel, dream and destination (Viagem, sonho e destino)* was organized from the 10th of December 2013 to the 27th of January 2014 at the Brás Station Cultural Center (*Espaço Cultural da estação Brás (CPTM)*). The history of the former *Hospedaria* is highlighted as each step of the arrival of immigrants is presented: the arrival at the port of Santos, the train trip between Santos and São Paulo, arriving at the *Hospedaria*, the official registry, medical examination, quarantine, etc.

This temporary exhibition presented many photos of the Archive of the State of São Paulo as well as videos with excerpts from interviews with migrants that were processed at the *Hospedaria*. Therefore it highlighted the “memorial character” of the building that actually hosts the museum. Up to the museum opening in May 2014, the temporary exhibitions created expectations among the public interested in the theme of immigration and revealed a little of what would be discovered in the new museum.

Henceforth, the temporary exhibitions became an extent of the actual permanent exhibition and drew the attention of the public on the discussion of concepts such as immigration, displacement, transition, transnational, refugees, etc. They were used as a prequel to the actual permanent exhibition that is centered, as it was already mentioned, around the historical importance of the building followed by the discussion on how the contribution of the different immigrants' communities influenced the regional identity of the state and of the city of São Paulo.

The importance of the building in the museum narrative

The temporary exhibition mentioned above and the actual permanent exhibition of the *Museu da Imigração* uses the history of the building as the axis for creating a narrative on immigration and the importance of it in the construction of the regional identity of São Paulo. Like other immigration museums the *Museu da Imigração* draws on its building to recreate the “migrants’ experience”. *Ellis Island* in New York, as the one of the most visited immigration museums in the world and whose main force comes from the fact that immigrants were actually processed there at their arrival in the United-States, clearly states on its website: “The immigrant experience comes alive”¹¹ as a way of saying that by visiting the museum the visitor can experience himself what millions of immigrants have endured when arriving at Ellis Island.

The valorisation of the site as a place of experience of the past is very common in anglo-saxon countries. As Isabelle Anatole says in her chapter¹² on Ellis Island: “This approach, which is specific to the Anglo-Saxon world, tends to differentiate the criterion of historical truth from the use value of heritage... This approach to heritage conservation led architectural studies for the restoration of Ellis Island...”.

As Ellis Island became an example for other immigration museums such as the one in São Paulo, we can see this approach to heritage also in non-Anglo-Saxon countries. Thus, the importance of the actual site that processed masses of immigrants at their arrival is the main line for developing the narrative of

11 “Immigration Museum – The Statue of Liberty & Ellis Island,” accessed August 30, 2017, <https://www.libertyellisfoundation.org/immigration-museum>.

12 Isabelle Anatole-Gabriel. « La Fabrique du Patrimoine de l’Humanité », Publications de la Sorbonne, Editions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2016, p 255. Citation originale : « Spécifique au monde anglo-saxon, ce schéma tend à différencier le critère de vérité historique de la valeur d’usage du patrimoine [...] Cette approche de la conservation du patrimoine a dirigé les études architecturales faites en vue de la restauration d’Ellis Island... ».

the permanent exhibition both in *Ellis Island Museum*¹³ and at the *Immigration Museum* in São Paulo.

The new temporary exhibition *Hospedaria 130*¹⁴ celebrates the 130 years of the actual building and it presents newly found archives and photographs on the construction of the building and its history through the years. That just reinforces once more the importance of the building in the construction of the museum narrative.

Contemporary migrations and multiculturalism

The innovation of the new permanent exhibition is the presentation of the contemporary migrations: how the different immigrant communities contribute to creating the “multicultural identity” and cosmopolitan character of the city of São Paulo¹⁵. The old migrant communities from Europe (Italy, Spain, Germany, etc.) and Japan now share their historical neighbourhoods with the new migrant communities. For example, the Japanese neighbourhood called “*Liberdade*” (Liberty in Portuguese) is now also home for Korean and Chinese migrants becoming more of an “Asian neighbourhood” and losing some of its characteristically Japanese traits. It is becoming more of a multicultural area in the city (e.g. the local newspaper in Japanese that used to be sold in the area, now is not the only one having Korean and Chinese versions). That’s the same with the *Bom retiro* neighbourhood that used to have an important Italian community and now has a growing Bolivian¹⁶ community due to the proximity of the textile industry in the area.

The last section of the permanent exhibition, as some of the temporary exhibitions, is willing to discuss the contemporary migrations and its effects in the already multicultural landscape of the city. Topics such as immigrations laws, refugee’s rights, racism and xenophobia are being discussed in temporary exhibitions and educational activities.

13 Nancy Green, “History at large – A French Ellis Island? Museums, Memory and History in France and in the United States,” *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 63 (Spring 2007): 239-253.

14 The new exhibition opened on the 26th of August. For more info: “Hospedaria 130 – Museu da Imigração,” accessed August 30, 2017, <http://www.museudaimigracao.org.br/mi-inaugura-exposicao-hospedaria-130/>.

15 São Paulo is the richest city in Brazil and it attracts a lot of internal migration from Brazil – especially from the Northeast region – and also from other countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

16 Most Bolivians that immigrate illegally to Brazil work in the textile industry but as illegal residents they are not protected by the Labor legislation in Brazil and are forced to accept underpaid jobs and live in precarious conditions.

This shows that the museum curators are trying to open the discussion of delicate matters concerning contemporary migrations and multiculturalism, not only in São Paulo but also in Brazil as a whole. Even if we cannot say that the new exhibition achieves multivocality in its curatorial practice, as the different communities are not yet part of the curating process itself, we can say that it achieves a new approach to the history of immigration in São Paulo broadening the scope of its narrative¹⁷ and questioning the multicultural character of the city.

As a conclusion to this first part of the article, the narrative presented through the permanent exhibition of the *Museu da Imigração* relies on two pillars: the historical importance of the building as a memorial site – that used to be the main pillar for the former exhibition of the *Immigrant Memorial* – and the importance of the immigration cultural heritage in shaping the regional identity. The contemporary immigration to São Paulo is presented at the end of the permanent exhibition inviting the visitor to reflect on the contemporary cultural contributions from the immigrants and refugees that “look for a better life” in São Paulo.

The Museum of Immigration History (Musée de l’histoire de l’immigration) in Paris, France

In the first decade of the 21st century, France has undergone a profound transformation of its museum landscape. With the creation of the *Musée du Quai Branly*, a reorganization of anthropology collections and the museum system in this field occurred. The *National Museum of the Arts of Africa and Oceania* (MAAO) closed its doors in 2003, the *National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions* (ATP) in 2005 and the *Museum of Man* in 2008. Their collections were transferred to other museums respectively: the *Quai Branly Museum*, opened in 2006, and the *MuCEM* in Marseille, opened in 2013¹⁸.

In this context of renewal, the *National Museum of the History of Immigration* - former *Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration* (CNHI) and since 2013 *Musée national de l’histoire de l’immigration* (MHI) - opened its doors in October 2007 after a long gestation period and without the presence of the President of the Republic at the time, Nicolas Sarkozy at the opening day. Its opening thus

17 The permanent exhibition of the *Memorial do Imigrante* was often criticized for not talking about the internal migrations or the contemporary migrations, hence privileging a narrative on European migration to Brazil.

18 Benoit de L’Estoile, *Le goût des autres : de l’exposition coloniale aux arts premiers* (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), 5.

remained discreet and unofficial. The official ceremony of inauguration only occurred seven years after its opening, on the 15th of December 2014, when François Hollande did an important discourse about immigration.¹⁹

The MHI²⁰ is a national museum, a public institution under the supervision of two ministries: the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education and Research. A national museum has a very important role in France for it is seen as institution of the State and the national collections that are held by this institution are imprescriptible and inalienable goods that belong to the nation. Thus the discourse developed by a national museum would portrait the way the nation represents itself, in other words, how museum representations mirror the nation.

Historical background

The idea of a place dedicated to the history of immigration has been defended by associations that deal with immigration and academia for a long time. In 1992, the project of creating a museum was the mail goal of the *Association for the Immigration Museum* (association of historians and activists) that brought together many historians including Pierre Milza, Gérard Noiriel, Dominique Schnapper, Emile Temime and Patrick Weil.

In 2001, following the request of Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, a first report was written by Driss El Yazami, CEO of the Generic Association²¹, and Rémy Schwartz, head of requests at the Council of State²², about the form that might take a place dedicated to the history of immigration. The report called for the creation of a national center for history and cultures of immigration and made several proposals: a national center, a network of partners, a place open to the university, a museum open to the public, etc.

In 2002, the project of a national museum dedicated to the history of immigration has been announced in the Jacques Chirac program, and was revived in the broader context of the Interministerial Committee for Integration of the 10th of April 2003. One of the decisions of the Committee concerned the establishment of a new mission, chaired by Jacques Toubon, foreshadowing a center of resources and memory of immigration²³. Taking into account the lessons of the report of El Yazami and Schwartz, and referring to the means

19 "Immigration: la contre-offensive de Hollande," *Le Monde*, décembre 15, 2014, 1.

20 In this article we will use MHI to refer to the Musée de l'Histoire de l'Immigration.

21 "Génériques – Faire connaître l'histoire et la mémoire de l'immigration," accessed December 1, 2016, www.generiques.org.

22 This is the literal translation of *maître des requêtes au Conseil d'État*.

23 Jacques Toubon, *Mission de préfiguration du Centre de ressources de mémoire de l'immigration, rapport au Premier ministre* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2004).

and expertise of the Agency for the Development of Intercultural Relations (GipAdri), this mission has put in place the tools necessary to achieve an institution of cultural, new social and educational purposes, intended to recognize and highlight the role of immigrants in the building of the French nation. In 2004, after a year of work and carried by a university and associative thinking for several years, the project of the *National Museum of the History of Immigration* was officially launched on the 8th of July 2004. *National Museum of the History of Immigration* was established the 1st of January 2007, following publication in the Official Journal of the 17th of November 2006.

The choice of the building – Palace of the Golden Door (*Palais de la Porte Dorée*), was controversial because it was built in 1931 by Albert Laprade and inaugurated during the 1931 Colonial Exhibition. It was, as well, the site of the former Colonial Museum (*Musée des Colonies*). Thus, the “historical importance” of the place fed the fear that the theme of the history of immigration in France would be mixed with that of colonization in a stigmatizing way for the new museum. Yet the discourse of historians in charge of the MHI’s project defended the idea that the missions of the new museum would be to transform the *colonial imaginary* around the building and that it should become a cultural institution that illustrates the decisive contribution of immigrants in the construction and identity of the French nation.

The museum also had the challenge of starting a collection from scratch and in a very short period of time, because it had not inherited any initial collection. For the first time, a national museum in France was created with no previous collections. The challenge of an “empty page” (*la page blanche*) was one of the main points during the discussions of the Scientific Committee that created the main discourse of the permanent exhibition *Points of Reference (Repères)*.

The opening has been announced for spring and summer 2007 but finally took place on the 10th of October 2007. However, the museum was not fully completed during its opening and in years to come a number of other contributions were added to the initial project: the library *Abdelmalek Sayad* specialized on migration, a café as convivial space at the entrance of the museum, restored rooms from the *Palais de la Porte Dorée* dating from the colonial period, a permanent exhibition on the second floor on the history of the *Palais* built for 1931’s Colonial Exhibition.

In addition, the last two years have been marked by the change of name of this institution that officially became *Museum of Immigration History* in 2013 and re-opened in 2014 the permanent exhibition *Repères* and the *Donation gallery (Galerie des dons)*. But we have to ask ourselves: Why a museum that opened in 2007 took 7 years to be officially inaugurated and why all of these

changes happened in such a short period of time? Has the MHI managed to implement the objectives present in its scientific project?

Missions

In its scientific and cultural project, the CNHI (*Cité nationale de l'Histoire de l'immigration*) and now MHI (*Musée de l'Histoire de l'immigration*) reveals its mission and its museum character. From the four major objectives advanced by the designers of the project, the first two show very clearly the commitment of the CNHI to heritage:

- Develop and manage the national museum of the history and cultures of immigration, an original museum and cultural complex, responsible for preserving and presenting to the public representative collections of the history, arts and cultures of immigration.²⁴
- Preserve, protect and restore on behalf of the State cultural properties inscribed in the inventory of the national museum of the history and cultures of immigration which has custody of them and contribute to the enrichment of the national collections.²⁵

Thus the MHI is defined primarily as a national museum of history and culture of immigration, whose goals are to preserve, protect and enrich the national collections and to present them to the public. The choice of vocabulary used here is essential to understand the desire to highlight the MHI's heritage character of creating a museum and collection about immigration.

According to Marie-Hélène Joly, head of curators (*conservatrice générale du patrimoine*): "The MHI might not have been a museum: called "Resource and memory center" (*Centre de ressources et de mémoire*) in 2004's report that foreshadowed the mission. Its present name was the subject of several hypothesis, each revealing intentions and different symbolism positioning. However, its museum mission was clearly stated in all creative texts of the institution certainly partly for economic reasons during the research for funding, but it is not irrelevant that the associations at the base of the project wanted this registration, thereby revealing an attachment to the enduring nature of the institution "museum". The existence of heritage empowers an institution: heritage

24 Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, *Projet Scientifique et Culturel* (edited volume) (Paris: CNHI, 2005), 10. Originally (TBA): « *Concevoir et gérer le musée national de l'histoire et des cultures de l'immigration, ensemble culturel original à caractère muséologique et scientifique, chargé de conserver et de présenter au public des collections représentatives de l'histoire, des arts et des cultures de l'immigration.* »

25 *Ibidem*. Originally (TBA): « *Conserver, protéger et restaurer pour le compte de l'État les biens culturels inscrits sur l'inventaire du musée national de l'histoire et des cultures de l'immigration dont il a la garde et contribuer à l'enrichissement des collections nationales.* »

clearly demonstrates the existence of a phenomenon and also we cannot make disappear with the stroke of a pen a monument nor a collection.”²⁶ Heritage remains a way to preserve the memory of immigration that strengthens its perennial nature by creating a collection and a museum. If the MHI’s project was a resource and memory center, as recalled Marie-Hélène Joly, the weight and scope of the institution would have not been the same.

The process of transforming immigration into heritage has its purpose in the will to act in the society and in its representations. In other words, the heritage recognition and tools can lead to a change of reality through a change of representations of a culture or a community. Thus, the national museum of the history and cultures of immigration displays this desire for recognition of cultural diversity linked to immigration in the name itself: *National museum of the history and cultures of immigration (Musée national de l’histoire et des cultures de l’immigration)*.

Yet, with the change of the logo of the CNHI in 2013, this reference to cultural diversity disappeared. The CNHI became *Museum of the History of immigration* – MHI. This change took place with a new communication campaign that focused on developing immigration as a national heritage that concerns most part of the French population. Some of the sentences used as the slogan in this marketing campaign included: *One in four French is of immigrant origin (Un français sur quatre est issu de l’immigration)* and *Your grandfather in a Museum (Ton grand-père dans un Musée)*²⁷. The museum defends the position that the personal stories and memories of immigrants build the history and heritage of immigration as part of the national History. On the museum’s website one can read that through the messages that engage the general public, with a simple hook, direct and humorous, this campaign will stress that immigration history is the story of all, a part of the history of France.

However, this memory cannot obviously be unique, as immigrant communities differ on how they think their memory should be represented. One association wants to gather the memories of immigrants from different origins; another conceives the memory and heritage of immigration as the uniqueness of the history of a particular community. As a result, the issue of cultural diversity in heritage remains a complex debate considering a national point of view versus a community point of view. When talking about issues of memory

26 Marie-Hélène Joly, “La place de la Cité nationale dans le paysage muséal français,” *Hommes & Migrations*, N° 1267 (May-June 2007): 68-82.

27 “Nouvelle campagne de communication – Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration,” accessed September 25, 2016, <http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/la-cite/dernieres-nouvelles/nouvelle-campagne-de-communication>.

it's easier to talk about the memory of a group of people, a culture in particular. One may wonder if there is not a certain artificiality to want to talk about memory or immigration heritage, which presupposes a discourse based on the nation-state design, while the migration phenomenon finally obeys a transnational logic, but also a collective identification with a specific migration situation that brings together extremely diverse realities.²⁸ Therefore, can immigrants relate, or alternatively, do they want to be related to the same History, the same heritage as proposed by the MHI, born from the desire to give a “place for immigrants” in the great national narrative?

The process of transforming immigration memory into heritage remains very delicate especially because of the multicultural nature of this phenomenon, which goes against the unity of the heritage discourse. This is problematic in France where the national identity is very strong and the pressure for integration into this identity is strongly felt by immigrants. By approaching nation-building discourse indirectly through migration – a concept counterpoised to and at the same time constitutive of the nation – the museum shows how migration mirrors the nation through representation.

Without oversimplifying, one could sum up the ambition of this project as the one to show how the foreign immigrants, the “others”, gradually integrate the national identity, the “we”. However, there is the same problem that was mentioned earlier: the republican approach in France to heritage faces various obstacles when it comes to immigration; the main one is the non-inclusive conception of national identity that goes against the idea of cultural diversity within the society.²⁹

The construction of the French heritage in connection with the construction of the national identity leaves little room for the immigration heritage that concerns a cultural heritage linked to the history of a particular group, or a heritage in connection with the migratory journey: as both refer to the fear of communalism and a postcolonial imagination full of stereotypes. Therefore, we can say that the MHI project is based on an inclusive national vision of immigration where the immigrants are shown as integrated in the French society and do not really speak about the real problems concerning immigration in France today. Maybe that's one of the main reasons for the strong critiques

28 Noël Barbe and Marina Chauliac, “Mémoire des immigrés, patrimoine de l’immigration,” in *L’immigration aux frontières du patrimoine* ed. Noël Barbe and Marina Chauliac (Paris: Maison des Sciences de L’homme, 2014), 5-24.

29 Here when we use the word non-inclusive it means that the French Republic would expect migrants to adjust to the French national identity and cultural traditions. They have to merge in the national identity which is very different from an inclusive identity that would be willing to create a new “we” by accepting that the “we” is composed of different cultural communities.

that the museum received since its opening in 2007 and the lack of identification of most “immigrants” or French citizens with immigrants origins with the permanent exhibition.

In other museums, for example, the notion of community seems to be more present in the heritage process, which comes from the fact that in these countries, perhaps, the state is less present in the heritage initiatives. Meanwhile, this is the first time in many decades that the French State engages in a national museum project with social and political interests so strong like the MHI.

Conclusion

These two examples represent the challenges that museums are facing when representing the heritage of increasingly diverse, multi-cultural and multi-lingual societies. The objective of my research³⁰ is to explore museum practices and their eventual renovation in the light of multivocality as a key to building an exhibition about immigration and its subsequent impact on our understanding of national identity, belonging and citizenship. But do the two different projects that were presented in this article achieve the goal of creating a multivocal and inclusive exhibition in curatorial community practice?

Both museums have collections that present objects collected³¹ in collaboration with immigrant communities and highlight the importance of oral history and the personal narrative of immigrants, and therefore their objects in which their memories regarding their experiences as immigrants are contained.³² But the visitors react differently to the permanent exhibitions: in São Paulo the *Immigration museum* is the second most visited museum in the city while in Paris the *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration* is struggling to reinvent its presence and attract more visitors.

The *Immigration Museum* of São Paulo has a very strong memorial character with its building and historic significance for the history of immigration in the region. Since its reopening in May 2014 its permanent exhibition has

30 The present article is just a short presentation of my ongoing Ph.D research and some of the ideas pointed here are going to be analyzed more closely in my thesis.

31 Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: commodities and the politics of value,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* ed. Arjun Appadurai (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5.

32 La *Galerie des dons* in the French *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration* is a very good example of the will of the curators to highlight the importance of personal narratives in the construction of the national narrative on the history of immigration. Likewise, the Brazilian *Museu do Imigrante* has the old dormitory that used to host immigrant, transformed in a memorial gallery with objects, documents and photos belonged to the immigrants who slept there.

widened the discussion on the theme of immigration. By adding other topics to it as for example the slavery and trade of Africans slaves to Brazil, the museum is dealing with a very sensitive heritage that curators are trying to bring into the main narrative³³, all without losing its main objective: to show how different cultural contributions of immigrants are an integral part of the regional identity of São Paulo and that of the city of São Paulo with its 18 million inhabitants (a cosmopolitan city in the national scenario and also in Latin America). The museum attracts 80.000 visitors and 400 school group visits per month and it is recognized as a forum for discussion among the immigrant communities in the city of São Paulo. Therefore, the museum is well established in the Brazilian cultural landscape.

When analyzing the first seven years of the *Museum of History of Immigration* (*Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration*), we can see a museum that has continued to evolve because it is struggling to find its space in the French museum landscape. Perhaps the identity crisis of the museum is linked to the tensions and problems of French society related to the question of “national identity”. The resignation of eight members of the Scientific Council of the MHI in May 2007 to protest against the creation of a Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Co-Development shows the contradictions visible in the heritage process of immigration in France.

If heritage creation may be a matter of state, as in the case of the MHI, it should question the narrative on what constitutes the nation and what defines the national identity itself. Does the inclusion of immigration in the heritage policy of the state leads to a consideration of the “multicultural” character of the French society (or French identity)?

The non-inclusive conception of national identity – and even assimilation – stops any possibility for cultural diversity inside the national discourse on identity. The national community defined as completed, as the group to which the immigrants must merge into, is opposed to the image of an inclusive nation that just accepts the different communities inside its own society.

Another important point to analyze is how the museum stands regarding the image of immigrants and the discourse that is conveyed through its permanent exhibition *Repères*. Creating a collection from scratch was a challenge to MHI, which literally built the immigration heritage based on the memorial objects and stories collected by the museum: photos, videos, works of art,

33 Questions such as slavery and racism are part of the history of Brazil but were never discussed in an Immigration museum before. The curators present slavery as a form of violent and forced migration that also contributed to the formation of the national identity. It is interesting to see that more and more museums in Brazil are recognizing this heritage.

archival documents, various objects donated by immigrants³⁴. It is certain the museum remains as an attempt to influence the society and its representations through the heritage recognition of immigration. However, its permanent exhibition was not at all unanimous with the public and the academic world since it opened in 2007³⁵, and accordingly it tries to “reinvent itself” with recent changes to the permanent exhibition and the *Galerie des dons* (both reopened to the public in 2014).

Another point to consider when analyzing these two museums is that they have different relations to its respective buildings: the building helps creating a bond with the visitor and the immigration history in the Brazilian case, but, on the contrary there is a gap between the museum’s permanent exhibition and the memorial importance of the building in the French case. As mentioned above, the memorial site character of the *Immigration Museum* in São Paulo helps to build a strong relationship with its visitors – especially of foreign origins as their ancestors might have passed through the *Hospedaria* – and to create a network of communities that actually support the Museum and its narratives on how the immigrants contributed to the regional identity of São Paulo.

On the other hand, in the French case, the museum’s narrative on the subject doesn’t inspire the same identification and most of the visitors of foreign origins would not feel connected or represented by the permanent exhibition. As the museum is not located in an immigration memorial site – the *Palais* is a memorial site when we look at Colonial history – it doesn’t have the same appeal that other museums like the *Ellis Island Museum* in New York might have. It is actually located in a building with a strong colonial heritage that brings other delicate memories into play. Therefore, the museum has been struggling to find its voice and its public. Maybe with time the *Museum of Immigration History* (*Musée de l’histoire de l’immigration*) will find ways to connect to and create a network of immigrants’ communities that would feel fully represented by its narrative and the immigration heritage will have its place recognized in the French museum landscape.

34 Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration, *Guide de l’exposition permanente* (Paris: Gallimard, 2009); “Guide de l’exposition – Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration,” accessed September 25, 2016, <http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/musee/guide-de-l-exposition>.

35 For further reading: Michel Guerrin, “Le musée fantôme,” *Le Monde*, mars 19, 2010, accessed September 25, 2016, http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2010/03/19/le-musee-fantome_1321510_3224.html; Michael Kimmelman, “Ready or not, France opens museum on immigration,” *The New York Times*, October 17, 2007, accessed September 25, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/17/arts/design/17abroad.html?_r=0; Lydia Elhadad and Pascal Payeur, “Cité de l’histoire de l’immigration: mémoire vivante de l’identité française.” *Géo découverte*, n° 24 (Les plus beaux musées de Paris) (2008): 105-111.

As a conclusion, we can say that both museums aim to build an inclusive narrative on immigration, highlighting the contribution of immigration to the national identity and culture. However, as discussed during the article, their attempt to create a multivocal and inclusive permanent exhibition is not fully achieved as their permanent exhibition still presents a narrative that wouldn't really speak of the contemporary challenges faced by immigrants neither the struggles to feel "integrated" in the new society. Questions such as multiculturalism are not fully discussed either even if cultural contributions are celebrated (gastronomy, art, etc.).

But temporary exhibitions for both museums analysed here³⁶ and *the Galerie des dons* in the French case demonstrate a real attempt in creating curatorial community practices. By inviting immigrants to donate objects and tell their personal stories, it creates an actual multivocal narrative on immigration as different narratives and voices present the challenges, struggles but also successes that immigrant experienced when arriving at their final destination.

Immigration museums are recent in the international museum landscape³⁷ but as the topic of immigration is gaining importance in the political international scenario due to the refugee crisis, immigration museums are gaining space in the contemporary discussions on heritage and social inclusion. Even if some argue that the ideal scenario would be to have immigration history included in National History Museums instead of having a museum dedicated to immigration itself, for the moment it is essential to have a platform to discuss and reflect on immigration and the Immigrations museums around the world are aiming to be that platform of discussion on social and economic inclusion of immigrants and refugees.

36 One of the latest temporary exhibitions at the *Museu da Imigração*, called *Migrações à Mesa* (Migrations on the table), developed a collaborative project with different immigrants communities to create a narrative on how culinary recipes are transmitted from generation to generation and how they influence the regional gastronomy in São Paulo.

37 The oldest immigration museums date from the 1980's.

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Above. The characters of “Heritage (in a supermarket)”: “Ivon” and “Nana”. Photo credits: Milica Šolajić. Photo documentation of the Open air museum “Old Village”.

Below. The small museum shop appearance was changed in order to attract more people and to draw attention to the “heritage offer”. It was executed in colourful “bad design” referring to the sales and clearances in the general stores. Photo credit: Milica Šolajić. Photo documentation of the Open air museum “Old Village”

POSTMODERN CHOREOGRAPHING OF THE PAST – OPEN-AIR MUSEUMS “DANCING” WITH COMMUNITIES

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Biography:

Ph.D from University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Art History and research associate of Center for Museology and Heritology at same faculty. He has been curator of the Open air museum “Old Village” in Sirogojno for 12 years. Holds the highest curatorial rank – museum adviser and was awarded as Curator / Museum Professional of the Year in 2017 by ICOM Serbia. Active member of AEOM (Association of European open air museums), Program Council of Museum of Yugoslavia, board of Europa Nostra Serbia, ICOM and ICOFOM. He received special mention of the jury of EU Heritage Awards 2012 for raising awareness of local communities about heritage. Nikola Krstović is the author of numerous exhibitions, programs and projects. Editor in chief of International Yearbooks “Open air museums”(2012-2016). Currently, he’s conducting the research *Museum Off Boundaries* in John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and immediately after the Research *East & W/R:est* in International Cultural Center in Krakow, Poland. Fields of interests are everyday life in/as heritage and memory, interpretation of heritage, contemporary curating.

Summary:

*Postmodern choreographing of the past – open-air museums
“dancing” with communities*

The paper reviews the mission and social and cultural position of the open-air museums and ecomuseums, as well as similarities and differences in their relation to the local communities. Comparing contemporary perspectives of these two missions that largely overlap in their activities, it raises the general question of the relationship of society towards cultural heritage and culture in general. The case study *Heritage (in a) Supermarket*, from the “Old village” open air museum in Sirogojno, Serbia, represents dualisms of these two “principles”, a compound of the initiative of local communities and the authority imposed by the museum. By simple “games”, role-plays and the display, the position of heritage on the “market” is reviewed; it refers to general market, but also to the cultural with its own

peculiarities. *Heritage (in a) Supermarket*, being a very interactive and provocative concept, has opened the questions of museum freedom of speech, personal and collective senses of belonging, commitment to the ideas and attitudes, redefining relationships towards social issues, as well as the museum exhibition itself, its construction as a medium, and finally the justification of the existence of the museum institution in the society.

Résumé :

*Chorégraphie postmoderne du passé – les musées en plein air
« dansent » avec les communautés*

Cet article examine les missions et les positions sociales et culturelles des musées en plein air et des écomusées, ainsi que les similarités et les différences dans leur rapport avec les communautés locales. En comparant les perspectives contemporaines de ces deux missions, qui se croisent largement dans leurs activités, on pose la question générale du rapport de la société avec le patrimoine culturel et la culture en général. La présente étude du cas de Baš:Ti:Na Rafu (Patrimoine (au) Supermarché), représente le dualisme de ces deux « principes », la combinaison de l'initiative de communautés locales et l'autorité imposée par les musées. Par de simples « jeux », jeux de rôle et spectacles, la position du patrimoine sur le marché est examinée ; cela fait référence au marché général mais aussi au marché culturel avec ses propres particularités. Baš:Ti:Na Rafu (Patrimoine (au) Supermarché), en tant que concept interactif et provocateur, a posé les questions de la liberté d'expression muséale, de la sensation d'appartenance individuelle et collective, de l'engagement envers les idées et points de vue, de la redéfinition des rapports avec les questions sociales, ainsi que de l'installation muséale elle-même, de la construction de l'exposition en tant que média et, enfin, de la justification de l'existence de l'institution muséale dans la société.

POSTMODERN CHOREOGRAPHING OF THE PAST – OPEN-AIR MUSEUMS “DANCING” WITH COMMUNITIES

Dealing with communities: open-air and eco museums

Open-air museums are exactly eighty years older than ecomuseums. The first open-air museum, Skansen, was established in 1891 by Artur Hazelius, while the first ecomuseum, Le Creusot- Montceau, was founded in 1971 by Georges Henry Rivière. Being young means more energy and readiness for innovation. Yet, being older provides more experience and (not negligible) larger insurance.

Open-air museums and ecomuseums do have many similarities, yet many differences. Let us observe these two from the perspective of G. H. Rivière and his perception, at least at the very beginning: “Rivière, in his classification of open-air museums, described their evolution from bare collections of buildings to centers of environmental conservation and regeneration. The initial idea was just the displacement of disused buildings to a chosen site without giving particular attention to matching styles or periods or reproducing the original natural environment they came from. This was the case of the traditional buildings originally removed to Skansen.”¹

Rivière describes these first open-air museums as ‘type A’: the “offspring of conventional landscaping culture: pretty and attractive in the best of cases, unrealistic at their worst”². All of these correspond as well with the 1957 Declaration of Open-air Museums: “Composed, as a rule, of elements of popular and pre-industrial architecture: the dwelling of farmers, shepherds, fishermen, craftsmen, shopkeepers and laborers, with their outhouses, places of business, shops and, in general, a variety of examples of rural, urban, secular, ecclesiastic, private or public architecture of this kind”.³

“The open-air museum philosophy, with its emphasis on buildings and material culture, was overtaken by Rivière’s concerns on the natural environment. Rivière’s ‘Type B Open-air museums’ were those created in situ and with their original geological, climatic, botanic, zoological and environmental conditions.”⁴ These new reflections were visible in the conclusions of ICOM’s *Museum and the Environment* symposium in 1972.

1 Raymond de la Rocha Mille, “International origins of George Henry Rivière’s ecomuseum concept,” in: *International Yearbook Open air museums: Unheard voices*, ed. Nikola Krstović (Sirogojno: the Open air museum “Old Village”, 2015), 54-80.

2 Georges Henri Rivière, *L’Ecomusée, Histoire, Définition, Organisation* (Paris: MNATP GHR Archives, 1978), 4.

3 ICOM-News, v.25, 1972, 174-176.

4 De la Rocha Mille, “International origins of Georges Henri Rivière’s ecomuseum concept,” 59.

Even though Rivière considered open-air museum as more complex enterprises than the mere reconstitution of buildings, these kinds of activities have often been criticized by social and political commentators “as inclined to present too beautiful, too neat and clean picture of the past, to romanticize its great personages and important happenings and to appeal too much to the nostalgia of the present day visitor. Open-air museums often omitted or played down the ugly features of the age they presented, the grinding hard work, pervading poverty, injustice of serfdom, slavery of working class and the ravages of diseases. They also had the problem of freezing a moment or a short time period of the past, of failing to show the development and the flow of history”⁵.

However, what about the other “player” beside Rivière in the field of ecomuseums and “new” museology movement: Hugues de Varinee? Answering to one of many questions I asked him for the International Yearbook “Open air museums” 2016⁶ entitled “The book of everything you wanted to know about open-air museums” de Varinee stated: “The great difference is that the ecomuseum (or community museum as it is often called for instance in Mexico) is made of a territory where the living heritage is managed as much as possible by the community itself, and is neither collected nor ‘conserved’ in the traditional museological sense. On the contrary, the open-air museum is a traditional museum, which manages a collection of buildings and objects in a secure environment, open to visitors, while in the ecomuseums, there is no public, only inhabitants. It is true that some open-air museums call themselves ecomuseums, (like Marqueze or Ungersheim in France), or that some ecomuseums have ‘inherited’ an open-air museum (like Toten in Norway), but the ecomuseum principles and objectives are radically different.”

De Varine continues: “Many open-air museums, at least in the Scandinavian countries and at village level, were actually the result of a strong community mobilization. They belonged to the people and were object of pride, giving to the community its identity. The more important open-air museums

5 Edward P. Alexander, *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 1995), 88.

6 International Yearbook “Open air museums” is annual publication initiated by Open air museums “Old Village” in Sirogojno as a platform for exchange of the ideas and thoughts in connection to the field of scansenology and all influences and connections to other museum disciplines. Each year there is a different topic, actual theme: 2012 – Memoirs, 2013 – From another perspective, 2014 – Founding fathers, 2015 – Unheard Voices, 2016 – The book of everything you wanted to know about open-air museums. E-versions of the Yearbook are available at: AEOM, “Related publications – Downloads,” accessed December 1, 2016, http://aeom.eu/en/?page_id=343 or official web-site of the Open air museum “Old Village” in Sirogojno, Muzej na otvorenom “Staro Selo” – Sirogojno, accessed December 1, 2016, www.sirogojno.rs.

became traditional museum, particularly when they had become a tourist attraction and when their 'collection' of buildings, objects and documents became so important that its conservation, study, increase became too much for preserving an involvement of the community, considered as too amateur. Then, more recently, with the new trends towards 'immaterial heritage' and the use of new communication technologies, local people were asked to talk, comment, guide, and record their memories. But I don't know if these people are considered as 'informers' in the anthropological sense, or as true cultural owners of the common heritage. There is a need for independent assessment. I am afraid many professionals, with good anthropological qualification and research methods, don't consider the 'natives' as having a true knowledge and deserving to be associated to research and decisions."⁷

Open-air museums in/and the discourse of post modern

Comparing eco and open-air museums during the seventies of the 20th century could be completely useless, unless we need to argue historical perspectives of their simultaneous development since the 1970s. Being older and more experienced bring more trustworthiness to all operations. Among other, the ideas of younger penetrated the institutional mindset of the older: open-air museums have slowly and irreversibly changed since the 1980s.

Displacement of interest from material artefacts to the everyday life (which is neither simple nor easily explainable phenomenon) during the early 1980s, certainly gave a strong boost to open-air museums' missions and visions. Firstly, they had to transform themselves into places that are not only lost images of the past without any real connection with the contemporary life. Various circumstances influenced these changes: expansion of the impact of social history, Georges Henri Rivi re's and Hugues de Varine's 'new' museology and ecomuseums, the popularity of sociological and anthropological movements in studies of everyday life (from 'other' distant and exotic to 'us', our immediate environment and modern world), contemporary collecting (like Swedish network SAMDOK), the concept, or even philosophy of *living history* and the development of performative interpretations; simultaneously, or a bit later, more and more clear effects of socio-museology and museology of neighbourhoods, social and economic developments caused by policy of 'New Right', the theory of 'post-societies' and theme parks (Disneyland is a symbol),

⁷ Hugues de Varine, "Heritage – when people solving their problems," in *International Yearbook Open air museums: The book of everything you wanted to know about open air museums*, ed. Nikola Krstovi  (Sirogojno: the Open air museum "Old Village", 2016), 268.

heritage attractions, Cyril Simard's econo-museums, dramatically improved and democratized communications.⁸ Thus, overall changes in society, culture and museology are visible in the open-air museums as well. But it seems that the open-air museums, thanks to their specific 3D and later 4D form of simulacra were able to adapt easily to rapid and dramatic changes. This process is reflected in the metaphor "the return of all the muses to museums" by Peter Lewis, a former director of the Beamish. Professional activities required different engagements: the museum was no longer able to respond to community requests in scientific language, but by communication and interpretation.

In his text in *International Yearbook 2013 "Open air museums"*, Alexander Davydov concludes: "The open-air museum display has a cardinal, fundamental difference compared with 'chamber' museum. The display of the chamber museum could be defined as a *text*, and each item in the display is a hieroglyph, whose meaning depends on the context of the display. In "chamber" museum the *exhibition* principle dominated. In the open-air museum the *interior* principle dominated. The display of open-air museum is a model of cultural and natural *environment* of the defined ethnic group at the defined time. Nature and culture in this case could be determined as intercommunicative parts of *ethnosphere* – the term of Lev Gumilev⁹. So, I define open-air museum as a *model of ethnosphere*, as a specific form of natural and cultural *environment*, which contains a landscape (geology, soil, plants and biota), folk architecture and interiors (from a settlement to a spoon on the table), colors (from live sky to folk costumes), smell (smell of smoke in the live house, etc.), sounds (from bell-ringing until sounds of nature, as birds', animals', etc.), live nature management processes and patterns of behavior (working professionals, as smith, bell-ringer, miller, etc., folklore festivals, etc.). All of these details have had to be taken into consideration, if we are going to create a *living image* of folk culture, and operate with sense and ratio of the visitors."¹⁰

8 Nikola Krstović, "Handcrafts – where after museum?," in *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU*, vol. 60, No. 1 (2012): 93-105, or, Scideks-clanci, accessed September 7, 2016, <http://scindeks-clanci.ceon.rs/data/pdf/0350-0861/2012/0350-08611201079K.pdf>.

9 *Ethnosphere* is a combination of all of the ethnic-landscape values – ethnic groups and their *ethocenos*. Structure and energetic of *ethnosphere* are stipulated by ethnogeny processes in the Past and nowadays. *Ethnosphere* is a sub-system of biosphere of the Earth. In: Гумилев Л.Н. *Этносфера: история людей и история природы* (Москва: Издательство АСТ., 2008), 572. (Translation into English of his article by Alexander Davydov). Look also: Гумилев Л.Н. "Этногенез и этносфера," in *Природа*, 1 (1970), 46-55; 2 (1970), 43-50.

10 Alexander Davydov, "Open air museums: Model of Ethnosphere," in *International Yearbook Open air museums: From another perspective*, ed. Nikola Krstović (Sirogojno: the Open air museum "Old Village", 2013), 92-94.

Present and future came to focus as well: “Cultural Heritage Agenda was the name of a development project that started in 2001 in Sweden by the county museums, county administrative boards and the National Heritage Board. The aim was to work together with society to renew the direction, democratic support and effectiveness of cultural environment care work. The society that formed the basic values and work methods of our cultural heritage work and institutions are not the same as those of society today. We therefore needed new points of departure for the work, a paradigm shift. The manifesto was ready around New Year 2004. It can be summarised in three points: A) We have a democratic duty as well as arena for discussing our society. Our duty is to provide a contemporary historical perspective for now and do it in a way that involves and commits everybody. B) We must work *with* history and cultural heritage *for* people and society and our main duty concerns what stories about the past need telling in our society. C) We work in the ‘here and now’, and we must always consider today’s society and our contemporaries first. Skansen’s comments on Cultural Heritage Agenda were very positive, not least in its slogan *People in focus*. Many of Cultural Heritage Agenda’s thoughts and ambitions were considered to express a similar view and work method that had long since characterised Skansen as an open-air museum. Cultural Heritage Agenda’s manifesto then formed an ideological platform for the work of creating the new culturally historical Ironmonger’s House. Words like committed narrative, people in focus and contemporary historical perspective for the future would be what the work would rest on. This essence would then return when Skansen, in 2008, reformulated its duties, objectives and vision, in which it was decided that ‘The Skansen open-air museum’s duty is, focussing on the visitor, to provide insight and experiences about Sweden’s culture and natural history in relation to now and to the future.’”¹¹

Open-air museums – simulacra of everything

The past (in present and for future) becomes “consuming” if it is usable at the level of all-senses, emotional and mental experience. “The return of the muses” in open-air museum marked the transformation of static images into the kinetic and dynamic processes happening in the real time: the applied methodology was adapted American role-play model. The first museum in Europe that bravely used the models “of history brought to life” was a Swedish

¹¹ Ewa Kron, “The story of a model: Designing culturally historic environments using a modern narrative,” in *International Yearbook 2012 “Open air museums: Memoirs”* ed. Nikola Krstović (Sirogojno: the Open air museum “Old Village”, 2012), 219-221.

museum Jamtli. After Jamtli many other Scandinavian, Western European and even Central European museums followed. Nevertheless, European concepts have never meant the usage of living history to the point of transforming the open-air museum to some other type of museum form – for instance like American living history museums¹². One of the directors of the Dutch National open-air museum – *Arnhem*, Adrian de Jong, has marked transition period of the European open-air museum by his ideas and texts. Called the “ghost buster”, de Jong published influential article in 1995. In one of his concluding sentences he almost exclaimed: “The mission of our museum is clear and is addressed only to visitors, and it is: ‘You are lucky, the farmers are just back!’”¹³ It was clear moving away from the European practices of “inhabitants that have just left”. But “de Jong’s farmers” turned back dramatizations as open-air museums tool of communication: the third and first-person interpretations, story-telling and acting, role-play and re-enactment. Promoting the idea of permanently live and “dramatized” museums de Jong opened the question of museum exhibitions and museum contents and collections, and reproblemated the missions of open-air museums.

It became obvious that three-dimensional experience in open-air museums was missing another dimension: realistic passing of time as much as possible. The open-air museums, which deeply pondered applicative possibilities of living history concept, raised the illusion on a much higher level of experience. Museums became stages with authentic (historically justified) props. One of the living history models – role-play – appeared as the museum’s aftermath of changes that already happened in society – people have been accustomed to “move from one form of reality to another” – experimental theatre of the sixties that actively involved audience in the course of the play was well known, the radio and TV as phenomena have been widely accepted and the Internet was about to explode.

Role-play cannot directly represent broader social circumstances of the past; it may rather offer different perspectives of emotional tensions that allow visitors to enjoy the realities of the ordinary people whose destiny is most commonly shaped by general social and historical situations. The most important motivation for using role-play models is opportunity to give “voice and image”

12 *Association for Living History Farms and Agriculture Museums* (ALHFAM), The present name of the organization was changed to *Association of Living History, Farm and Agriculture Museums*, but the acronym remained the same. More in ALFHAM – Association for Living History, Farm and Agriculture Museums, accessed July 7, 2013, http://www.alhfam.org/?cat_id=101&nav_tree=101.

13 Adriaan de Jong, “Presenting community life in open air museums: Exhibition or Performance?“, in: *AEOM Conference Report (Tagungsbericht 1993)* 1995, 162.

to the neglected groups in the museum world. During role-play (depending on the performer's skills), the audience is dragged in to participate. Visitors "must" cooperate with the interpreter, they are "employed" to revitalize forms of social and/or family relationships, sometimes without any right to "vote or express" themselves... The point is that history is embodied only when the visitors rely on general phenomena: love, hate, sadness, happiness, jealousy, awe, security, etc. Great opportunities of role-play models are in contrasting experiences from specific past(s) with the contemporary human feelings and needs.

Many European museums have avoided performances that could have made "bad publicity". "Juicy" stories of local character, such as violence, drunkenness or adultery were not subject of interpretations. Above all, the rarest model was "presenting real human suffering". But things began to change gradually, again first in the USA. Museum education plan in Colonial Williamsburg was developed in a radically new way: it dealt with comprehensive interpretations of the lives of woman, children, African-Americans, servants, slaves, etc.¹⁴ Starting points for the interpretations were found in the issues that preoccupied contemporary society. In an era of complete nakedness of intimacy in the 1990s, showing the conflicts and difficult heritage in the museums seemed more realistic and closer to the ordinary contemporary people. The performance entitled "Sold!" during which four African-Americans and pregnant women were "sold" on the museum "slave market" is still one of the most controversial. The public reactions were divided: from those who supported the concept of reviewing own past to those who considered that "national" history cannot and must not be re-interpreted in such a way. What opponents did not understand was that this re-enactment actually did not focused only on national history – it was far more about modern social phenomenon of human trafficking. The whole debate was joined by The Washington Post which published the article "Revived history or undying racism? Slave auction at Colonial Williamsburg sparked protests".¹⁵ However, it is important to address another issue where open-air museums can play a significant role: the question of the museum's attitude towards the social circumstances. Following the example of the "Colonial Williamsburg" many open-air museums in the United States and Europe began to engage in so-called difficult heritage.

However, the stories performed through living history concepts were told by the museum, i.e. the one who had the authority and "right" to tell for (or

14 Candace Tangorra, Matelic, "American Open-Air Museums. Types, work methods and tourism," in *AEOM Conference Report (Tagungsbericht 1988)* 1988, 79-81.

15 "Living History or Undying Racism? Colonial Williamsburg 'Slave Auction' Draws Protest," *The Washington Post*, October 10, 1994.

instead of) visitors (real memory holder) in attempt to provoke reviewing of the value systems established in real life. Jan Vaessen was also aware of this problem, stressing that “we are at the beginning of this process, but slowly we are becoming aware of the fantastic opportunities”.¹⁶ Not underestimating contribution to research and documenting of the past realities, living history (with all its performing models) still remained an indication of the museum “right” to filter the truth. Additionally, in terms of museology, living history also represents relocation – regardless of whether we are talking about a thing, an object or a process, we are actually talking about the context torn from its original (some would use terms authentic or natural) environment. Continuously re-created in already existing 3D simulacra all performing interpretations added the new level: re-enactment of (real or typified) events where the people were engaged in real-time passing. The time in the museum became condensed, the most interesting elements were emphasized, but the visitors could still have the impression that time is passing in its natural rhythm. However, many of the performed events actually never happened in history or they have not happened exactly like that. Thus, most of the theatrical performances (role-plays and first person interpretations) were new creations directed as completely new forms of narrative in order to re-create the historical atmosphere – the goal was to transfer the message, the historically and socially accepted value.

Logic question in analysis of the open-air museum simulacra would be: What would happen if the most important element of any performing activity – *directing* – could be excluded?¹⁷ Or, at least, directing *by* museum professionals? Real life has no real impact on the museum, except when the museum “expertise” attributes to it the qualities of specific, unique and/or precious. However, an exception in the real life is the positive or negative excess, while in the museum-institution it is common, neutral, and only acceptable as such. The essential question is: how to reconcile the original museum (life itself)

16 Jan Vaessen, “Know Thy Neighbor,” in *On the future of Open Air Museums*, ed. Inger Jensen and Henrik Zipsane (Jamtli: Ostersund, 2008), 28.

17 The term “direction” in this context, could be equated with the term editing: “As for Eisenstein a film was editing of attractions and as Disney in his (visionary) kindergartens ‘programmed’ the movement of visitors by the system of visual magnets, the museum, whose future will be characterized by these two giants, is just *editing* of three-dimensional and other information. Editing is essentially a creative process and, in certain circumstances, an artistic process. However, if we recognize the creativity, we also recognize an open possibility of manipulation that grows with the size of time and mental distance which we have in relation to the objects of editing”, Tomislav Šola, *Prema totalnom muzeju* (Beograd: Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju; Kruševac: NM Kruševac, 2011), 85-86.

which only constant is change, and the museum-institution whose only constant is tendency to eternal immutability?

Reacting to this one might ask: “If the museum and life could be the same, why would we need museums?” Reasonable question, indeed! But, it can be asked oppositely: Why do we need life, if we need some form of media to make it apprehensible? Or, do we have life at all, does it belong to us? According to Andrew Wigert, “Everyday life is not at disposal to those who are living it, because they do not shape it in the theoretically-scientific or museum manner (or almost any other). Everyday life is a term which... needs to be constructed”¹⁸. The fact is that one form of discourse in open-air museums (research and documenting) requires further reality construction – interpretation. The best example of simulacra, copy of non-existing original is, according to Baudrillard, Disneyland “perfect model of intertwined simulations”. The same could apply for open-air museums – the history performed through living history methodologies actually is not tangible – so it exists only as a construct, illusion and it could be re-performed in millions of different ways and still resemble the “authentic” version that one believes to know.

Comparison of Disneyland and open-air museums is constant in the debates, regardless of positive or negative connotations. Umberto Eco is far more realistic on the same topic. According to Eco, “Disneyland does not lie. It can afford itself to represent reconstructions as masterpieces of counterfeiting. What one can buy at Disneyland is actually a commodity, brilliant shopping, embodiment of seductive supermarkets, not the reproduction of the world. What is false is our desire to buy “traces of the past” and in this sense, the park is the quintessence of consumer ideology”¹⁹. Disneyland is an allegory of consuming society, a place of full icon-ism, as Eco concludes. Same could be easily attributed to open-air museums. One basic thing that makes different is public obligation. Being in a sphere of public service open-air museums must tend to reproduce and revitalize “facts” from history and past in the most correct manner they could.

Reconstructing the past – deconstructing the present: Heritage (in a) Supermarket

Thomas Bloch Ravn, director of Den Gamle By (Old City) in Aarhus, Denmark, writes about how the “market-oriented eye” is changed when it sees an artefact

¹⁸ Andrew Wigert, *Sociology of Everyday life* (New York: Longman, 1981), 3.

¹⁹ Umberto Eco, “Travels in Hyperreality”, accessed July 3, 2016, http://xroads.virginia.edu/~DRBR2/eco_travels.pdf.

“on sale” in the museum. However, although this is a kind of shift, we still talk about a visitor *in* the museum complex. How would that same eye act if it saw a museum object or process in the midst of its everyday life, signs of the past or other existence, or even better, if it became more aware of the specific operation of its rut only because of the museum activity? So, when the real every-day is confronted with the reality of “museum” testimony, i.e. when we provoke the power of cognition, evaluation, and finally the collective memory in the every-day unconscious?

Idea and introducing the project

The idea for “Heritage (in a) Supermarket” came “out of nowhere” or, to be more accurate “from everywhere”: science, design, film, economy, and obviously some other ideas. However, initial inspiration was found in commonly romanticized statements of middle age/class visitors who usually thought of “Old Village” open air museum in Sirogojno, Serbia, simulacra, as elegiac place in time and space structured by order and precise hierarchy and harmonized relationship between family members. It was actually the place of their dreams, somehow an immature reflection of solutions for their problems, answer to their needs and wishes. Children, for instance, were more open to accept the whole image of the past fulfilled both with diseases, hunger, poverty, terrible position of children and woman, as well as with wonderful creations in the field of music, crafts, architecture, and poetry.

Methodology aspects came from the scientific field. Few of the museum curators were occupied with “M theory” or “theory of everything”, bothering everyone else during “traditional” coffee breaks and acting as unbearable amateurs. Theory claims, as much as we could have understood, that there are more than four dimensions (as we know it as Einstein’s *space-time*) while “M” in “M theory” conjectured by Edward Witten in 1995, stands for “magic, mystery, membrane”. It stands for many other hardly understandable phenomena (strings, particles, super-symmetry, quantum-gravity, etc.) and it explains the probability of existence of many dimensions in which same events could occur in endless variations. The word “probability” rang our bells and the theory was immediately adopted by our curators as “(open-air) Museum theory”. Association to the film “Groundhog Day” where the same day is repeating for everyone else except for the main character whose sense of time is considered as “normal” came out as obvious. The logic question for us was: What if we offered only the possibility and let the people/visitors fulfill the offered structure with their own content? What if we create only some guidelines, a potential for editing, ask the questions?

In order to achieve that, we needed a hook: an intriguing title. “Heritage (in a) Supermarket” is a rather weak translation into English of something that in Serbian sounds as pointing a finger to everyone. It is important here to explain Serbian title in order to understand some layers of its meaning. Serbian word for Heritage is “Baština” (“Баштина”, in Cyrillic font). But when one divides it into syllables (BAŠ:TI:NA / БАШ:ТИ:НА) a funny game starts:

1. “BAŠ” means “Exactly”, “Precisely”, “Only” – Sentence examples would be: “This is *exactly* what I need”, “You are *exactly* the person I’m looking for”
2. “TI” means “You”
3. “NA” means “On”, “At”

So we have had “Exactly – You – On”. But then, we missed ending of this newly formed construction. Considering that we had ideas about market and trade, prices and values of heritage, personal involvement, evaluation and appreciation (developed earlier in the “Harity Fair” project²⁰), the word “shelf” appeared as logic one. In recent history, Serbia was facing many challenges and bad times: the civil wars, inner economic crises and recoveries, hyperinflation, development of democratic processes, rapid change of ideologies, restitution (of properties confiscated by the state after WWII), brain-drain, etc. Middle-aged generations still do remember completely empty shelves in the supermarkets and bunches of worthless money during the 1990s, but younger ones are living in abundance of offered goods yet alongside the credits, interests and rates. The oldest ones remember all of that plus former Yugoslav period (pre-nineties) with domestic goods on the stores’ shelves, travelling around the world, big borderless country, free education and health programs, but one party political system, censorship of media, etc. All of these periods were characterized by different ideologies and political and ethical values that are still vivid but not only as an inter-generational difference. Museum narrative is beyond (or before) all of these times and as such especially susceptible to idealized nostalgia and romanticism, even false national and populist interpretations.

That is why the text in the catalogue starts with confusing remarks relating to post-modern paradigms of shattered meta-narratives and global neo-liberal philosophy that could relativize all: “Everything is for sale!’, so ‘everything has a price’: it is possible to calculate how much we have to pay for someone’s life, freedom, love, friendship, loyalty, memory, identity... These claims frighten

20 *Herity Fair* (2012-2014) was project initiated by Faculty of Philosophy and the Open air museum “Old Village” which included seven museums of South-western Serbia to simultaneously produce the process of inclusion of local communities into the whole process of exhibitions’ creations. It was a kind of parallel co-creation process.

you, don't they? Any 'normal' person would say no because it is sure that some things are impossible to be bought or sold – the priceless ones. But most economists will convince you otherwise, they will probably prove practically these claims. Perhaps they would replace the noun 'price' with a bit more digestive one 'value' and your attitude will soften to a certain extent. 'Everything has its value' – now, it does not sound like 'everything is for sale' or 'on the market'. Let's try not to understand market as a place of sale, a supermarket, a stock exchange... If we replace it with the word 'compromise' where one value is modified for another, aren't we still trading"?²¹

Concept and characters

The project "Heritage (in a) Supermarket" and its structure cannot be characterized as an exhibition, nor publication, installation, residence, the concept of living history, museum network or a platform for understanding relationships of individuals, organizations and institutions towards heritage. "Heritage (in a) Supermarket" is above all an experiment, a multilayer contribution to shedding light on dilemmas and debates that we lately pay attention to. In terms of museology (Exactly:You:On (the) Shelf) opened the question "Who is *You*?" in the title of the program. As we have already analyzed, the process that had been defined as democratization of museums and heritage interpretation, led to the idea that anyone can be an heir. In that sense, the questions posed by the Exactly:You:On (the) Shelf relate to all those who know they are professionals, those who feel that way, those who are amateurs and believe they are the best professionals, those who believe that they are professionals and are worse than the worst amateurs, as well as to those who are indifferent regarding this issue.

"Heritage (in a) Supermarket" is conceived through two opposing segments which together form a whole. The first part is based on the performance of the "living" avatar (Ivon) with basic character traits designed and "played" by one of our young associates. Curators and associate were responsible for creation of psychological character of a person who "inherited" the house defined as cultural heritage and "comes to grips" with the notion of inheritance in its broadest sense. The ways in which the character succeeds or fails to distinguish the personal from the common cause, the difference between rights and obligations, the way she understands the position of responsibility in the

21 Nikola Krstović i Bojana Bogdanović, *Baš:ti:na (na) rafu / Heritage (in a) Supermarket* (Sirogojno: the Open air museum "Old Vilage", 2015), 6, or, Sirogojno, "bas_ti_na_rafu," accessed December 1, 2016, http://www.sirogojno.rs/sites/default/files/dokumenta/bastina_na_rafu_lr.pdf.

system of inheritance through daily role-plays and interpretations in the first and third person are revived by a project associate and a friend of the museum who understands the opposing positions and dilemmas. The created figure (avatar Ivon) represents a profile of a frequent type of the visitors in the Open-air Museum “Old Village” in Sirogojno which is uncritically inclined in favour of an idealized image of the past and everyday life in rural areas at the turn of the 20th century. Through adaptation of the half of space of the main house (museum permanent exhibition), the character reacts to comments of visitors, approaching or moving away from own vision or authentic appearance, functions and behaviour patterns. At the same time, she keeps a personal diary as a testimony of her life in this fluid simulacrum, and daily evaluates her own views and visitors’ attitudes. The whole concept was conceived as a direct collision of value systems of the past and present, reviewing the limits of compromise and limits of ‘trading’.

After this “script” for avatar Ivon, the second person was introduced. The woman from the local community was a counterpoint to the first character, the avatar Ivon. The local woman worked at the museum as a cook and after retirement as a housekeeper of one of the main houses in the museum household. Considering her private biography and some very hard moments in life during her marriage in Kosovo where she lived in family patterns similar to those portrayed in “Old Village”, she became provocative contrast to Ivon and her pseudo-contemporary perspectives on the rural life in the past: living memories and real life in village were confronted to false vision of “new age” uses of the past, rurality and heritage.

So, the platform for the debate was set, as well as the theme. Yet, topics which could be started by characters were open: they could be about anything. Furthermore, switching between different models of living history (role-play, first or third person interpretations, sometimes even re-enactment of elements of life of one or other) the characters repeated every day. Younger, Ivon, was in charge of rearranging half of the space, sometimes cooking international cuisine, rehearsing yoga, knitting for fun, “promoting” her stands... The older one, Nana (as we all call her, meaning Grandma) was in charge for cooking in traditional ways, doing the housework, gardening, knitting for income, reviving her own memories... As time passed, living history models were enriched with something that we started to name as reality “show-ing”. As more “reality” started to appear, more social and cultural anthropology experiment tone of the project started to reveal itself.

Ivon and Nana were in (or around) the house every day from 11AM to 1PM and from 3 to 7PM. Two scenarios were “official”: Ivon personally inherited the house and came (with her mother – Nana) to spend in it her summers, or she

got married to Nana's son and the family inherited the house. Division of the house in two sides – east and west from hearth (which in role-play meant one that is continuously renewed and one that represents old “museum” part) – reflected many divisions between two main characters: generational gap, ideological gap, even the class belonging, different relationships towards traditions and past and most importantly the gap between inheritance and heritage, and personal and collective. This visually symbolic gap and the gap between characters was reflected in their everyday activities and conversations. It allowed characters to be in roles, but also to incorporate their own personalities into the “game”. Once again it is important to emphasize the fact that real background of persons involved in program is quite different (Irena Molnar (32), aka Ivon, is MA in ethnology/anthropology from University of Belgrade and Athens, president of organization that deals with rights of young people and drugs, as well as an associate of many museum programs, while Milena (67), aka Nana, is a local woman, used to live in similar “traditional” condition as presented in the museum, a housewife and a former employee of the museum). So, both have real and strong connections with the museum and heritage, but quite different life stories. Irena (Ivon) is oriented towards philosophy of inventing and renewing heritage, exciting approach in interpretation, while Milena (Nana) is rather for preservation of the objects and presentation in very traditional ways.

Rearranging the main house: rearranging the perspectives

Everything began as “normal”, but Ivon started to change and rearrange her “part” of the house according to her “needs” and visions. In doing so, she constantly explained to Nana (and to visitors) why she was doing things like these. Gradually, but rather quickly, Ivon's half of the house appeared as different and unrecognizable. Some of the things were bought in Chinese stores, some dishes in specialized stores, furniture borrowed from furniture stores, decorations from everywhere, food supplies from supermarkets; in several occasions Ivon brought her own (Irena's) things to furnish the interior (books, magazines, things for exercise, cutlery, decorations, etc). Bringing new things meant that some “old” had to be “thrown away”. In reality they were turned back to museum's depot, in fiction some of them ended up in the museum shop being characterized as “old enough to end in up some museum” (look below at the section *Story of a museum shop*).

As changing the house interior was in progress, the topics that characters discussed in front of the visitors were way of living in the past and in the present, what were and are commodities, electricity lack, water supplying, necessary things for cooking and dining space, in general the usage of house and its facilities. But when Ivon's part of the house was shaped according to her

wishes, and some extra time appeared, new topics came out that portrayed generational and even historical gaps: their relationship's characteristics, roles of genders, position of children in family, domestic violence, and actually all kinds of things that people debate nowadays: politics, fashion, holidays, salaries, unemployment, weather, etc. During one debate about humanity back then and nowadays they started the humanitarian action (they agreed on that with a local charity organization few days earlier) they collected quite decent funds for the local hospital's maternity department. Topics of family planning, maternity leave, parenthood and adoption were very interesting topics inspired by the action. In all of these debates between Ivon and Nana visitors got involved discussing their own stands being on one side or another, or moving in the space between. It happened frequently that visiting family or a group reflected exactly the same divisions of two characters. Also, being quite often present at the scene, curators participated in those discussions. The role of curators was to moderate or support the continuation of the debates.

“Up to my eyeball in heritage” interview: media criticism

It is important to remember that the character of Ivon is pre-developed more than the character of Nana, not just in psychological terms, but also in terms of media appearance. It is a reflection of general superficiality of media coverage of any phenomena, usage of stereotypes and quick sensationalist information. Even before the project had started in its form of role-play, the design of the whole program referred to the ways media address, select and observe the issues and information. That museum stand is visible in all visual designs and directly refers to the most popular media network “TV Pink” (with its numerous TV channels, several internet and radio stations) in Serbia and throughout the region. Using specific pink colour (magenta) and TV's logo (small stain), especially for the program catalogue cover, we wanted to point out these “pink magnifying glasses” and that simplified or banal (in some cases bizarre) information in dealing with pasts and history (histories) and social tensions is just not enough.

In that sense, Irena gave the interview for a magazine as Ivon, “clarifying” her position in the museum and the program. It was tendentious role-play or “abuse” of character: Ivon appeared as not stupid, even relatively well educated. She also believes she has the best wishes and intentions. But in interview, from time to time, her logic (deliberately) collapses, her knowledge appears as suspicious one, her good intentions are blurred by her contemporary needs for commodities.

The best way to observe this position is to quote some parts of her interview with remarks – [F] – for ‘false’ (not true) statements. In defining her position after “inheriting the heritage”:

“I’m fascinated by the idea that in the past, people lived healthy [F] and long [F] and had the knowledge that we do not have today; everything was quieter, more pleasant [F], people respected and revered each other more – in a word, there existed order in everything [F].

To question *“You’ve already turned one part of the kitchen/house into a small corner for pleasure and leisure?”*, Ivon answers: *“That’s right! This is my vision, my perception of the antiquities. If we add a little of something new, something of our own, every space is distinguished. I found some things in the house – the old photos and the like, and some of them I bought...”*

To question *“Since you spend the summer months here and slowly adapt the house to your own modern needs, do you ask experts for advice, instructions?”*, Ivon answers: *“Well, no ... I think it’s more about the feeling, the personal sense of belonging to a whole, a kind of heritage and wider culture ... I think I carry that knowledge inside, that sense of responsibility and duty. And, frankly speaking, private heritage is a private matter, isn’t it? What I’m trying to do is to enrich and modernize it, to refresh and preserve ...”*

So, she herself appears as incomplete expert for dealing with heritage and her ethical stands are not quite clear. In a word she is in a grey zone between her wishes and her possibilities, rights and obligations. And that is exactly the zone where museum mission is coming to its best. We should not forget that *“Museums hold a unique position of being trusted, which is particularly important given the perceived lack of trusted institutions in society such as the government and the media. Both of these are seen as biased and operating under agendas. Members of the public, who took part, see museums as the guardians of factual information and as presenting all sides of the story.”*²²

But in *“Heritage (in a) Supermarket”* the *“absence”* of the museum authority represents the strongest museum presence. We *“left”* to characters and visitors to discuss diverse topics in societies of past and present. The way they all discussed topics was far more important than conclusions they have. Yet, subconsciously visitors are aware of presence of two museum characters so, in a way, the official presence of the museum. The idea was basically that the museum offered the scene where all kind of questions could have been asked and debates started, not necessary the answers to be given – it’s all about thinking, not concluding.

22 The research *“Public perceptions of – and attitudes to – the purposes of museums in society”*, A report prepared by Britain Thinks for Museums Association, Museum Association, *“Museum Association ‘Purposes’ Report,”* accessed July 25, 2016, <https://www.museumsassociation.org/download?id=954916>.

Story of the museum shop

The second part of the experiment was (bizarrely) located in the Museum shop where the visitors could buy replicas of the traditional crafts and occupations products and souvenirs. In the typical ambience of sales and discounts, there were eight white museum showcases exposed with the glass boxes above. They contained eight items from the Museum ethnographic collection, actually those that Ivon has thrown away from “her” part of the house. The items came with the labels that placed them into historical context of the craft or profession and were personalized by photos of manufacturers, biography of the object, along with the inventory number. So Ivon’s “garbage” became labelled. The appendix that “distracted”, or, depending on the angle of observation, quite naturally fitted into the ambience of the Museum (store), was a distinctive hyperbolized market value of the museum object given in an almost surreal price. As it was by far higher than similar or identical items that could be purchased in the store, even “astronomical”, the question of values and prices was opened: Does the value correspond to the price? Does the object’s history play a role in determining its value? Does the presence of biography of the item raise the value and how can it influence the price? Can the collective and institutionalized heritage value be estimated or is it priceless?

Making visitors uncomfortable with the notion that the museum artefacts were presented in the (museum) shop and were for sale, the “trick” was followed by instructions: “All numbers mentioned in the shop, exhibition catalogue or elsewhere in ‘Heritage (in a) Supermarket’, which could be connected with potential price tagging of artifacts of Ethnographical collection of the Open-air museum “Old Village” are calculated based on the formula: the age of artifacts multiplied by salaries of those in charge for them divided by total number of collection artifacts. They serve for the purposes of education and promotion of the museum mission and are author’s and curators’ expression.”²³ Also, connection to the media and TV station(s) was pointed out through: “Any similarity to the popular media or real creatures that walk, fly or grovel on this planet is accidental and has no intention to offend or belittle anyone. The text as well as the whole content of this publication is aimed for and adjusted to all ages, genders, social and economic classes, races and ethnicities, professions, confessions, but it’s not recommendable for those with thin nerves for pseudo-economic/financial games, suspicious ethical stands and those generally easily adaptable on common mixing of light entertainment and culture.”²⁴

²³ Nikola Krstović and Bojana Bogdanović, *Baš:ti:na (na) rafu*, 6.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

Highest bid, lowest price: non-consuming past!

There will always be differences between perspective of managing and thinking heritage, between institutional and all other models of keeping collective memory. First one is practical the other is philosophical, theoretical; the first is pragmatic the other one idealistic; the first one is always restricted and structured; the other one is liberal and diffuse.

New challenges that stand in musealization of everyday realities can be analysed through two applicative trends: 1) Activity of an open-air museum *outside* its own framework in order to create and promote the development of mental (cognitive) map as a prerequisite for raising awareness about the community itself. It means accepting the museum's mission as a platform for the promotion of its own (cultural) values shaped in everyday life outside the "authority" of museum. Of course, it is a long term process of creation and development fulfilled with constant changes, and 2) Possibilities to overlap pre-discursive real everyday with activities (not the institution alone) of a museum in order to define the memory potency of a community and to overcome artificially created opposites: museum and life.²⁵

The term "museum" itself becomes subject to review: whether it represents a load or opens up new possibilities. If we understand museum not as an institution, but as a mission aimed at preserving the collective memory of the community / for the sake of better quality of life, the positions are changing dramatically – museum is no longer a place of preservation and interpretation, but of an active participant in people's daily lives.

25 Nikola Krstović, *Muzeji na otvorenom: Živeti ili oživeti svakodnevicu* (Beograd: Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju, Filozofski fakultet; Sirogojno: Muzej na otvorenom „Staro selo“, 2012), 214-216.

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MEMORY ON THE CABINETS OF WONDERS IN MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY ART

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Biography:

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Summary:

Memory on the Cabinets of Wonders in Modern and Contemporary Art

Motives and aesthetics of curiosity cabinets, collections consisting of different natural and artificial objects present in Baroque and Renaissance Europe could easily be recognized in Contemporary art. However, in this paper, I will argue how the interest for these wondrous assemblages has been born again in art and theory after the 18th and 19th century when these were almost completely forgotten. Throughout the first part of the paper I will briefly introduce the reader to the historical phenomenon of the cabinet of wonder – *Wunderkammer*. In the second segment the return of this phenomenon in the 20th century theory of art and Museology will be traced. In the third segment of the paper I will try to position the *Wunderkammer* recognition in Modern art and after as the *appropriation* and open quotation, methods characteristic for this period, while in the next unit I will discuss in more details characteristics of Surrealist art which could be linked to the cabinets of wonders. Finally the use of a box (container full of different objects) as an art medium will be observed as a direct quotation of *Wunderkammer*, which will lead to conclusion that Contemporary artists are deliberately using the cabinet of wonder setting in their installations, influenced by the whole history of art and being direct successors

of the Modern artists who have introduced collection of objects as an art medium. Consequently, aware of all the layers of meaning the use of *Wunderkammer* motive has today, Contemporary artist does not only question the institution of museum and the position of the artist today, but also coquette with today's values systems.

Résumé :

Souvenirs des cabinets de curiosités dans l'art moderne et contemporain

Les motifs et l'esthétique des cabinets de curiosités, collections composées de différents objets naturels et artificiels présentes en Europe du Baroque et de la Renaissance, peuvent facilement être reconnus par l'art contemporain. Cet article s'appliquera à montrer que l'intérêt pour ces collections renaît dans l'art et la théorie post 18^e et 19^e siècle, quand celles-ci étaient presque complètement oubliées. Nous verrons d'abord le phénomène historique des cabinets de curiosités, les *Wunderkammer*. Puis, nous suivrons le retour de ce phénomène dans la théorie de l'art et dans la muséologie du 20^e siècle. Dans une troisième partie, nous tenterons de positionner la reconnaissance des *Wunderkammer* dans l'art moderne et contemporain, ainsi que ses méthodes caractéristiques de cette période : l'adoption et la citation flagrante. Enfin, nous décrirons en détail les caractéristiques de l'art surréaliste qui pourraient être liées aux cabinets de curiosités. Finalement, l'emploi de la boîte (conteneur rempli d'objets variés) comme moyen artistique sera considéré comme une copie directe des *Wunderkammer*, ce qui nous mènera à penser que les artistes contemporains utilisent intentionnellement les cabinets de curiosités dans leurs installations, sous l'influence de l'histoire de l'art, mais aussi en tant que successeurs directs de l'art moderne qui avait introduit des collections d'objets comme outil artistique. Ainsi conscient de tous les niveaux de signification de l'emploi de motifs des *Wunderkammer*, l'artiste contemporain remet non seulement en cause l'institution du musée et la position de l'artiste, mais flirte aussi avec les valeurs du système actuel.

MEMORY ON THE CABINETS OF WONDERS IN MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY ART

Cabinets of wonders, those magnificent collections, were so present in the Renaissance and Baroque Europe. Spaces formed as chambers filled with different objects of curiosity, natural species, man-made artifacts, machines and literature, were aimed at contemplation, as well as representation of magnificent identity of the owners. These piles of objects delicately assembled and exhibited in vitrines, cabinet-shrank or various boxes are thought to be predecessors of the modern museums. Things which were gathered tended to represent the microcosms, to be tridimensional encyclopedias of the whole world or at least of the world seen from the perspective of the creator of a collection.

“It is central, indeed, to the thesis underlying the cabinet of curiosities: for the aim of any collection is to halt the passage of time, to freeze the ineluctable progress of life or history, and to replace it with fragmented, controllable, circular time frame established by a finite series of objects that can be collected in full. Subordinated to the general order of things, this time frame delineates an island of sense placed amid an ocean devoid of meaning. While all collections are concerned with the dialectic between ‘disappearance’ and ‘survival’, cabinets of curiosities elevated this obsession to a higher and more rigorous level. Not only did they bring together objects that had eluded or survived the test of time – in itself a cause of wonder – but they also brought together hybrid, liminal objects (suspended between art and nature, death and life), thus investing them with new value, new power and new meaning”¹.

Maybe crucial words for these curious assemblages were: wonder, marvel, chaos and tendency towards the universal knowledge. However, these strange juxtapositions of nature, art and science were not welcomed during the age of order, taxonomies and division of science to many disciplines. This is why in the Enlightenment period, during the 18th century, the cabinets of wonders were slowly left to oblivion and replaced by laboratories meant for scientific experiments, natural museums which stood aside from the art museums and galleries. “The cult of curiosity was the cult of summation, of the sum total of things, of juxtaposition and addition repeated *ad infinitum*; the Age of Enlightenment, to reiterate a contrast that is now time-honored, adopted a stance at the opposite extreme, pacing itself firmly on the side of universality, of a hierarchical world view, and of an assumption of the validity of the broader

1 Patrick Mauries, *Cabinets of Curiosities* (New York: Themes and Hudson, 2011), 119.

categories of reason”.² The rise of the spirit of scientific inquiry and a belief in a new rational order were responsible for relegating ‘wonders’ to the lower slopes of human knowledge, while new methodologies of observation, collecting and research reduced the cult of curiosities to the status of an imperfect science. “It was thus a whole new philosophy of nature and truth, developed in the first half of the eighteenth century that marginalized and dispelled the charm of the cult of curiosities. There was no place for the inexplicable or the bizarre in a culture that demanded, then and now, a reality that was on the way to being explained (...)”.³

The interest in the cabinets of wonders and the aesthetics of curious was again woken up in the beginning of the 20th century. When it comes to theory, it was David Murray who “rediscovered” this phenomenon in 1904 in his work: *Museums, their History and their Use*, and then Julius von Schlosser with his seminal study: *Die Kunst – und Wunderkammern der Spät renaissance* from 1908, which influenced not just many museum theoreticians, but also artists during the 20th century. However, an Italian museologist, Adalgisa Lugli, was the first one to write about the *Naturalia e Mirabilia* in 1983⁴ from the theoretical and historical perspective and then was invited by the main curator of the 42nd Contemporary Art Venice Biennial in 1986, to arrange the segment entitled *Wunderkammern*⁵ of the central exhibition with the topic *Arte e Scienza*⁶. On one hand, this was the first big contemporary art exhibition of the 20th century deliberately mixing art and science again and revealing the unbreakable bonds of these two worlds. In the segment *Wunderkammern*, Adalgisa Lugli juxtaposed the historical cabinet of wonder with DADA and Surrealist artworks illustrating similarities between the two and showing that the inspiration for both is coming from the same impulses. Nowadays, there are many studies dealing with the historical perspective of the old models of musealization and creation of different collections, but also few papers and Ph.D studies having interest particularly in the cabinets of wonders and recognizing these in Modern and Contemporary art, a topic which will be central for this paper.

2 *Ibid*, 189.

3 *Ibid*, 194.

4 Adalgisa Lugli, *Naturalia e Mirabilia, Il naturalism enciclopedico nelle Wunderkammern d'Europa* (Rome: 1983).

5 Adalgisa Lugli, *Wunderkammern* (Venice: La Biennale, 1986).

6 XLII esposizione internazionale d'arte, la Biennale di Venezia: arte e scienza: general catalogue (Venice: La Biennale, 1986).

Art as “mnemotechnics of beautiful”

The art world understood in the interpretative art theory as a system itself, where the artifact is seen *now and here*, always alluding to an invisible world, gathering of different circumstances and meanings in which that artifact has been born, brings many different media of expression in the 20th century.⁷ The concept of the cabinet of wonder, the installation with many collected things, can be recognized as the special medium in which an artist combines many various materials, objects, which sometimes have symbolical or memorial potential for the artist. The assemblage of all these material, but also immaterial and metaphorical memories, taken out of the *real world* and introduced to the world of art, transmits the *Wunderkammern* to today's world. Keeping the objects from oblivion and making them crucial parts of his works, an artist is, sometimes spontaneously and sometimes on purpose, acting as a kind of museologist, a curator of his own collection. Marion Endt tackled some of the issues about contemporary artists and curators' position within the institution of museum, while writing about the use of the *Wunderkammern* in the Surrealist and Contemporary art (on the example of Mark Dions' works) in her Ph.D thesis. She argues that, by applying the paradigm of curiosity to objects, installations and exhibitions, contemporary artists and curators are replacing a historicist and chronological approach with a more associative and selective one, questioning “white cube” aesthetic and the monopoly institutions have claimed since the Enlightenment to hold over taste and truth. The concept of curiosity, as she observed, allows playful, experimental approach to collecting, classification and display, questioning the epistemological framework of institutions, which act as mediators and producers of knowledge.⁸ I would add to this thesis that artists nowadays, using the concept and the aesthetics of the cabinets of wonders which could be traced throughout the 20th century to today, are questioning the concept of museum institution and transforming it to a medium for expression. Also, artists are using collections of different objects and the heritage of museum and Art History as a field for issuing different value systems.

The use of cabinets of wonders' heritage in art could also be recognized as the appropriation in art, a kind of quotation of the earlier art and museum history. The term *appropriation*, as Dejan Sretenović discusses, has appeared

7 Arthur Danto, “The Artworld,” *The Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 61, Issue 19, American Philosophical Association Eastern Division Sixty First Annual Meeting (October 15, 1965): 571-584.

8 Marion Endt, “Reopening the Cabinet of Curiosities: Nature and the Marvellous in Surrealism and Contemporary Art” (PhD diss., University of Manchester: 2008), 24.

in the vocabulary of the art critique in the eight decade of the 20th century in writings of Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, Foster Hal, Owens and Crimp who, while promoting and interpreting this notion, in the same time underlined its historical analogies going back to times of cubist collage, Duchamp's ready-made and DADA/Constructivist photo-montage, which are marked as the result of the Modern art appropriation⁹. Therefore, even though the appropriation in art happened at the beginning of the 20th century, it got its term at the end of it. It is also important to understand that appropriation is not the same as the "influence" or "adoption" which was quite an often activity in the art history when artists imitated their predecessors, quoted or even plagiarized. Appropriation is more complex activity in which an artist takes some particular position, being aware not just of the language he is overtaking, but also of psychological, social, cultural and technological factors which motivate his appropriation. This is what a theoretician Harold Bloom metaphorically calls "the conversation of art with itself".¹⁰ This position is also important when recognizing cabinets of wonders in Modern art from the historical distance.

In his *Salon 1864*, Charles Baudelaire, who could be easily linked to the beginnings of Modern art and critique, notices: "Remembrance is the most important criteria of art; art is mnemotechnics of beautiful." What he implies is that the great work of artistic tradition must admit remembrance to its predecessors and base its own roots on that tradition. However, predecessor must not best the new artwork: it must activate the sublime memories of important images – seek out of them, hideaway them, transfigure them. Following Baudelaire's conclusions, undertextuality of mnemonic images which has to be differentiated from pastiche and opened quotations, creates an artistic tradition through giving over and transmission of potential meanings. In this sense, for Baudelaire, remembrance is a medium of painting.¹¹ Still, Hal Foster argues that tradition is not transmitted but always constructed and always in a more temporary way than it seems to the observer. That periodicity has become so characteristic that, in the period of Modernism, tradition was felt as a burden, while the Postmodernist man feels it more as the insupportable lightness of being. The model of the artistic practice, which Baudelaire stands for, as Fos-

9 Douglas Crimp, "On the Museum's Ruins" (1980) and "Appropriating Appropriation" (1983); Craig Owens, "The Allegorical Impulse: Towards a Theory of Postmodernism" (1980); Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Parody and Appropriation in Francis Picabia, Pop and Sigmar Polke" (1982) and "Allegorical Procedures: Appropriation and Montage in Contemporary Art" (1982); Hal Foster, "(Post)Modern Polemics" (1984).

10 Dejan Sretenović, „Od redimejda do digitalne kopije. Aproprijacija kao stvaralačka procedura u umetnosti 20. veka,“ (Ph.D diss., University of Belgrade: 2012), 5-6.

11 Hal Foster, *Dizajn i zločin (i druge polemike)* (Zagreb: vbz, Croatian translation, 2006), 70.

ter concludes, is art-historical itself, and it already presents the space of the museum as a structure of mnemonic ideas, palace or place (more imagined than real) where the art tradition is happening. Consequently, that “mnemotechnics of beautiful” presumes institutional transmission between the atelier, where the transfigurations are taking place, and exhibition and museum where these leave the impression on others. As Foster concludes, in the Baudelaire’s scheme “painting is the art of memory and museum is its architecture”.¹²

Not much later after Baudelaire’s intervention, a painter Edouard Manet appeared in the discourse of the artistic memory. As Michael Fried confirms, Manet had slightly shaken Baudelaire’s model – his undertextuality of mnemonic images (which could be seen in Delacroix’ and Gericault’s paintings) went towards pastiche and non-occulted lines. Manet is the first Modern painter who explicitly made quotes without any mythical or historical narrative in the background. He turns to the old themes and painters, but in a completely open and clean manner, and maybe this is the reason why he can be considered as the first Modern painter, beginner of explicit quotations which Picasso and Braque with their colleagues, but also all the other modern and Postmodern artists, will follow. He transforms *The Luncheon on the Grass* (1863) with well-known evocations of Renaissance masters such as Rafael (a detail of his lost *Judgment of Paris* can be read in the central figures position) and unusual combination of traditional painting genres (as Nude, Still Life, Portrait and Landscape) into the “painting of modern life”. According to Fried, this pictorial vocabulary and the combination of genres create sublime unity of painting characteristic for Manet and his followers, the unity in the painting itself.

Hans Belting is not that far from these ideas when he notices that the art from Modern times onwards remembers its own history. He presumes the establishment of the museum as an irrevocable happening after which the look at the art has become the look at the art history. He sees collage as the metaphor of images and memories in our remembrance. “Things have their history” and those seemed more real than ideas for many artist. Widening the medium of art from the two-dimensional painting to three-dimensional installations, Belting extends the history of art to the history of visual culture.¹³

Following this perspective, we can go even a step further and presume that if art is remembering its own history and museum is “architecture of memory”, then in the time of visual culture dominance when the idea of the classical museum has been surpassed (Postmodernism and afterwards), art is

¹² *Ibid*, 71.

¹³ Hans Belting, *Kraj povjesti umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, Croatian translation, 2010), 205-220.

also remembering the history of museology. This is how we can see that the entering of pop-culture and every-day-life objects into the art world in Modern times and extension of two-dimensional paintings to three-dimensional installations, is just one step further within the same process. As Belting is suggesting the end of the classical Art History, Danto the end of classical art itself at the moment when the ordinary mass produced objects are entering the *Art World*, and professor Tomislav Šola is consequently suggesting the end of the classical museums¹⁴ in almost the same period, the Modern and Postmodern period are probably developing in the direction of artists becoming aware of all those histories and *ends*, using this knowledge, and creating works which combine them. Through this prism, we can observe art installations which remind on, or explicitly use the cabinet of wonder, a predecessor of the modern museum, as a role model for the setting.¹⁵ Still, before reaching contemporary times, it is interesting to see how everything started and where the cabinets of wonders are recognized in Modern art at the beginning of the 20th century.

Modern Wunderkammern

From the 1980s onwards, many big exhibitions of Contemporary art have deliberately used the term *Wunderkammer*, or the physical setting of objects as it used to look like in the old cabinets of wonders. The Venice Biennial Contemporary Art Exhibition, one of the most prominent and the biggest European Contemporary art manifestations, brings back the connection of art and science in one of artistic manifestations, for the first time in the 20th century. Naming central exhibition *Arte e Scienza*, the main curator dedicates a whole segment to the *Wunderkammern* and asks a museologist Adalgisa Lugli, to be curator of this segment.

As Lugli explains in the preface for the exhibition catalogue, the unitary collection, the big synthesis of knowledge unifying science and art was put in the second plan in the 19th century, when the aesthetic value and the impression a work of art left on the observer, were crucial.¹⁶ Quite shy rediscovery of *Wunderkammern* at the beginning of the 20th century will have a greater influence not just on the museology and curatorial practice but also on artworks. The rediscovery of *wondrous* in the first half of the century brought artworks

14 Tomislav Šola, „Nove tendencije u teoriji i praksi muzeja“, in: *Osječki zbornik XX* (Osijek:1989), accessed November 17, 2015, http://dzs.ffzg.unizg.hr/text/sola_nt.htm.

15 Milena Jokanović, “The New Old Media: Artists Archives in the Digital Age,” in *Media Archeology*, ed. Milena Dragicevic Sesic et al. (Belgrade: Faculty of Drama, University of Arts, 2016), 145-155.

16 Adalgisa Lugli, *Wunderkamern* (Venice: La Biennale, 1986), 7.

such as Arcimboldo's, a magic of representation and subtle game between materials, between natural and artificial. This could also be traced in Alfred Bar's 1936 exhibition in the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) entitled "The Fantastic Art" and following the similarities and developments of some *fantastic and marvelous* moments from the age of the Medieval Europe to the age of Surrealism, DADA and the art of Joseph Cornell recognizable for his *boxes* which could be observed as direct quotations of the *Wunderkammern*.¹⁷ Following the Second World War, the art has also led to discovery of bizarre. As Adalgisa Lugli has already suggested 40 years ago, all these are just parts of the art history which is yet to be written and which is provoked with a special manner of observation of the past by artists and the use of collection as a medium of art. The first steps were singular gestures to take the cartoons, newspapers and other materials in order to adjust them to canvas, as Picasso and Braque did with their *collages* and *papier collés* between 1912 and 1914. This was one of the first comings out of the painting in the third dimension and the use of diverse materials. Even though the artist did not accumulate *the wonders* which were characteristic for the 16th and 17th centuries but more the "artificial nature", it was still closer to nature, and they used physical objects to create artworks simultaneously becoming true collectors. It seems that from this moment on, an artist was transformed into a collector – either the one who uses object to express the self or takes the things that other people threw away and creates *ready-mades*. Adalgisa concludes that this is maybe not the collection of the 16th century, but the collection of all times, the artist who recognizes power characteristic for its gesture. He chooses a work for one collection, animated or not with an innovative spirit, always having a conscience to steal the time and to conserve it in a much more profound way.

The artist acts in that manner to recognize an object and introduce it to the world of art, putting it on the pedestal and making it a part of the magical circle of art. The existence of the museum, especially the museum in its golden era of the 19th century has undoubtedly thought the artist a lot in this sense. The work of Dadaists and Surrealists functions in a certain moment as a place of accumulation of objects taken out of the everyday life or thrown away. Adalgisa recognizes this as a type of the *Wunderkammer* even though not as deliberate one. The art after the Second World War, particularly from the 1960s to 1980s, as she wrote in 1986, had even more profound stratification in the sense of the use of different materials for art works and collectionism.

17 *Fantastic Art, DADA, Surrealism*, exhibition catalogue ed. by Alfred H. Bar (New York: Museum of Modern Arts, 1936).

Lugli visualizes previous theory as the exhibition which combines objects that once really were constituent elements of the traditional Cabinet of Wonder, with colleagues of Picasso and Braque, ready-mades of Duchamp, Miro and other 20th century artists. Finally, she accents the accumulating tendency and making of the small universes in the *Wunderkammer* as a particular medium of art, visible in Joseph Cornell boxes.¹⁸

How to recognize the Wunderkammer in the Surrealist art

When it comes to Surrealist art, Marion Endt offers quite detailed interpretation of the use of the cabinets of wonders by Surrealist artists. She sees the concept of the cabinet of wonder not just as a literate collection but also as a special mind concept. "I think of the *Wunderkammer* not only as a concrete spatio-temporal moment in history, but also as a theoretical concept that raises themes which in turn inform and testify to different episteme. In this perspective, the cabinet of curiosities can be seen as the material manifestation of a shared sensibility based on the rejection of the Enlightenment-informed values of progress, rationality and utility; it raises issues of collection, classification, taxonomy, documentation and display; it is preoccupied with the authenticity, biography and narrative objects; it is concerned with the collector's identity and status; and it raises the question of interdisciplinarity, with the objects crossing disciplinary and classificatory boundaries on the one hand, and the collector, artist and scientist assuming the persona of the traveler (or armchair-traveler), the naturalist (or armchair-naturalist), the scientist (or amateur scientist), the polymath, or the dilettante on the other hand."¹⁹ This perspective of finding the space for interdisciplinarity and subtle play in-between art and science, for the critical observation of the contemporary value systems in the art world as one of the rare spaces where there are no disciplines prescribed, as well as for free creative field in the contemporary consumerist world, is really interesting.

When recognizing motives of the cabinets of wonders in the Surrealist art, Endt often quotes Breton's *Manifesto of Surrealism* (1924) following his positioning of the marvelous at the center of Surrealist aesthetics: "Let us not mince words: the marvelous is always beautiful, anything marvelous is beautiful, in fact, only marvelous is beautiful." Having argued for the importance of imagination and dream in order to counterbalance the predominance of realism,

18 Milena Gnjatović, "Contemporary Art Installations as Historical Models of Collecting," in *Revisions of Modern Aesthetics*, ed. Miško Šuvaković et al. (Belgrade: Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade, 2015), 583-590.

19 Endt, "Reopening the Cabinet of Curiosities," 24.

rationalism and materialism, Breton makes a strong case for excavating and reappraising the marvelous, which is, as Marion Endt notices Breton argues, in literature, as well as in art and life in general currently suffocated by the “reign of logic”. Realist novels restrict the imagination as Breton would notice, and it is the unknown, the inexplicable, dream-like, the curious and bizarre what Surrealists find inspiring and what Marion Endt recognizes as the same motives for the creation of collections in the 16th and 17th century Europe. “This ‘property of strangeness’ possessed by the object has always lain at the heart of the culture of curiosities: the ‘accidental’ or secondary character of all that is rare, and hence rarely seen; a discreet charm but an essential one amid the motives driving the collector, who sought to amaze others quite as much as he yearned to be amazed himself.” She will conclude that, paradoxically, the strangeness of any object in a cabinet of curiosities was the surest guarantee of a sort of reality: the reality of distant cultures, of which it offered living proof, or of the shadowy realm of hidden pockets of reality within the natural world itself. “Placed center stage and exaggerated yet further by Surrealism, this ability of the object to go in and out of reality assumed, by contrast, a polemical dimension, dialectic for questioning the status of reality and all the evidence in its favor.”²⁰

On the other hand, according to the Modernist Jean Charles Moreux (1889-1956), three principal characteristics distinguished the object of curiosity. The first one was quite close to the Surrealism: “the effect of a surprise as manifested by a more or less violent reaction in the face of the unexpected”. This surprise could not be the only effect, but it was waking up the desire for knowledge, actually, what distracted the eye and tactile feelings was also amusing for the intellect. “Desire for knowledge” for Moreux was rooted in sensitivity to natural objects. The second characteristic is the traditional theme of nature as a creator of art and the art serving and mirroring the wonders of nature – dialectic of considerable significance. Also, cabinets of wonders were known for space which is cut out and framed, encircled and embedded, a place where one object nested within another, receding to infinity and opening up new spaces beyond number.²¹

It is therefore interesting that not just a juxtaposition of different materials and forms, and making of curious and strange relations between objects in ready-mades is similar approach to the Cabinet of Wonder making. Also the *objet trouvé* itself, the object found often on the streets and flea markets during looting of the modern artist, the *fleneur* of Modern age is compared

20 *Ibidem.*

21 Mauries, *Cabinets of Curiosities*, 214-217.

with the object brought to the *Wunderkammer* after traveling and discovery of the New World. "It seems that the new type of artist, *fleneur*, stroller through the city who consumes the windows he passes by and collects many objects without any esthetic, economical or some other value, but just led with subjective and sentimental needs for surpassing the loneliness and the feeling of emptiness imposed by a consumer spirit, is more and more present every day."²² Throughout their active years, Surrealists set out to the flea markets, junk shops, curio shops and unfrequented museums in Paris and New York, or wandered through the streets and the countryside, in the hope and expectation to find unusual, overlooked objects, which they incorporated in their collections of contemporary paintings, tribal art, rare books, natural objects and a plethora of found objects, whose only binding and connective, aesthetic principle was that of the marvelous. However, not just objects but the same fascination with strange creatures are recognized in the art of Surrealists, as well as the special interest for insects which were popular in the cabinets of wonders after the discovery of microscope from the scientific perspective, but also from the artistic, creative one, due to their colorful bodies with many different patterns. Finally, these small creatures could easily be seen as visualization of the macrocosms which could be settled in a box, microcosms of its owner. The insects, as well as many other natural species and artificial objects were not just constituent elements of the historical *Wunderkammers*, but were also collected by Breton, Picasso and many other modern artists who were inspired with their collections and have often used some parts of it for the art works.

When it comes to boxes, this is again a motive which can be followed from the cabinets of wonders to the Modern and Contemporary art. Symbolical containers of different things, cabinets as a type of furniture or vitrines in the libraries and chambers of Renaissance man have been directly quoted in the modern and contemporary art. This idea of miniaturizing the world and making a little universe in a box determines both Marcel Duchamp's object series *Bête-en-Valise*, for which he assembled miniature versions of his own works in a suitcase, and Max Ernst's painting *Vox Angelica*, which consists of compartmentalized miniatures of his own paintings and objects relevant to his iconography and biography; both artists in this case, reconfirm their identity in times of exile and biographical instability by 'curating' a miniaturized version of their personal museum. There will be artists whose main medium of expression will consequently become a box, a container of different objects.

22 Ненад Радић, „Музејски ум Џозефа Корнела,“ in *Зборник семинара за студије модерне уметности Филозофског факултета у Београду 5*, ed. Бранка Кулић, Лидија Мереник (Београд: Филозофски факултет, 2009), 194.

“The World in a Box”²³

It was the medium of a box and the reminiscence of the cabinets of wonders that linked Marcel Duchamp and Joseph Cornell, American artist who was famous for his love for Renaissance and Baroque Europe, had particular interest in the idea of the universal knowledge and was known for his boxes i.e. original art forms sometimes categorized as sculptures, sometimes as installations and sometimes as paintings. Duchamp and Cornell collaborated on *Bôte-en-Valise (Box in a Suitcase)* series project and Cornell, remembering and in some manner musealizing their friendship and meetings, has made the *Duchamp Dossier*, a box, a container full of different notes, papers, empty tea bags, cigarette packs, and objects which were used during their sessions and which still are caring memory on these moments. “All items/fragments/objects in the *Duchamp Dossier* seem to represent both the provocative meandering of an aimless stroll and the deterministic result of a careful, selective filtering process – allied in paradoxical harmony. (...) Evaluating the specifics of the *Duchamp Dossier*, one finds Cornell’s selection m(eth)ode fairly homogeneous at its core. All the collectibles united in it seem to refer to a particular cultural periphery, representing a borderline aesthetic. (...) Cultural dynamics manipulate the valves of the value system and operate the shifting differentiations between trash and artifact, how to retrieve, select, refine and regenerate the relevant elementary particles of the cultural process from the refuse and reject, the garbage and the litter, the flotsam and jetsam of our societies? How to convert the retrieved matter into cultural energy that feeds back into system? To the cultivators of dust, like Duchamp, and compilers of “mouse material”, like Cornell, residue becomes a discipline. (...) Intended as a celebration of memory – the most luxurious feature of cellular and neuronal evolution – these accumulations are at the same time a massive monument to memory’s prime defunct mechanism: its inescapable tendency to dissolve into the vast nebula of oblivion or else to turn into something like the towering calcified structures of coral reefs.”²⁴

Joseph Cornell (1903-1972) was not the first artist to use techniques of collage and assemblage, but he was the first to whom appropriation and arrangement of found objects and materials were basic apparatus for work. Cornell found his occupation in second-hand and through innovative quotations he produced an original *oeuvre* of the 20th century art. Although Cornell has never

23 Barbara Maria Stafford and Frances Terpak, *Devices of Wonder: From the World in a Box to images on Screen* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute Publication Program, 2011).

24 Ecke Bonk, “Joseph Cornell/Marcel Duchamp ... In Resonance,” in: *Duchamp Dossier* by Menil Foundation (Houston: The Menil Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1998), 108-109.

left the USA, and barely New York, he freely traveled to foreign places and past times through the process of collectioning. His archive, created throughout the lifetime, has finally counted thousands of found objects, ephemeral and notes into diary, books, magazines, hundreds of music records and movies. It represented Cornel's love for all kinds of objects and disciplines. Despite visual variety of their contents, famous *boxes* which Cornel created, are very recognizable, each standing as a window into the powerful tendency towards wondering and discovering of one constantly curious mind. Although accepting Surrealist visual aspects of an artwork, Cornel has explicitly rejected theories about the subconscious which were crucial for Surrealists, insisting that his starting point is actually the reality. He was creating out of real objects, actual state of things and their values systems and afterward he wondered, researched, collected, questioned, juxtaposed materials and objects. *Klipping* which Cornel collected during the 1930s, visualizes his interest in European tradition of *Wunderkammern* which could be traced back to the 16th century. As material encyclopedia of the mysterious and unseen connections, model of the *Wunderkammer* is the most resonant in Cornel's approach. For him, collecting and creating constitute psychological, ontological project which reaches beyond borders of art. These ideas are reflected in his works and presentations of collections of works which are arranged in vitrines as museum artifacts under the title which embraces everything: "The elements of the natural philosophy".²⁵

His innovative methods of appropriation and quotation in art offer the whole catalogue of successors who had a bit more conscious strategies of installation, performance and conceptual art. Cornel has influenced many – visual artists, musicians and writers. Cornel's work could be best understood as a cumulative project and constantly lasting exploration of humans' experience. "Every part of his work leaves a measure of curious which he found in every-day life and brings us back to the place where our imagination can wonder freely" so his work is chosen here to represent maybe the first purposefully used cabinets of wonder aesthetics and meaning in Modern art which will influence many contemporary artists.

Contemporary artists as "museum makers"

Joseph Cornell might be among the first ones to announce the contemporary artists-collectioners whose medium is explicitly the cabinet of wonder, the archive occupying the whole room or the whole building. Therefore it was quite

²⁵ *Joseph Cornell, Wanderlust – Fernweh*, ed. Sarah Lea et al. (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, exhibition catalogue, 20.10.2015 – 10.1.2016).

often that many artists became “real heritologists”, memory preservers, and used diverse objects to create installations, or even their own “inner museums” or museums of “innocent objects”. Serbian artist Dragan Papić is famous for his project: *The Inner Museum* which is not incidentally called “the museum of kitsch”. The whole idea has been derived from his impulse to collect pop-culture and kitsch objects in his private apartment negating basic principles of traditional museology – clear historical context of every artifact and high quality of the artistic value of the exposed objects. Although named a *Museum* or even a *Non-Museum* by artist, this collection is actually going back to the type of the setting before the traditional museum constitution, the Baroque *Kunst und Wunderkammer*. The exposed material was definitely not chosen because of the aesthetic value of objects, nor the formal or material similarity between them, but following objects’ purpose and affective lives of people who used it, as well as the deepness of oblivion which is now covering its old function. The artist is a narrator through its own exhibition and he opens the doors of this *Inner Museum* to audience being a “performative museologist”. Consequently, he transmits the material culture to the artistic objects, and interprets artifacts connecting them with a social history of the 1990s, current cultural values and group identity which is encoded in these objects. All the stories about the collection are interlaced with his personal memories, and artist’s own identity is melting into the identity of the narrator in a performative act. The novelist Orhan Pamuk, on the other hand, explains in his *Museum of Innocence*, the book and the physical museum, the innocence of objects. The idea is that the collection can be made out of objects taken from the every-day life, which represent memories and belongings to ordinary people and do not have any special esthetic, artistic or economic value. These objects are carriers of personal stories and not of the great histories and myths constructed by the winners.

Recent Venice Biennale exhibition once again represented the tendency towards the universal knowledge gathered in one encyclopedic collection of objects as the main inspiration. The model of Encyclopedic Palace on one side and *The Uncanny*, Sigmund Freud’s important text for Surrealists and subconscious and dream-like elements in Contemporary art on the other, were introducing visitors to central exhibition full of different collections-installations looking like cabinets of wonders on purpose, but using plastic and every-day objects and ephemeral materials for their expression and again, (as Surrealists) being inspired with the subconscious and dreams. It seems that museum has become a real medium of expression, while the cabinet of wonder as its predecessor with all the layers of meanings, has become an art form. Thus, contemporary artist can question current system of values, coquette with it and tackle many social, cultural, economic issues. But he can also deal with his

self and the need to remember some segments of the past which is gradually left to oblivion in a world of constant and rapid changes. Finally, if the Modern art remembers the art history as Baudelaire suggested, then the Contemporary art remembers the whole history of art and museology, as it happens in the time after all the “ends”, the time of visual culture and tridimensional art forms.

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Photo A. *Microresistance to violation of imagination (Microrésistance au viol de l'imaginaire)*, 2001, 33 cm, Terracotta - © Popović Adriana

AN OUTLOOK ON MUSEOLOGY THROUGH A PRACTICE OF CLAY MODELLING INHERITED FROM A PERSONAL CROSS HISTORY: BEYOND A MICRO RESISTANCE TO VIOLATION OF IMAGINATION

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Biography:

Born in Paris 1970, from parents with Yugoslav origins, Adriana had a passion for all earth related things from a very young age. She is a sculptor. Her creative mind and her boundless imagination allowed her to make the most of her education. Her Master's degree in Archaeology, her graduate school diploma in Geology and her Ph.D in Plastic Arts and Art Sciences are just as many tools that she uses to deepen her own artistic expression and to carry on a reflection on Art. She is also a sculpture teacher in different schools and Cultural Centers. Her first solo exhibitions (2000 and 2003) were presented at C. Lemand Gallery (Paris), followed by other solo exhibitions in Parisian galleries. In the meantime, she also took part in several collective exhibitions (last one: Dorothy's Gallery, Paris, 2016). She had exhibitions in Amsterdam, Tel Aviv and in Belgrade (2009, Pariska Verticala II, National Library). A documentary on her work was shot by G. Musić in 2010.

Summary:

*An Outlook on Museology through a Practice of Clay Modelling
Inherited from a Personal Cross History: Beyond a Micro Resistance
to Violation of Imagination*

Adriana Popović is a sculptor. The guiding theme of her clay modelling is the multiple body, through which she tries to create her idea of the human figure. She used her Ph.D in Plastic Arts to deepen her own artistic expression and to carry out a reflection on Art. During her quest, she examined some interactions with the theme of heritage and museology. The multiplicity of the figured body is described in four different parts that are following the dynamic of creation: context, realization, learning and imagination. The "context" part examines the identity of the sculptor, created in her cross history of the Balkans and France and during her studies. She

tested several ways to understand the construction of her personality from different viewpoints. She shows how all these heritages are mixed in her sculptures. The second part examines, through the realization of sculptures, the problems around the challenges of passing along technical heritage in clay modelling. The third part “learning” is the acme of the reflection work, which is understanding her position in Art today. She gives a definition of Contemporary art in relation to Modern art. The politics of museums are connected to the definition of Contemporary Art. Finally, the last part is related to the wide field of “imagination”. Some topics require important preliminary thinking. Hence, around the question of “eroticism” she develops all the collateral questions that arise before entering into the subject. First of all, she is a woman doing Art today. The treatment of heritage and museology is deeply involved in transmission and perception of Art and in the definition of Contemporary art. Choices and politics of the museum are connected to all of that. It is important for her work to understand the “machinery” linked to heritage and museology. Understanding is the first step of a micro resistance and it is completing her multiple body.

Résumé :

Un regard sur la muséologie, au travers d'une pratique du modelage, héritée d'une histoire croisée personnelle : Pour aller plus loin dans une micro-résistance au viol de l'imaginaire

Adriana Popovic est sculpteur. Le sujet de sa sculpture est le corps multiple au travers duquel elle essaye donner une figure de l'humain. Adriana utilise sa thèse de doctorat en Arts pour approfondir son expression artistique et pour exprimer ses pensées sur l'Art. Pendant sa recherche elle a rencontré des sujets liés au patrimoine et à la muséologie. La multiplicité du corps, représentée est déclinée en quatre axes qui suivent sa dynamique de création : contextualiser, faire, maîtriser et imaginer. « Contextualiser » explore l'identité du sculpteur construite à partir de son histoire croisée entre la France et les Balkans, mais aussi complété par ses études pluridisciplinaires. Pour ce faire, elle s'aide de différents points de vue. Elle peut ainsi montrer comment cet héritage divers est présent dans ses sculptures. La seconde partie examine au travers de la réalisation des sculptures, les problèmes de transmission des techniques, notamment pour le modelage en argile. Dans la troisième partie appelée « maîtriser », l'acmé de son travail réflexif se situe dans son positionnement par rapport à l'Art Contemporain. Elle donne une définition de l'Art Contemporain en relation avec l'Art Moderne. La politique des musées est liée à la définition de l'Art Contemporain. La dernière partie sonde le large domaine de l'imagination. Certains thèmes exigent d'importantes réflexions préliminaires. Ainsi lorsque qu'Adriana veut étudier l'érotisme dans ses sculptures, elle doit au préalable étudier de nombreuses questions collatérales qui ont surgit avant même d'entrer dans le sujet lui-même. Avant tout, elle est une femme qui crée dans l'Art d'aujourd'hui. Le traitement de la muséologie et du patrimoine est profondément impliqué dans la transmission et la perception de l'Art mais aussi dans la définition

de l'Art Contemporain. Les politiques et les choix des musées sont liés à l'ensemble de ces questions. Elle estime qu'il est important pour son travail de comprendre la « machinerie » lié à ces concepts. La compréhension est le premier pas d'une micro-résistance et elle complète son corps multiple modelé.

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Introduction

I'm a sculptor and I finished my Ph.D studies at a department called the "Plastic Art" in France. There is no exact equivalent elsewhere. To define it briefly it is a mix between *Beaux-Arts* (practice of an art) and art-theory. The challenge of that kind of studies is to analyze your own work as an artist. Therefore, I worked on my Ph.D, thinking that I had taken on the role of an archaeologist through investigating my own artefacts¹. During the research, I often cross path with the theme of heritage and museology, in different ways and at different levels. This paper examines some of that interaction and questionings around these topics emerged during my quest.

The preliminary description of my artistic work would be: most of my artistic production is sculpture made in clay. The clay is baked in a kiln, and then a shellac patina is applied. In my works, I produced one bronze, made from a clay sculpture. I'm also sometimes doing hand-cut limestone; it's often calcareous stone coming from a Croatian island named Vrnik. The guiding theme of my sculpture is the *multiple body*, so the title of my Ph.D was: *In search for a multiple body, through a personal practice of (clay) modelling*. And the subtitle: *For a micro resistance to the violation of imagination*.

The short definition of *multiple body* would be: it is the way I see myself and the way I feel others. The human being is a complex living organism, existing on multiple levels: inside, outside (conscious and unconscious levels) and also real and intangible, rational and mystical... all of this in the same time.

For me, this is a definition of a human figure. The multiplicity of the figured body is explained in four different parts in my Ph.D thesis: context, realization, learning and imagination. When I am modelling clay, I am also going through this dynamic. In this paper, a brief idea of my research, following the four mentioned parts, will be given. I will focus on topics related to the questions of heritage and museology.

1 In French "Arts Plastiques" sciences, an "Artefact" is something made or shaped by man, here the artist.

Plan

In the first part (“context”), I will try to define myself as good as I can – my origins, my family, my studies... Artworks are not created from nothing. They come from oneself, who one is, and all that one has learnt over the years. I have tried to look at myself, as I would do with someone else. I tested several ways in order to understand how my personality was created. In doing so, I got an idea which gave me an external perspective of my study, through reading, for example, some commentary on the *Écomusée d’Alsace (Alsace Ecomuseum)*.

Through the second part I examine in more details the ways I create my sculptures and their links with heritage and museology. Again, different questions arise. I will take a deeper look at “the challenges of passing along technical heritage in clay modelling”. After the technical part comes the intellectual part. I call it “learning”. The acme of all my written work was to understand my position in Art today. I will briefly expose a definition of Contemporary art in relation to other Arts (Today art, Modern art, Classical art). The politics or choices of museums are connected to the definition of Contemporary art. Some of the works displayed there are just common objects outside the borders of the museum.

The last part relates to the vast field of “imagination”. Some works require an important preliminary reflection involving a precise evaluation of different aspects of the topic at hand. I will take a closer look at the question of “eroticism”, before going deeper into my imagination and my sculpture. Dealing with that kind of sensitive subject raised a lot of collateral questions, some of which related to heritage and museology.

I: Context

The first part of my Ph.D explores the construction of my identity. It includes my bicultural French and Balkan environment, my familial background passing on the knowledge about the Ancient, Classical and Modern art, and my own studies in many different fields like Geophysics, Archaeology, History of Art and Art Practice.

My family is originally from Yugoslavia (now Serbia), though family stories also mention some ancestors coming from Greece and even Persia. My parents arrived to France in the 1960s. My father was the painter Ljuba Popović (1934-2016) and my mother Natasa Jančić is an architect. My aunt, Olga Jančić (1929-2012), was a sculptor from Serbia, and my grandmother was a journalist specialised in cultural news. I was born in France. I also consider French culture as my own. Thus, I live in Paris for 10 months a year and I spend 2 months in Croatia on a very small island close to Korčula, named Vrnik.

This location has a special meaning for my creation. I perceive it as a sort of “Balkan fantasy origin”. Since my childhood, the only place I have regularly visited in Yugoslavia, was Vrnik. Before my birth, my mother bought an old stone mason’s house on the island. Remains of Lithic workshops have been found there. This island was colonised during the Roman era because it was considered a very good source of high quality limestone. There are around thirty quarries on the island². (You can find Vrnik limestone in buildings of Dalmatian towns such as Dubrovnik, Kotor, etc, but in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, the parliament in Vienna, the White house in the US as well...).

My sculptures are the result of my personal cross history, somewhere between France and the Balkan area. When I was looking for methodology for this part of my Ph.D, I used some methods I learnt during my archaeological studies. I also relied on some impulses coming from the Alsace Ecomuseum in Ungersheim. Ecomuseum, in general, is a dynamic way in which communities preserve, interpret, and manage their heritage for a sustainable development.

My sculptures are the artefacts I have to study like any other archaeological material. That is why I consider myself and everything I bring with me (origin, culture, knowledge) through the cultural group or the community that make these artefacts. For example Alsace Ecomuseum is a complete relocation on a “virgin territory”. The heritage includes history of its inhabitants and things, some visible and some invisible, tangible and intangible, memories and future. There are houses coming from different villages from various periods. They were inhabited until the 1980s even if they date back to 18th or 19th century, or even earlier. The Alsatian houses were movable because of the seismic problems of the area, or floods. There are also “new-old” houses. Some architects have recently built a house using the ancient technology for wooden beams. Ancient practices mingle with modern requirements like more windows and light.³

Like this village, I am transferred to France.

My heritage was moved in the 1960s to a French apartment, along with my parents history, and has been subjected to French influences. I will mention some of the visual and cultural impact. The visual impacts are visible in Vrnik nature like sea shores, stones shaped by the sea, fauna and flora or the work of old stonemasons, artworks from my family (paintings, buildings...). I was

2 Siniša Dunda and Trpimir Kujundžić, *Historical review of exploitation and utilization of stone in Croatia*, Digital textbook, 2004, accessed September 25, 2016, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272103456_Historical_review_of_exploitation_and_utilization_of_stone_in_Croatia.

3 Écomusée d’Alsace, accessed September 25, 2016, www.ecomusee-alsace.fr.

influenced by what I like to refer to as “Mitteleuropa Culture”, as Milan Kundera has defined it.⁴ This is very different from what we learn in France: different reference books, comics, perception on the art history, etc. For example, the literature books studied at school in France are written by French authors. My references authors are Thomas Mann, Mark Twain, Tolstoï, Miloš Crnjanski, Isaac Bashevis Singer, Milan Kundera, Ivo Andrić, Danilo Kiš, etc. As another example, the exhibition “*Vienna, 1880 - 1938: birth of a century - the Apocalypse*”, that was held in Beaubourg in 1986 and organized by Jean Clair, showed paintings of Klimt, Kokoska, Egon Schiele that were mostly unknown at that time in France, unlike at my home. I took all these influences, as well as French history and culture. In addition, I studied several fields at the University like Geology and Archaeology. I had a special interest for “marine notches”, “lithic artefacts”, “ancient pottery”.

These are some examples of the mentioned influences on my sculptures:

Balkan Mourners, (2001, h: 30 cm) is a sculpture in terracotta with shellac-based patina brown. This sculpture is full of my own references: first, there are several women from different generations of my family. My family is not that different from what you can see in Kusturica’s movies: they lament, they cry, they yell, they laugh. For me, the sculpture has a relation with the theme of “Three Graces” and “the three monkeys”. This idea of “the three monkeys” reminds me again of Kusturica and the symbolism of the monkey in his movie *Underground*. The first visible victim of the war in the movie is a monkey, a mother chimpanzee killed in the Belgrade zoo. She leaves an orphan son, Soni. Because of war, Kusturica becomes an orphan, just like the monkey. When I made this sculpture, there was a war in Yugoslavia. I was deeply moved and I did not know how to express my distress. To all these images, I added some other influences from history of art like, for instance, a sculpture of Boleslas Biegas named *Distress*. He is not well known in France. I also add some shapes of Mediterranean coastal stones to the mix.

The uprising of dreams, or tribute to Füssli, (2013, h: 164 cm) is a sculpture in Terracotta with shellac-based patina bronze-green. The first reference for this sculpture is the painting, oil on canvas, *Nightmare*, 1781, by Johann Heinrich Füssli. Such paintings, symbolism, mysticism, monsters, different scales are

4 Milan Kundera defines this “Mitteleuropa” as all the countries of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The Mitteleuropa had nothing to do with a Habsburg Monarchy: the term was used to assert the intellectual independence of this area, as well in front of the dogmatic East, than the outgrowths of the consumer society in the West. Kundera postulated a close link between the different peoples of the “Mitteleuropa”, based on their cultural heritage and common experiences. Milan Kundera, “Un Occident kidnappé ou la tragédie de l’Europe centrale,” *Le Débat* 1983/5 (n°27): 3-23.



Photo B. Influences for the sculpture *Balkan Mourners*
 Vrnik stone (photo. - © Popović Adriana) / Sculpture of Biegas Boleslas (1877-1954),
Distress, (av. 1900), bronze, h = 1,70 m, old postcard
 Sculpture of Adriana Popović, *Balkan Mourners (Pleureuses Balkaniques)*, 2000, h: 30 cm,
 Terracotta - © Popović Adriana



Photo C. Sculpture of Adriana Popović, *The uprising of dreams, or tribute to Füssli (Soulèvement des rêves - hommage à Füssli)*, 2009-2013, h: 164 cm, Terracotta - © Popović Adriana
 Influences for the sculpture of Adriana Popović, *The uprising of dreams – Ljuba, Nightmare, tribute to Füssli*, 1991-1992, oil on canvas, 230×200 cm, in Alexandrian S. Ljuba, Ed. Cercle d'Art, 2003, p. 74.

usually more appreciated, studied and known in Eastern Europe. My father especially liked this painting. He also painted some tributes to Füssli. For me, my sculpture can be seen as tribute to both my father and Füssli. The little monster on the top of my figure could be coming from a painting of Max Ernst, *The toilet of the Bride*, 1939. The general shape of the back of my sculpture reminds me of old Mediterranean olive trees.

II: Realization

The realization emphasizes the importance of technique and skills (inherited, current, and experimental). Several intersections between the sculpture (especially clay modelling), skills, as well as many other problems that contribute to the multiplicity of the shown body (craft, photograph, colour and interaction, reception and transmission of works by the viewer), are thus considered. In relation with the topic of the Summer School of Museology in Sirogojno, different subjects could be developed. The most important, in my point of view, is to show to people the difficulty of the transmission of technical heritage in clay modelling.

Some statements may seem trivial at first glance, but after more than twenty years of experience with varied audience, I think that certain statements should be pointed out about clay and sculpture. When I studied Archaeology I was already struck by the lack of accuracy of the technical descriptions regarding a domain I knew well, like clay or firing the clay with a kiln. When people think of sculpture, classical sculpture, they do not think of clay. They usually think of materials such as stone, bronze, wood, and even plaster sometimes. Since the Renaissance period, modelling was the job of the sculptor. The work in plaster, bronze or marble is respectively carried out by the moulder, the foundry worker or the stone practitioner. Sculptors used clay as material for study, as a transitional material of works in other materials. As a consequence, clay is not considered as a “noble” material. Some people, more than we think, believe that sculptors build their bronze sculptures “from scratch”. The sketch modelling in clay of Bernini (1598-1680) took a central place in his creation. A large number of models are kept in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University (donation of an American Collector in the 19th century). Nobody was interested in these models. Their value was admitted only after the 1970s. Before that moment, all Bernini’s models were never displayed. The curator did not see any interest in showing them⁵.

5 Rudolf Wittkower, *Qu'est-ce que la sculpture ? Principes et procédures, de l'Antiquité au XX^e siècle*, trans. Béatrice Bonne (Paris: Macula, 1995), 203.

If you can picture sculptures of Rodin, you probably think marble and bronze for example. In reality, Rodin was first and foremost a clay modeller.⁶ Rodin was creating with clay and he also used joining techniques⁷, involving different pieces of sculpted bodies (clay or plaster)⁸. Other practitioners were usually making the transposition in other materials, for him. For example Bourdelle (1861-1929), claimed, after Rodin's death, that he had accomplished a considerable number of sculptures signed by Rodin⁹.

The rehabilitation of the clay is a slow process because some stereotypes still exist. A movie about Camille Claudel's (1864-1943) life was made by Bruno Nuytten in 1988. This film contributed showing that Camille Claudel worked with clay. But I could say that people think that Rodin – male sculptor – made the important works of art (stone and bronze), while Claudel – female sculptor – “floundered in the mud” (scene from the film showing the actress Isabel Adjani playing Camille Claudel, taking clay in full hands while it is raining).

The clay is still viewed as a transitional material. Information about it is difficult to find. I regularly have to make an analysis from photographic data of the sculptor's work, when there is any. For the work of Giacometti (1901-1966), I found a lot of details, notably in pictures showing him at work with clay. His plasters and bronzes carry, in a visible way, the stigmata of the job in clay, because he tends to plough it, to slash it with his knife. The exhibition of Beaubourg (Paris, France, 2008) around the atelier of Giacometti, brought together more than 600 works. It approached all the facets of Giacometti creation.¹⁰ The work of Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962) was much harder to investigate. The work in clay is missing from his corpus, with only few pictures, with no data and no

6 In the exhibition: *Rodin, la chair, le marbre*, 8/06/2012 – 03/03/2013, Musée Rodin Paris: About 60 marbles reveal how much Rodin played with the symbolic qualities of the marble, without even cutting the stone itself. In 1919, two years after Rodin's death, a trial opposed the French state to several former assistants of the master. The general public discovered then that the artist had almost never sculpted a marble. The legend of the sculptor, maintained during his lifetime by photography showing him wearing blouse near stone blocks with tools, is still alive today. See for instance *Rodin et la photographie – Le musée et ses collections* (Paris: Editions Scala, 1996).

7 Musée Rodin, “Dossier pédagogique du musée Rodin,” accessed September 25, 2016, http://www.musee-rodin.fr/sites/musee/files/resourceSpace/3557_1ab178a697ae1b9.pdf.

8 Thierry Dufrêne, “Connivences et divergences des techniques de la sculpture – Rodin assemble, Matisse synthétise,” in *Beaux-Arts hors série, Matisse et Rodin au musée Rodin*, ed. Fabrice Bousteau (Paris: Editions du musée Rodin, 2009), 23.

9 Rudolf Wittkower, *Qu'est-ce que la sculpture ?*, 266-267.

10 Véronique Wiesinger, ed, *L'Atelier d'Alberto Giacometti*, Collection de la Fondation Alberto et Anne Giacometti, Exhibition catalogue from 17/10/2007 to 11/02/2008 (Paris: Éditions Centre Pompidou, 2007).

interest. In the Meštrović Gallery of Split in Croatia, there is no work in clay at all. I found some information in the marks made on plaster or bronze. In particular, it was during the Meštrović exhibition in Rodin Museum (Paris, France, 2012) ¹¹.

A lot of sculptures in terracotta can be found throughout human history. Many Contemporary artists use terracotta as a final material. For example, I have mentioned some artists using clay in my Ph.D like Olga Jančić ¹², Zlatko Glamočak (1957), in 2009 during The international Terracotta Sculpture Symposium in Kikinda, Serbia ¹³, Elmar Trenkwalder (1959) ¹⁴, Javier Marin (1962) ¹⁵.

There is also a specific problem of transmission of clay modelling from live nude models. Indeed, there are fewer and fewer places where one can learn the technique of sculpture; it is the same for other *Beaux-arts* techniques like drawing or oil painting. The art schools in France are more interested in developing multimedia art or conceptual art, under the generic term visual arts. Resources have become scarce. ¹⁶ I had to go down “different paths” to learn: from old masters, from ceramic techniques and from books used in my own research, studies and observations of sculptures.

III: Learning

In order to find my own place at the beginning of the 21st century, I also feel the need for more abstract knowledge: from the choice of the clay as material (enduring, and seen as a means to pass on knowledge) to the importance of the naked body (as a common theme throughout the art history, and a new figure of mankind). The acme of this knowledge can be found in my relationship to Contemporary art. I chose here to develop a theme around concepts of Actual art and Contemporary art. It was very important for me to understand my place and what is happening today in Art. For instance, at the beginning, I did not understand why I was not a part of Contemporary art even though I was doing Actual art. It took me some time, more than 10 years and a Ph.D to understand.

11 Musée Rodin, “Ivan Mestrovic,” accessed September 25, 2016, www.musee-rodin.fr/fr/exposition/ivan-mestrovic.

12 Irina Subotić and Ivana Simeonović Čelić, *Jančić Olga* (Beograd: Clio, 1997).

13 Terra, “2009. Terra XXVIII, Center for Fine and Applied Arts,” accessed September 25, 2016, www.Terra.rs/en/archives/707.

14 Galerie Bernard Jordan Paris, “Galerie Bernard Jordan – Trenkwalder, Elmar,” accessed September 25, 2016, www.galeriebernardjordan.com/artiste/2918/Trenkwalder_Elmar/.

15 “javiermarin.com.mx,” accessed September 25, 2016, www.javiermarin.com.mx/en/.

16 Pascal Vallet, “La technique « s’efface » - Questions techniques et valeur des œuvres graphiques dans les ateliers de « nu ».” *Sociologie de l’Art*, 2005/1 (Opus 6): 155-174.

In the 1990s, Contemporary art was still controversial in France. It was very difficult to follow the discussion without being a specialist. It was impossible to say something against Contemporary art without being labelled as conservative or, even worse, as a fascist. Some art critics, like Jean Clair, were in the middle of a media tornado.¹⁷

The book that helped me understand the situation is Nathalie Heinich's "*The paradigm of contemporary art – Structures on an artistic revolution*".¹⁸ Nathalie Heinich is a French sociologist and director of research at CNRS. In her book, she outlined that the world of Contemporary art is not so much a chronological category but rather a generic one: it has its own specifics, which differentiate it not only from Classical art but also, and radically so, from Modern art. This is something that people often struggle to understand, because many still confuse Modern and Contemporary art¹⁹. This is the reason she used the term "paradigm", like Thomas Kuhn did (1962). According to Kuhn, progress does not occur as a result of linear evolution, with one discovery adding to another; but instead it takes the form of a reorganization of concepts and ideas, the scientific domain included²⁰. She tries to characterize this paradigm of Contemporary art, and to explain how it differs so radically from that of Modern art²¹.

One of the major characteristics of this paradigm of Contemporary art, according to Heinich, is that the notion of transgressing boundaries and experiencing limits is imperative to this concept. A further core idea is that Contemporary art work no longer represents solely an object presented by an artist, but rather a platform from which a great range of concepts could be produced: debate, stories, problems, actions and experiences. Works of Contemporary art are "representatives of themselves": they serve as individual manifestations

17 Philippe Dagen, « L'art contemporain sous le regard de ses maîtres censeurs. La colère de Jean Clair, conservateur déçu, » *Le Monde*, 15 February, 1997; Jean Clair et al, *Art contemporain : art ou mystification ? – Huit Essais*, ouvrage collectif bilingue franco-russe, Moscou: Russkiy Mir, 2012; Jean Clair et al. "Tradition, évolution, rupture : l'art contemporain existe-t-il ?", debate within the *L'art contemporain : ordres et désordres* conference at the l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts organized by DAP, Le Monde and France Culture, Paris April 26 1997, accessed September 25, 2016, <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/actual/art/somm.htm>.

18 Nathalie Heinich, *Le Paradigme de l'art contemporain. Structures d'une révolution artistique* (Paris: Gallimard, 2014).

19 *Ibid.*, 23-54.

20 Thomas S. Kuhn and Laure Meyer, *La structure des révolutions scientifiques* trans. Laure Meyer (Paris: Flammarion, 1972), 10; 115.

21 This summarizes the subject of the book of Heinich, *Le Paradigme de l'art contemporain*.

of stories and ideas, which have a tendency to incline more towards a living production than to visual arts. This also creates a blurring of boundaries²².

This definition of Contemporary art does not solely manifest itself in the works themselves, but also in terms of their function in the world, in the manner in which these works are exhibited, the role that intermediaries and the art market have to play, as well as the technical aspects of collecting, conserving and restoring. The importance of art intermediaries is growing, because of the necessity of a specific link between the production of the work and its reception. At the same time, amateurs and the general public are being disconnected from these works. The “circle of recognition” for an artist in Modern art includes four steps according to Bowness²³: first – peers, second – critics and curators bound to public institutions, third – merchants, collectors and private market, and fourth – the general public. In Contemporary art, what used to be the third circle (merchants and collectors) tends to become the second one, because the institutional circle of curators and art critics are more immediately involved in the artist recognition.²⁴ In France, there is a system of cultural intermediaries and their role has grown to be more and more important for Contemporary artists. Without going into too much detail, in France we have: directors of the Regional Funds for Contemporary Art (*Fonds Régionaux d'Art Contemporain*, FRAC), art advisers in Regional Offices of Cultural Affairs (*Directions Régionales des Affaires Culturelles*, DRAC) or inspectors of the Ministry of Culture (*inspecteurs à la création*), project managers working for regional authorities, etc. By nature, mediation is ambivalent. This reality is often undervalued or even ignored. Nathalie Heinich points that we usually think that the aesthetic relationship between a work of art and a receiver is binary. In fact, it is a triangular relationship between works, the public and a number of different mediation processes.²⁵

Firstly, I understand now that I am not a part of Contemporary art, even if I am doing Actual art. Secondly, it helps me read between the lines of specialized critics of Contemporary art, or understand the choices behind some

22 Nathalie Heinich, “The transgressive nature of contemporary art: interview with Nathalie Heinich,” Art Media Agency (AMA), Paris, February 24, 2014, accessed September 25, 2016, <http://en.artmediaagency.com/81548/the-transgressive-nature-of-contemporary-art-interview-with-nathalie-heinich/>.

23 Alan Bowness, *Les conditions du succès* : comment l'artiste modern deviant-il célèbre, trans. Catherine Wermester (Paris: Allia, 2011), 38.

24 Nathalie Heinich, *Le Paradigme de l'art contemporain*, 210-231.

25 Nathalie Heinich, “Mapping intermediaries in contemporary art according to pragmatic sociology,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15 (6) (2012): 695-702, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01202777>.

exhibitions. The best way to explain it is to give an example: there was an important exhibition in Saint-Paul de Vence at the Maeght Foundation in 2013, entitled “*Les Aventures de la Vérité*” (*Adventures of Truth*). The director of the museum was Olivier Kaepelin, who was previously teacher at the Department of Art History and also former government employee in charge of the Department of Plastic Arts and *Beaux-Arts* Schools of the Ministry of Culture. He has also worked as Inspector of creation and artistic education at the Ministry of Culture. The curator of the exhibition was the French philosopher Bernard-Henry Levy. Levy wanted to create a link between Philosophy and Painting. Around 120 artworks were exhibited. Renaissance Paintings were displayed alongside with contemporary creations. Newspapers and critics heaped praise on Levy’s work and wrote a long list of flatteries.²⁶ There were no negative critics whatsoever and no questions asked. In the exhibition, Ancient, Classical and Modern art, on one side, and Contemporary art, on the other, were mixed. All the artworks were staged like a confrontation, with a winner and a loser. The winner was, even if Levy did not spell it out, Contemporary art. It is strange for an advocate of “peace” such as Levy to act as if a war was going on. There was nothing to be found about the millennial friendship between philosophers and Art during Ancient, Classical and Modern times. Nothing was said about the difficulty to observe *Adam and Eve* painted by German Renaissance master Lucas Cranach the Elder, when it is pitted against conceptual games based on derision.²⁷

IV: Imagination

All studied subjects serve as an access points to my imagination, compared to the method of free daydream.²⁸ Through recurring themes (different scales,

26 “The curator of a remarkable exhibition”, “The first exhibition of Bernard-Henri Levy does not bluff; it impresses, and above all convinces”. *Libération*, “BHL voit la vérité en peinture,” accessed September 25, 2016, http://next.liberation.fr/culture/2013/06/27/bhl-voit-la-verite-en-peinture_914293; See also: *L’express*, “Expo: “Les aventures de la vérité”, “retour aux sources” pour BHL,” accessed September 25, 2016, http://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/culture/expo-les-aventures-de-la-verite-retour-aux-sources-pour-bhl_1261621.html.

27 Aude de Kerros, *L’imposture de l’art contemporain – Une utopie financière* (Paris: Edition Eyrolles, 2015), 54-62.

28 The notion of “directed daydream” refers to a product of the imagination, an expression of a waking oneiric state, used in the 1930s by Robert Desoille for therapeutic purposes; he later gave it the name directed daydream (or directed waking dream), Robert Desoille, *Théorie et pratique du rêve éveillé dirigé*, (Genève: Éditions du Mont-Blanc, 1961); Georges Romey was one of the followers of Desoille, he prefers “free daydream” rather than directed. Georges Romey, *Le Rêve éveillé libre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2001). All these methods around daydream were used by the Surrealist movement, Sarane Alexandrian, *Le Surréalisme et le rêve* (Paris:

fantastic beings, eroticism), I ponder on the nature of women, men, mankind and art, but also on political and social struggle and resistance in art. The title and subtitle of my thesis have a visual reality in my works: the *multiple body*, written and modelled, is a *micro resistance to the violation of imagination*.

When trying to deal with a subject of, for instance eroticism in my sculpture, I found a lot of collateral problems I had to deal before start. Among them, there are three impossible perspectives: impossible research of female in reference to Art History, impossible female point of view about female creation and impossible study on feminine eroticism in feminine artwork.

To give some idea of the extent of the problems: when I studied Prehistory, we learned about the first human artistic activity, like the little Venus sculptures. I questioned myself on the “sculptor” and if I had one picture in mind, it was that the sculptor is a man. All the representations in books are showing “sculptors” as men. For the first time to my knowledge, in 1996, professor Leroy McDermott suggested that the statuettes of the upper Palaeolithic (between 35000 and 10 000 before Christ) were self-portraits of a pregnant women. And what if he was right? Photographs accomplished by McDermott show well the point of view of a woman sculptor looking at her body to accomplish a self-portrait.

Moreover, it's difficult to find women artist throughout art history, who can be named by other than specialists. There are some pioneers books like the ones of Marie-Jo Bonnet²⁹ and Nancy Heller.³⁰ For example, I am very interested in Surrealism movement. There were a lot of woman artists in this period, but who today, even among an informed public, knows these women's art rather than their links with the men of the movement? Influence of Surrealist women artists was underestimated on the evolution of the Surrealism³¹. The processes of recognition and of historization are the ones to blame. Nowadays exhibitions still show a male “chauvinist” point of view. Although history of art is not fixed, Françoise Collin is pessimistic on this rehabilitation of the women. Perhaps, this is because when somebody rediscovers some woman in history

Gallimard NRF, 1974); To go further: Jean-Luc Pouliquen, *Gaston Bachelard ou Le rêve des origines* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007), 118-122; Anton Ehrenzweig, *L'Ordre caché de l'art – Essai sur la psychologie de l'imagination artistique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987).

29 Marie-Jo Bonnet, *Les femmes dans l'art : qu'est-ce que les femmes ont apporté à l'art* (Paris: Editions de la Martinière, 2004).

30 Nancy G.Heller, *Femmes Artistes* (Paris: Herscher, 1991).

31 Hélène Marquié, «Mythes et utopies chez les femmes surréalistes, » in *Femmes et art au XX^e siècle : le temps des défis*, ed. Marie-Hélène Dumas (Paris: LUNES,2000),52-54. See as well: Whitney Chadwick, *Les Femmes dans le mouvement surréaliste* (Paris: Thames and Hudson, 2002).

– more often women themselves – they have not really authority on symbolic inheritance.³² I studied in several passages of my Ph.D the exhibition *Male/Male – The naked man in the art from 1800 to our days* in the Musée d'Orsay (Orsay Museum) in 2013, ranging from the overwriting of the Art History through the Contemporary art telescope, to a male point of view of the Art History. Firstly, there are just three women artists presented in the whole exhibition: Louise Bourgeois, Nan Goldin and Orlan. Moreover, the title of the exhibition (Male/Male and not Male/Female) is explicitly a marketing choice. The curator Guy Cogeval said in an interview that men artists make the male figures and that they are erotic for men.³³ If this is the case, then one could have following questions: are not there some creations representing men made by women artist? When I am modelling a woman, is it erotic just for women? A painting like *St Sebastian* by Mantegna (1480) or a sculpture like *Sleeping Faun* by Edme Bouchardon (1730), are not they erotic for all the mankind?

Finally, more provocative would be to make an exhibition which put forward male nude as object of female desire. Marcela Iacub underlines that there is no symmetry in representation of male or female figures.³⁴ The Orlan's painting represents a counterpart to *the Origin of the Word* by G. Courbet (1866), she named it the *Origin of War* (1989). Orlan thought that there is no symmetry between genders³⁵.

How can you see a sexual difference in creation? Many debates and divergent ideas exist. Even feminists are not unanimous on that idea. For women art, we often speak about subjectivity and in the meantime, objectivity for men art. Women would be on the side of nature, men on the side of culture. Women are on the side of feelings, intuitions, Eros, men on the side of thought, reasoning, logos. By their nutritional, protective, maternal role, the women would be put on the side of conservative tradition and of continuity, and men on the side of change and of history. It establishes a hierarchy in art. The hierarchy between Art and Applied Arts is often named (sewing, tricot, crochet, etc.), The women

32 Jean-Philippe Domecq, « Pourquoi il faut révolutionner l'histoire de l'art, » *Marianne*, from May 27 to June 2, 2002, 70-73; Françoise Collin, « Postface – La sortie de l'innocence, » in *Femmes et art au XXe siècle : le temps des défis*, ed. Marie-Hélène Dumas (Paris: LUNES, 2000), 176.

33 Marcela Iacub, « L'Érotisme dans l'art, » *Le nouvel Observateur*, Hors-série n° 85, 1 February, 2014, 77.

34 Marcela Iacub, « L'Érotisme dans l'art, » *Le nouvel Observateur*, Hors-série n°85, 1 February, 2014, 80-81.

35 TV5MONDE. “De “L’Origine du monde” à “L’Origine de la guerre.”” YouTube Video, 02:09, posted [October 2013], accessed September 25, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5hZ7z3QRmx4>.

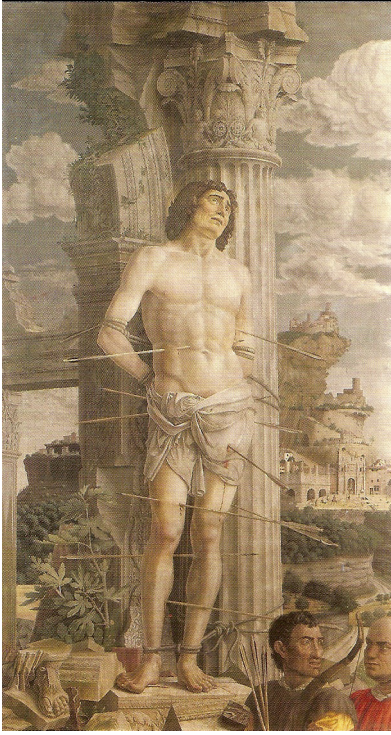


Photo D. *Saint Sébastien*, Andrea Mantegna (1431-1501), Tempera on Canvas, 2,55×1,40 m, Louvre, Postcard © Louvre / RMN
Sculpture of Adriana Popović, *Slave of the Birds (Esclave des oiseaux)*, h: 132 cm, Terracotta - © Popović Adriana

artists put under the highlights today the use of these techniques, we refer to “female techniques”.³⁶

It was possible to read in the French Newspaper *Libération* in 2015, a declaration of Jean-Marc Bustamante, the new director of the *Beaux-arts* in Paris, where he was saying that the man needed to win territories, the woman found

36 For this subject see: Marie-Hélène Dumas, « Sexe, pouvoir et art, » *LUNES* n°8 (juillet 1999): Marie-Hélène Dumas, « 1900 – 1930 : Le premier souffle, » in *Femmes et art au XX^e siècle : le temps des défis*, ed. Marie-Hélène Dumas (Paris: LUNES, 2000), 15; Linda Nochlin, “Why have there been no Great Women Artists?,” in *Women, Art and Power* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 145-178; Françoise Collin, « Introduction, » in *Le Langage des femmes*, Les Cahiers du Grif (Paris : Editions Complexes, 1992), 14; Françoise Collin, « Postface – La sortie de l’innocence, » in *Femmes et art au XX^e siècle : le temps des défis*, ed. Marie-Hélène Dumas (Paris: LUNES, 2000), 176.

her territory and she stayed there. The women searched for a man, a man wanted all the women.³⁷ Since then, he expressed regrets for these sexist words.

To see the difference between a male and a female approach in sculpture, I studied several sculptures of August Rodin and Camille Claudel. I used the sculptures that represent couples. All the literature on the subject is oriented and terms used are chosen in relation with the gender of the creator: for Rodin you have “virile forces”, “power”, “sexual”...³⁸; for Claudel you have “sensitivity”, “delicacy”, “erotic”³⁹. The myth around their common history participates also to the appreciation of the sculptures. To achieve the first intentions of Claudel, I turned to her published correspondence.⁴⁰ In the letters it was possible to have an idea of the impact of the society. Even when she wants to make a complete nude, it was censored by the Government’s representative. For the sculpture *La Valse*, Claudel was compelled to add a sort of drapery on the legs of the figures.⁴¹

My own look on the Art History was always made with a masculine analysis of Art. Men often write my reference books. My training, my eye and my taste are oriented in masculine way. I grew up without challenging the patriarchal word and values. The eroticism in Art is something banal, normal and even necessary for me. I make nude, because it symbolize “Big Art”. Kenneth Clark explains that “nude” is not “nakedness”.⁴² Kenneth Clark opens his classic study, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*, by pointing out that in English there is a difference between “naked” and “nude”. To be naked is to be deprived of clothes, and the word implies some of the embarrassment most of us feel in that condition. The word “nude” on the other hand, carries, within the educational use, no uncomfortable overtone. Clark continues: “in the greatest age of painting, the nude inspired the greatest works; and even when it ceased to be mandatory subject, it held its position as an academic exercise and a demonstration of mastery”. The Ancient Greek art-nude made a fusion of sensual and geometric elements of the body, as if it had created a kind of armour.⁴³

37 Judicaël Lavrador, « Jean-Marc Bustamante va-t-il booster les Beaux-Arts ? », *Libération*, 7 September 2015, 29.

38 Dominique Jarrassé, *Rodin – La passion du mouvement* (Paris: Terrail, 1993), 79-81.

39 Reine-Marie Paris, *Camille Claudel* (Paris : Gallimard, 1984); Reine-Marie Paris, *Catalogue de l'exposition Camille Claudel* (Paris: Musée Marmottan Monet, 2005), 12.

40 Camille Claudel, *Correspondance*, ed. Anne Rivière and Bruno Gaudichon (Paris: Gallimard, 2003).

41 Claudel, *Correspondance*, 87.

42 Kenneth Clark, *Le nu*, Tome I, trans. Martine Laroche (Paris: Hachette Littératures, 1998).

43 *Ibid.*, 219.

There are two ways to approach eroticism in my sculptures. The first one comes directly and consciously from my visual referents acquired all along my life. The second one occurs more unconsciously during the realization of the more imaginative part of my sculptures.



Photo E. Sculpture of Adriana Popović, *The last of the Ornithanthropes* (*Le dernier des Ornithanthropes*), 2006, h: 110 cm, Terracotta - © Popović Adriana

Conclusions

I use clay as an old, “ancestral” material, partly in opposition to the ephemeral material often used in Contemporary art. Nude is associated for me to the “Big Art” as well as to other human creations depicting it. Transmission of old masters’ techniques is important for me, as well as the understanding of my position in Art nowadays. Furthermore, trying to define the position of women in general in Art shows all the complexity of the topic. At the modest level, my sculptures and my Ph.D, emphasize the necessity to resist, in the field of politics and in the actual artistic word.

It is what I named *a micro resistance to violation of imagination*. In my sculptures, a kind of Utopia and hope are linked to a belief in a common force of Humanity. The matter is to find a collective identity, as well as our own one. I explore these problems within my sculptures, which I named in my corpus *multiple body*.

The treatment of heritage and museology is deeply involved in transmission of Art, in its perception and in the definition of Contemporary art. Choices and Policies of the museums are connected to all of that. It seems important to me to understand the “machinery” linked to heritage and museology. It is a way of completing my *multiple body*.



Photo F. Sculpture of Adriana Popović, The Amazone of little grasshoppers or tribute to Arundhati Roy (L'Amazone des petites sauterelles ou hommage à Arundhati Roy), 2004, h: 59 cm, Terracotta - © Popović Adriana

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