Museology and the Sacred

Materials for a discussion

Editor
François Mairesse

ICOFOM
ICOM international committee for museology

Museology and the Sacred
Materials for a discussion

La muséologie et le sacré
Matériaux pour une discussion

La museologia y lo sagrado
Materiales para una discusión

Papers from the ICOFOM 41th symposium held in Tehran (Iran), 15-19 October 2018

Editor
François Mairesse

Editorial Committee

Marion Bertin, Mónica Gorgas, Anna Leshchenko,
Laura Meuller, Suzanne Nash

ICOFOM ICOM international committee for museology

ICOM National Committee Of Museums Iran

This publication brings together the papers submitted for the 41th symposium organized by ICOFOM under the general theme ***Museology and the Sacred, in Tehran (Iran), 15-19 October 2018***

*The "*materials for a discussion*" collection brings together, in an inclusive spirit, all the contributions that have been sent in the form of short articles, to prepare the ICOFOM Symposium. This publication has been made available before the symposium, in a very short time frame. In spite of the care given to the publication, some mistakes may remain.*

*La collection «*matériaux pour une discussion*» regroupe, dans un esprit inclusif, l'ensemble des contributions qui ont été envoyées, sous forme de courts articles, afin de préparer le symposium d'ICOFOM. Cette publication a été publiée avant le symposium, dans des délais très courts. Malgré le soin accordé à celle-ci, quelques coquilles peuvent subsister.*

*La colección «*Materiales para una discusión*» reúne, con un espíritu inclusivo, el conjunto de contribuciones que han sido enviadas, bajo la forma de artículos breves, a fin de preparar el simposio del ICOFOM. Esta publicación se pone a disposición muy poco tiempo antes del simposio. A pesar del cuidado dado a la publicación, puede tener algunos pequeños errores.*

International commitee for Museology – ICOFOM
Comité international pour la muséologie – ICOFOM
Comité Internacional para la Museología – ICOFOM

Editor / Editeur / Editor:

François Mairesse
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3

President of ICOFOM / Président d'ICOFOM / Presidente del ICOFOM:

François Mairesse, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3, França

Academic committee / Comité scientifique / Comité científico

Yves Bergeron (UQAM), Karen Brown (University of St Andrews), Bruno Brulon Soares (UNIRIO), Kuoning Chen (Museum of World Religions), André Desvallées (Honorary Curator), Jan Dolak (Comenius University), Mónica Gorgas (Universitad de Tucumán), Jennifer Harris (Curtin University), Anna Leshchenko (RGGU), Olga Nazor (UNDAV), Saena Sadighiyan (Bauhaus Universität), Daniel Schmitt (Université Lille Nord), Kerstin Smeds (Umeå Universiteit).

Published in Paris, ICOFOM, 2018
ISBN: 978-92-9012-447-4 (paper version)
ISBN: 978-92-9012-448-1 (digital version)

Table of contents

Introduction

Museology and the Sacred 11
François Mairesse

La muséologie et le sacré 14
François Mairesse

La museología y lo sagrado 17
François Mairesse

Papers

Le musée et le paradoxe du sacré profane 25
Bruno Nassim Aboudrar

The Sukuma Museum is a Sacred Place for the Sukuma People 29
Maria Alferova

Du désenchantement au réenchantement : le cas du Saint-Jérôme de David 33
Yves Bergeron et Violette Loget

Tapu et musée : conserver et exposer des objets océaniens . . 39
Marion Bertin

Every museum has a God, or God is in every museum? 44
Bruno Brulon Soares

Reinterpreting a sacred place. When a church becomes a museum from an ecclesiastical point of view 49
Rita Capurro

Sacred vs. Secular, Peircean Semiotics, and Online Museology 54
Yun Shun Susie Chung

La museología y lo sagrado – La resacralización del museo . . 60
Marília Xavier Cury

D’un temple à l’autre, le retable : jaillissement de l’invisible au Moyen Age comme au musée ? 65
Fanny Fouché

La Museología Mexicana y lo sagrado 69
Scarlet Rocío Galindo Monteagudo

Forum on Museums and Religion 74
Maia Wellington Gahtan

The Sacred Rooms at the Basilica of Aparecida 78
Adriano Santos Godoy

Le musée désacralisé 83
Océane Gonnet

Moái Hoa Hakananai'a, from Orongo to the British Museum: Reflections upon religious art exhibitions in museums 87
Matías Cornejo González

The Soteriology of Heritage: UNESCO, Culture, Salvation . . 92
Klas Grinell

Le sacré exposé : espaces, dispositifs, paroles 97
Olivia Guiragossian

Is Sacredness Permanent? The Islamic Heritage on Display in the Early 20th Century 102
Pelin Gürol Öngören

Religion and Iranian Hospitality: A New Approach Toward Engaging the Community at the National Museum of Iran . 107
Mohammad Hekmat

Epreuves en muséalisation : entre sacralisation et patrimonialisation 112
Fabien Jakob

Museology and the Sacred 118
Lynn Maranda

Reflexionando sobre lo sagrado en la Museología: musealidad, musealización y relaciones sociales y de poder 123
Luciana Menezes de Carvalho

Museums, Cultural Patrimony and Religious Syncretism in Quilombola Struggles and Resistance 128
Silvilene Morais
Maria Amélia Reis

La metamorfosis del imaginario sagrado en el museo. El caso del patrimonio de la Guerra Civil Española 133
Óscar Navajas Corral
Julián González Fraile

Museum and Church in Russia: The Formula of the Conflict 138
Karina G. Nazanyan
Alexey M. Odintsov

« Fragments d'un univers brisé » Théâtralité et Abstraction dans les récits muséologiques des Arts de l'Amérique Préhispanique : Renouveau et Post-muséalité ? 141
Micaela Neveu

The Collection of Sacred Relics in the Ottoman Palace: From Palace to Museum, from Sacred to Secular 146
Nilay Özlü

The Study of the Sacred in Museums with a Focus on Islamic Museums 150
Ali Malziri Papi

Misplacement and the Sacred in Museums
A Study of Two Field Experiences 155
Salar Rafieian

Ce qui nous lie (au musée) 160
Jean Rey-Regazzi

D'une muséologie de l'objet à une muséologie du sacré :
Le patrimoine sacré des peuples premiers 165
Michèle Rivet

Le sens caché : Exposition de l'art chrétienne au musée 170
Maria Isabel Roque

Hacia un devenir consciente: museología y sentido 175
Andrés Sansoni

Muséologie, Musée, Sacré et Profane: hiérophanies 180
Teresa Scheiner

From Spiritual to Virtual Eternity: A Survey of the Concept of "Sacredness" in Transition. A Case Study of the Gebelein Man Mummy 185
Elham Sedaghat

Museum or Sanctuary: The case of the Pavilion of Medieval Art, National History Museum, Tirana – Albania 190
Erilda Selaj

The Museum as Consolation and Healing – Museological Methods for Curating the Sacred 193
Kerstin Smeds

Altars in the Archives: tracing the lives of altars in the Fowler Museum at UCLA 198
Caitlin Spangler-Bickell

A museum object, sacred, yet fragile – a lesson of the Croatian museum transition 203
Helena Stublić

Sanctuary, Palace, Museum; The History of Safeguarding Sacred Objects 208
Sadreddin Taheri

The Doha Museum of Islamic Art and the Museum-Temple-Religion Triad 213
Ana Cristina Valentino and Bruno Passos Alonso

Creating Museums to Sacralize the Profane: The *museo d'impresa* in Italy 218
Itala Vivan

Religion in Museums: Euthanized Sacredness, in the Beholder's Eye, or a Multi-Tool for Shifting Needs? 223
Helena Wangefelt Ström

Sacred at the Museum: Gothic wooden shrines wandering between church and museal space 229
Anna Żakiewicz

The Sacred: a Museum or a Temple 234
Zhang Wenli

Intro-duc-tion

Museology and the Sacred

François Mairesse
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3 – France

By its etymology, the term “sacred” which derives from the Latin *sacer* and comes from the root *sak*, contains the idea of separation. The sanctuary is the space of the sacred, reserved for the deity, where the *sacerdos* or the priest performs the sacred ceremonies (Texier, 1990). The founding work of Rudolf Otto is one of the first to analyze the very experience of the sacred, including fear of divine power (Otto, 1969). This experience outside the secular world, in which we live, brings us back to another reality, which at the same time appears as the “real par excellence” (Eliade, 1965: 85).

The very notion of the sacred seems surprisingly close to some central themes in museology. The sacred, like intangible heritage, is manifested as “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith” (Unesco, 2003). Many museums are dedicated to the manifestations of the sacred, either because of their collections originating, indeed, from sacred spaces (burials, temples...), or directly related to the cult (paintings and religious works, objects of the cult). The museum world itself has been regularly presented from its relationship with the sacred, either through its architectural form (the temple, like the British Museum in London, or the church, like the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam), or from its interior spaces or its activities. Duncan and Wallach, in a famous article (1978), refer to the visit of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City as “a late capitalist ritual”; the visit of the Mona Lisa could be compared to a pilgrimage (Christophe & Garnier, 2014). As early as the 1920s, Gilman introduced the art museum as “in essence a temple” (Gilman, 1923), and it is still the form of the temple that Cameron evokes when he wonders in the 1970s about the future of museums. (Cameron, 1971). It is relatively easy to continue the comparison, finding, in the interior of the building or through curator gestures, in their relation to the object, the indices of a large number of measures (showcases, security, special reserves, visitors’ course, etc.) testifying to a very specific relationship to objects, resolutely removed from the tribulations of the secular world (Mairesse, 2014). The museum’s specificity is based on the study and selection of real things, presented as “real par excellence”. Isn’t it precisely close to the categories of the sacred?

In parallel, one can also observe a certain museum logic in the places of the sacred, whatever they are. Since Antiquity, the temple (the term will be used here to evoke both temples as churches, mosques or any other place of worship) keep some collections, either directly related to the practice of worship (objects used during ceremonies, paintings, sculptures, etc.), attesting to the reality of the sacred, and presented as such as relics (fragments of a saint, objects having belonged to him, place related to the history of the presence of a deity on earth , etc.). A certain practice of visiting these places has rapidly developed through the form of pilgrimages (Mecca, Jerusalem, Rome, etc.), a practice known since Antiquity (Turcan, 2014) having given the same place, at least from the 17th century, to the cataloging of collections on display (for example at Saint Denis Abbey, France). Many of the current shrines, still frequented by pilgrims, are also listed as World Heritage sites and have developed a specific museum activity, either in the form of museums (in the Vatican) or in the form of interpretation centers (as in Uluru, in Australia).

Would the sacred be to religion what museality is at museum?

If a certain number of links can be woven between the museum field and the sacred, what could be their meaning? The notion of the sacred does not appear directly in museology, and the museum seems largely constructed in opposition to this logic or, in any case, in parallel with it. However, the museum seems to produce also some sacred qualities. The object of museology has sometimes been summarized as the study of museality (Waidacher, 1996). By museality, one can understand the value of documentation of reality (or its power of signification) possessed by an object, the reason why it has been selected and preserved, this value being specified in many ways (Mensch, 2015). Does not museality, as well as the sacred, tend to testify of the real par excellence? From an integrative perspective of museology, the sacred could be considered as one of the categories of museality, and vice versa. In the same way as museality, the value of sacredness evolves according to the times and populations: fetishes are burned, a temple can be desecrated and sometimes reused (like the Pantheon in Rome or Hagia Sophia in Istanbul) for another cult or even turned into a museum (the Musée des Arts et Métiers in Paris), while objects of worship are desecrated or musealized (Beyer and Takke, 2012).

The purpose of this symposium is to discuss the links between museology and the sacred, especially through what unites and what differentiates the museum from the temple. Four analysis plans can be considered:

Museum-temple-religion: On the institutional level, what relationship does religion have with the museum (as a dated historical institution, as well as a building)? A priori, our societies clearly distinguish the two institutions, delegating their management to very different actors and under the authority of separate ministries. However, the museum (during the French Revolution, or the Russian Revolution) was largely built in opposition to the temple (the Christian church). The opposite seems also true: the iconoclasm of certain religious groups has in particular been exercised over the heritage contained in museums, and the development of the power of the religious, in turn, may result in the resacralization of ancient places of worship converted into a museum. In such a perspective, could we consider the advent of the museum as another form of the religious?

Museality-heritage-sacred: How, in terms of objects, can we consider the relationship between objects, heritage and the sacred? In terms of their selection, is the choice of objects (patrimonialization and musealization) influenced by their sacredness? How is the notion of sacred constructed or deconstructed in the museum? The museum can “desacralize” (Maori heads or fetishes), but also sacralize (works of art or contemporary relics). On the other hand, does the report that visitors (in particular some form of tourism) have to museum objects and heritage sites appear sometimes as a form of desacralization?

Scientific-political-religious: In terms of actors, museum work has sometimes been presented as a priesthood (Michel, 1948). The figure of the curator has also been associated with that of the priest, museologists with theologians, and the zeal of the educators with that of the missionaries. Beyond what may appear as a joke but which could be the subject of a specific ethnography, what distinguishes the work of the museum professional from that of the scientist or that of the religious? The scientific or museum life can be lived, like the religious life, as a vocation (Weber, 2003). Do not they both seek the truth through a certain quest for reality?

Museology-sacred-theology: Is the definition of the sacred, in museology, similar to that of philosophy, anthropology or theology? What constitutes the sacred in a museum context, the premises of which refer to this specific level that constitutes the man-reality relationship on which the museology is based? The relationship between the museum and science is known and has been the subject of many studies (Neustupny, 1968, OCIM 1995). We also know the links between museology and philosophy, a subject already dealt with by ICOFOM (1999), museology being able to be presented as a philosophy of the museum field (Deloche, 2000). But what are the relations between museology and theology? How do the two domains come together, and on what levels can they meet?

La muséologie et le sacré

François Mairesse
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3 – France

Par son étymologie, le terme « sacré » qui dérive du latin *sacer* et provient de la racine *sak*, contient l'idée de séparation. Le sanctuaire est l'espace du sacré, réservé à la divinité, le *sacerdos* ou le prêtre y accomplit les cérémonies sacrées (Texier, 1990). L'ouvrage fondateur de Rudolf Otto est l'un des premiers à analyser l'expérience même du sacré, composée notamment de crainte et d'effroi face à la puissance divine (Otto, 1969). Cette expérience hors du monde profane, dans lequel nous baignons, nous renvoie à une autre réalité, qui apparaît en même temps comme le « *réel* par excellence » (Eliade, 1965 :85).

La notion même de sacré semble étonnement proche des thématiques centrales à la muséologie. Le sacré se manifeste, à l'instar du patrimoine immatériel, par « des pratiques, des représentations, des expressions, des connaissances et des savoir-faire, mais aussi des objets, des artefacts et des espaces culturels qui leur sont associés » (Unesco, 2003). Nombre de musées sont consacrés aux manifestations du sacré, soit du fait de leurs collections provenant, effectivement, d'espaces sacrés (sépultures, temples…), soit directement liés au culte (tableaux et œuvres religieuses, objets du culte). Le monde muséal lui-même a régulièrement été présenté à partir de son rapport avec le sacré, soit à travers sa forme architecturale (le temple, comme le British Museum à Londres, ou l'église, comme le Rijksmuseum d'Amsterdam), soit à partir de ses espaces intérieurs ou de ses activités. Duncan et Wallach, dans un article célèbre (1978) évoquent la visite du Musée d'art moderne de la ville de New York comme « dernier rite du capitalisme tardif » ; la visite de la Joconde a pu être comparée à un pèlerinage (Christophe & Garnier, 2014). Dès les années 1920, Gilman présente le musée d'art comme « en son essence un temple » (Gilman, 1923), et c'est encore la forme du temple que Cameron évoque lorsqu'il s'interroge sur le devenir muséal au début des années 1970 (Cameron, 1971). Il est relativement aisé de poursuivre la comparaison, en retrouvant, à l'intérieur de l'édifice ou à travers les gestes des conservateurs, dans leur rapport à l'objet, les indices d'un grand nombre de mesures (vitrines, mesures de sécurité, réserves spéciales, déambulation des visiteurs, etc.) témoignant d'un rapport très spécifique aux objets, résolument écarté des tribulations du monde profane (Mairesse, 2014). Le propre du musée ne repose-t-il pas sur l'étude et la sélection de la *Vraie chose*, présentée comme « réel par excellence », et justement en cela proche des catégories du sacré ?

En parallèle, on peut également observer une certaine logique muséale dans les lieux du sacré, quels qu'ils soient. Depuis l'Antiquité, le temple (le terme sera utilisé ici pour évoquer aussi bien des temples que des églises, mosquées ou tout autre lieu de culte) possède des collections, soit directement liées à la pratique du culte (objets utilisés durant les cérémonies, tableaux, sculptures, etc.), soit attestant de la réalité du sacré, et présentés à ce titre comme reliques (fragments d'un saint, objets lui ayant appartenu, lieu lié à l'histoire de la présence du divin sur terre, etc.). Une certaine pratique de la visite de ces lieux s'est rapidement développée à travers la forme du pèlerinage (La Mecque, Jérusalem, Rome, etc.), pratique connue depuis l'Antiquité (Turcan, 2014) ayant donné même lieu, au moins à partir du XVII^e siècle, à l'édition de catalogues des collections exposées (par exemple à l'Abbaye de Saint Denis, en France). Nombre de sanctuaires actuels, encore fréquentés par les pèlerins, sont également classés au patrimoine mondial et ont développé une activité muséale spécifique, soit sous la forme de musées (au Vatican), soit sous la forme de centres d'interprétation (comme à Uluru, en Australie).

Le sacré serait-il à la religion ce que la muséalité est au musée ?

Un certain nombre de liens peuvent être tissés entre le champ muséal et le sacré ; quelle peut en être la signification ? La notion de sacré n'apparaît pas directement en muséologie, et le musée semble largement construit par opposition à cette logique ou, en tout état de cause, en parallèle avec celle-ci. Pour autant, le musée semble à son tour produire du sacré. L'objet de la muséologie a parfois été résumé comme l'étude de la muséalité (Waidacher, 1996). Par muséalité, on peut entendre la valeur de documentation du réel (ou son pouvoir de signification) possédée par un objet, dont témoigne le fait qu'il sera sélectionné et thésaurisé, cette valeur pouvant être précisée, à son tour, de multiples façons (Mensch, 2015). Le sacré, autant que la muséalité, ne tendent-ils pas à témoigner du réel par excellence ? Dans une perspective intégratrice de la muséologie, le sacré pourrait être considéré comme l'une des catégories de la muséalité, et vice-versa. Au même titre que la muséalité, la valeur de sacralité évolue au gré des époques et des populations : des fétiches sont brulés, un temple peut être profané et parfois réutilisé (comme le Panthéon à Rome ou Sainte-Sophie à Istanbul) pour un autre culte, voire transformé en musée (le musée des Arts et Métiers à Paris), tandis que des objets de culte sont désacralisés ou muséalisés (Beyer et Takke, 2012).

L'objectif de ce symposium est de discuter les liens entre muséologie et sacré, notamment à travers ce qui unit et ce qui différencie le musée du temple. Quatre plans d'analyse peuvent être envisagés :

Musée-temple-religion : Sur le plan institutionnel, quel rapport la religion entretient-elle avec le musée (comme institution historique datée, aussi bien que comme bâtiment) ? A priori, la société distingue nettement les deux institutions, déléguant leur gestion à des acteurs très différents et relevant de l'autorité de ministères distincts. Pour autant, le musée (à la Révolution française, ou à la Révolution russe) s'est largement construit en opposition au temple (à l'église chrétienne). L'inverse semble aussi vrai : l'iconoclasme de certains groupes religieux s'est notamment exercé sur le patrimoine contenu dans les musées, et le développement du pouvoir du religieux, à son tour, peut avoir pour résultat de resacraliser d'anciens lieux de cultes convertis en musée. Dans une telle perspective, l'avènement du musée ne marquerait-il pas celui d'une autre forme du religieux ?

Muséalité-patrimoine-sacré : Comment, sur le plan des objets, la relation entre objets, patrimoines et sacré s'opère-t-elle ? Sur le plan de leur sélection, le choix des objets (patrimonialisation et muséalisation) est-il influencé par leur caractère sacré ? Comment se construit ou se déconstruit la notion de sacré au musée ? Le musée peut « désacraliser » (les têtes maories ou des fétiches), mais aussi sacraliser (des œuvres d'art ou de nouvelles reliques). A l'inverse, le rapport que les visiteurs et notamment une certaine forme de tourisme entretient avec les objets de musée et les lieux de patrimoine ne se rapproche-t-il pas, parfois, de la profanation ?

Scientifique-politique-religieux : Sur le plan des acteurs, le travail muséal a parfois été présenté comme un sacerdoce (Michel, 1948). On a également déjà associé la figure du conservateur à celle du prêtre, les muséologues aux théologiens et le zèle des médiateurs à celui des missionnaires. Par-delà ce qui peut apparaître comme une boutade mais qui pourrait faire l'objet d'une ethnographie plus fine, qu'est-ce qui distingue le travail du professionnel de musée de celui du scientifique ou de celui du religieux ? La vie scientifique ou muséale peut se vivre, au même titre que la vie religieuse, comme une vocation (Weber, 2003). Tous deux ne recherchent-ils pas la vérité à travers une certaine quête de la réalité ?

Muséologie-sacré-théologie : La définition du sacré, en muséologie, se rapproche-t-elle de celle de la philosophie, de l'anthropologie ou de la théologie ? Qu'est-ce qui constitue le sacré dans un cadre muséologique, dont les prémisses se réfèreraient à ce plan spécifique que constitue la relation homme-réalité sur laquelle s'appuie le travail muséal ? La relation entre le musée et le plan de la science est connue et a fait l'objet de nombreuses études (Neustupny, 1968, OCIM 1995). On sait aussi les liens entre muséologie et philosophie, sujet déjà traité par l'ICOFOM (1999), la muséologie pouvant être présentée comme philosophie du muséal (Deloche, 2001). Mais quelles sont les relations entre muséologie et théologie ? En quoi les deux domaines se rapprochent-ils, et sur quels plans peuvent-ils se rencontrer ?

La museología y lo sagrado

François Mairesse
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3 – France

Por su etimología, el término "sagrado" que deriva del latín *sacer* y proviene de la raíz *sak*, contiene la idea de separación. El santuario es el espacio de lo sagrado, reservado para la deidad, donde el sacerdote realiza ceremonias sagradas (Texier, 1990). La obra fundadora de Rudolf Otto es una de las primeras en analizar la experiencia misma de lo sagrado, compuesta principalmente de temor y de pavor al enfrentar el poder y la potencia divina (Otto, 1969). Esta experiencia, fuera del mundo profano en el que estamos inmersos, nos remite a una otra realidad, que aparece a la vez como lo "real por excelencia" (Eliade, 1965: 85).

La misma noción de lo sagrado parece sorprendentemente cercana a los temas centrales de la museología. Lo sagrado, como el patrimonio inmaterial, se manifiesta a través de "las prácticas, las representaciones, las expresiones, los conocimientos y habilidades, así como los instrumentos, objetos, artefactos y espacios culturales asociados con ellos" (Unesco, 2003). Numerosos museos están dedicados a las manifestaciones de lo sagrado, ya sea por que sus colecciones provienen, efectivamente, de espacios sagrados (sepulturas, templos...), o porque están directamente relacionados con el culto (pinturas y obras religiosas, objetos del culto). El mismo mundo museal se ha presentado regularmente a partir de su relación con lo sagrado, ya sea a través de su forma arquitectónica (templo, como el Museo Británico en Londres, o iglesia, como el Rijksmuseum en Amsterdam), o de sus espacios interiores o de sus actividades. Duncan y Wallach, en un célebre artículo (1978), se refieren a la visita del Museo de Arte Moderno en la ciudad de Nueva York como "el último rito del capitalismo tardío"; la visita a la Gioconda podría compararse con una peregrinación (Christophe & Garnier, 2014). Ya en la década de 1920, Gilman presentó el museo de arte como "en su esencia, un templo" (Gilman, 1923), y es todavía la forma de templo la que evoca Cameron cuando se interroga sobre el devenir museal a principios de los setenta (Cameron, 1971). Es relativamente fácil continuar la comparación, al encontrar en el interior del edificio o mediante los gestos de los conservadores en su relación con el objeto, los indicios de una gran cantidad de medidas (vitrinas, seguridad, reservas especiales, visitantes que pasean, etc.) que dan testimonio de una relación muy específica con los objetos, resueltamente separada de las tribulaciones del mundo secular (Mairesse, 2014). ¿Acaso la propia especificidad del museo no se basa en el estudio y la selección de la Cosa Verdadera, presentada como "real por excelencia", y precisamente en este aspecto, próxima a las categorías de lo sagrado? Paralelamente, también podemos observar una cierta lógica museal en los lugares de lo sagrado, sean los que sean. Desde la antigüedad, el templo (el término se usará aquí para evocar tanto templos como iglesias, mezquitas o cualquier otro lugar de culto) tiene colecciones directamente relacionadas con la práctica del culto (objetos usados durante las ceremonias, pinturas, esculturas, etc.), o que testimonian la realidad de lo sagrado al presentarse como reliquias (fragmentos de un santo, objetos que le han pertenecido, lugares vinculados a la historia de la presencia de una deidad en la tierra, etc.). La costumbre de visitar estos lugares se desarrolló rápidamente a través de la forma de peregrinación (La Meca, Jerusalén, Roma, etc.), una práctica conocida desde la antigüedad (Turcan, 2014) que ha inducido que el mismo sitio, al menos desde el siglo XVII, realice la catalogación de las colecciones en exhibición (por ejemplo, en la Abadía de Saint Denis, Francia). Numerosos santuarios actuales, aún frecuentados por los peregrinos, están incluidos en la lista del Patrimonio Mundial y han desarrollado una actividad museal específica, ya sea bajo la forma de museos (como el Vaticano) o como centros de interpretación (el caso de Uluru en Australia).

¿Lo sagrado sería para la religión lo que la musealidad al museo?

Se podrían tejer una cierta cantidad de enlaces entre el campo museal y lo sagrado; ¿cuál sería el significado? La noción de lo sagrado no aparece directamente en la museología, y el museo, en gran medida, parece estar construido en oposición a esta lógica o, en último caso, en paralelo con ella. Sin embargo, el museo pareciera producir lo sagrado. El objeto de la museología se ha resumido a veces como el estudio de la musealidad (Waidacher, 1996). Por musealidad, entendemos el valor de la documentación de lo real (o su poder de significación) que posee un objeto, como evidencia del hecho de que será seleccionado y tesaurizado, y este valor puede ser precisado, a su vez, de múltiples maneras (Mensch, 2015). Lo sagrado, tanto como la musealidad, ¿no tiende a dar testimonio de lo real por excelencia? Desde una perspectiva integradora de la museología, lo sagrado podría considerarse como una de las categorías de la musealidad y viceversa. De la misma manera que la musealidad, el valor de la sacralidad evoluciona según los tiempos y las poblaciones: los fetiches se queman, un templo puede ser profanado y, a veces, reutilizado para otro culto (como el Panteón de Roma o Santa Sofía en Estambul) o incluso transformarse en museo (el Museo de Artes y Oficios en París), mientras que los objetos de culto son desacralizados o musealizados (Beyer y Takke, 2012).

El objetivo de este simposio es discutir los vínculos entre la museología y lo sagrado, especialmente a través de aquello que los une y lo que diferencia al museo del templo. Se pueden considerar cuatro planes de análisis:

Museo-templo-religión: En el nivel institucional, ¿qué relación tiene la religión con el museo (tanto como institución histórica o como edificio)? A priori, la sociedad distingue claramente las dos instituciones, delegando su gestión a actores muy diferentes, bajo la autoridad de distintas administraciones. Sin embargo, los museos (el de la Revolución Francesa o de la Revolución Rusa) se construyeron en gran medida en oposición al templo (a la iglesia cristiana). Pero también lo opuesto parece ser verdadero: la iconoclasia de ciertos grupos religiosos se ha ejercido particularmente sobre el patrimonio contenido en los museos y el desarrollo del poder religioso, a su vez, puede dar como resultado la resacralización de los antiguos lugares de culto convertidos en museo. Desde esa perspectiva, el advenimiento del museo ¿no revelaría otra forma de religión?

Musealidad-patrimonio-sagrado: ¿Cómo, en término de los objetos, se opera la relación entre los objetos, el patrimonio y lo sagrado? En lo referente a su selección, ¿la elección de los objetos (patrimonialización y musealización) se ve influenciada por su carácter sagrado? ¿Cómo se construye o deconstruye la noción de sagrado en el museo? El museo puede "desacralizar" (cabezas maoríes o fetichistas), pero también sacralizar (obras de arte o nuevas reliquias). Pero a la inversa, la relación que los visitantes y en particular algunas formas de turismo establecen con los objetos de los museos y con los sitios del patrimonio ¿no se acerca a veces a cierta forma de profanación?

Científico-político-religioso : En término de actores, el trabajo museal se ha presentado a veces como un sacerdocio (Michel, 1948). La figura del curador se ha asociado con la del sacerdote, los museólogos con los teólogos, y el celo de los mediadores con el de los misioneros. Más allá de lo que puede parecer una broma, pero que podría ser el tema de una etnografía más fina, ¿qué distingue el trabajo del profesional del museo del realizado por el científico o el del religioso? La vida científica o museal puede experimentarse como una vocación, tal como la vida religiosa (Weber, 2003). ¿No buscan ambos la verdad a través de una cierta búsqueda de la realidad?

Museología-sagrado-teología: ¿La definición de lo sagrado, en museología, se acerca a la de la filosofía, la antropología o la teología? ¿Qué constituye lo sagrado en un contexto museológico cuyas premisas se refieren a este plan específico que constituye la relación entre el hombre y la realidad en la que se basa el trabajo museal? La relación entre el museo y el plan de la ciencia es reconocida y ha sido objeto de numerosos estudios (Neustupny, 1968, OCIM 1995). Los vínculos entre la museología y la filosofía, tema ya tratado por el ICOFOM (1999), son también reconocidos, la museología puede presentarse como la filosofía museal (Deloche, 2000). Pero, ¿cuáles son las relaciones entre museología y teología? ¿En qué se aproximan los dos dominios y en qué niveles se puede producir el encuentro?

References – Références – Referencias

Beyer, M.& Takke, J. (2012). *Guidelines on Ways of Dealing with Religious Objects*, Utrecht: Museum Catharijnenconvent. Page consultée le 5 décembre 2017 sur : https://www.catharijneconvent.nl/media/medialibrary/2015/06/Guidelines_dealing_with_religious_objects_.pdf

Cameron, D. (1971). Museum, a temple or a forum, *Curator*, 14, march, 11-24.

Christophe, A. & Garnier (2014). M. En pèlerinage au musée : sur les traces de La Joconde », in Mairesse F. (ed.), *Voir la Joconde, approches muséologiques*, (pp. 15-36). Paris : L'Harmattan.

Deloche, B. (2001), *Le musée virtuel*, Paris : Presses universitaires de France.

Duncan, A. & Wallach, C. (1978). The Museum of Modern art as late capitalist ritual: an iconographic analysis, *Marxist perspectives*, 4, 28-51.

Eliade, M. (1965). *Le sacré et le profane*, Paris : Gallimard.

Gilman, B.I. (1923). *Museums Ideals of Purpose and Methods*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press (2nd ed.).

ICOFOM (1999). Museology and Philosophy, *ICOFOM Study Series* 31.

Mairesse, F. (2014). *Le culte des musées*, Bruxelles : Académie royale de Belgique (Académie en poche).

Mensch P. van (2015). Museality at breakfast, *Museologica Brunensia*, 7, 14-19.

Michel, E. (1948). *Musées et conservateurs. Leur rôle dans l'organisation sociale*, Bruxelles, Presses de Office de publicité.

Neustupny, J. (1968). *Museum and Research*, Prague: National Museum.

OCIM, (1995). *Musées et Recherche, Actes du colloque tenu à Paris, les 29, 30 novembre et 1er* décembre 1993, Dijon : OCIM.

Otto, R. (1969). *Le sacré*, Paris : Payot.

Texier, R. (1990). Sacré, in Jacob A. (ss la dir.) *Encyclopédie philosophique universelle, II, Les notions philosophiques* (pp. 2291-2293). Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.

Turcan, R. (2014). *L'archéologie dans l'Antiquité. Tourisme, lucre et découvertes*, Paris : Les Belles Lettres.

Unesco, (2003). Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel. Page consultée le 5 décembre 2017 sur https://ich.unesco.org/fr/convention

Waidacher, F. (1996). *Handbuch der Allgemeinen Museologie*, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, (2te Auf.).

Weber, M. (2003). *Le savant et le politique* [*une nouvelle traduction*], Paris : La Découverte.

Papers
Articles
Artículos

Le musée et le paradoxe du sacré profane

Bruno Nassim Aboudrar
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3 – France

Comparer le musée à un temple (Gilman, 1918, p. 81) ou à une église, les présentoirs à un autel (Nooter Roberts, 2017), le conservateur à un prêtre, et les visiteurs à une assemblée de fidèles (Mairesse, 2014) est désormais non seulement admis, mais même en passe de devenir un lieu commun. Et cela, sans doute, parce que la comparaison est, à bien des égards, convaincante. Cependant, avant de pouvoir se substituer au sacré, d'en mimer les rituels et les effets, voire de devenir une instance, non plus seulement de consécration, mais de sacralisation de certains objets qu'il présente, le musée est fondamentalement un dispositif profane.

Bien sûr, on peut évoquer, à l'appui de cette évidence aujourd'hui quelque peu enfouie sous le discours plus récent et (donc) plus séduisant tendant à souligner la dimension sacrée, quelques faits bien connus. Ainsi le fond patrimonial des musées de France résulte-t-il en grande partie de la confiscation révolutionnaire des biens du clergé, sauvés du « vandalisme » par cette nouvelle affectation laïque, tandis que ces collections nouvellement constituées et mises à la disposition du « peuple » (on ne dit pas encore du public) s'installent ici et là dans des couvents et des églises désaffectés (Poulot, 1997, p. 119). Pour être moins spectaculaire hors de France, la laïcisation des objets muséalisés, n'en est pas moins effective, et elle est aujourd'hui particulièrement étudiée pour les objets sacrés liés à des cultes extra européens et spoliés dans un contexte colonial. Qu'il s'agisse de crucifix, de fétiches, de totems ou d'icônes, on sait bien qu'avant d'être répertoriés au catalogue des musées, et souvent à cette fin, ils ont subi un processus préalable de sélection et d'extraction qui les isole du système cultuel qui soutenait leur efficace sacrale (les dotant peut-être de ce pouvoir « numineux », de faire accéder à la transcendance que leur reconnait Rudolf Otto) pour les verser dans un système culturel – muséologique – avec ses propres lois et ses finalités propres : conserver, étudier, délecter. Contrairement aux objets du culte, les œuvres d'art n'ont jamais été réputées « sacrées » que par une analogie d'origine romantique, et toujours suspecte aux yeux des autorités en charge du sacré véritable, les religieux. Le risque, en particulier, que l'amateur puisse confondre élévation (transcendance) et délectation, adorer l'image et non l'invisible force dont elle est la toujours triviale évocation, est à l'origine du refus calviniste des images (Calvin, 1560. I. xi), comme du strict encadrement catholique de leur production et de leur dévotion (Concile de Trente, 1563). Pour la part très importante des peintures et sculptures profanes, et parce que le *devotio moderna* catholique veille normalement à éviter que les images religieuses soient considérées comme sacrées, leur passage au musée, depuis la galerie d'un palais ou même depuis les parois d'une église où elles sont exposées, est une moindre rupture. Pour autant, les manifestations résiduelles d'une sujétion au sacré en la présence d'œuvre d'art, tolérées dans une église ou dans l'espace privé du cabinet d'un collectionneur, ne sont pas admises dans un musée. Génuflexion, prosternation, extase et lévitation sont mal vues par les gardiens de musée.

Outre ces raisons historiques et institutionnelles, il en est d'autres, plus spécifiques, en ce qu'elles tiennent au régime muséologique des objets – et non plus de l'institution – qui s'opposent normalement à ce que leur soit conférée une efficace sacrale. Il s'agit de la double détermination de la collection et de l'exposition. Selon les anthropologues dans la lignée d'Alfred Gell (1998/2009), le caractère d'une chose sacrée tient à un processus au terme duquel celle-ci se trouve dotée d'une agentivité (*agency*). Il en résulte que la chose sacrée est à la fois singulière, voire unique, en son efficace, et matériellement substituable. Le sacré est mis dans l'artefact : il le traverse, le transcende ou l'habite, selon les modalités qu'inventent telle ou telle cultures pour décrire le phénomène. Mais il n'est jamais l'artefact : toutes les religions s'opposent à ce que le christianisme nomme, non sans condescendance, le « fétichisme », entendant par là la réification de la divinité. Cf. le Mandylion, puis la Véronique : de l'un et de l'autre, de nombreuses reproductions sont produites, dotées d'une agentivité sacrale comparable et, de l'une à l'autre, Hans Belting parle de « transfère » de culte (Belting, 1990/98, p. 278). Dans un autre contexte, celui d'une sacralité animiste, l'anthropologie montre comment le façonnage de la matière – terre, bois, plume, etc. – constitue et reconstitue le « dieu-objet », selon l'expression de Marc Augé (Augé 1988. 88) Chaque fois que la matière est ainsi travaillée dans les conditions rituelles propices, une efficace divine particulière s'y détermine. Les objets de musée répondent à une logique exactement inverse : celle de la collection. D'après celle-ci, ils sont individuellement uniques, non substituables, mais ils relèvent d'une série qui les situe et en détermine, pour une très large part, le sens et la valeur. La Joconde est unique au monde. Si elle était détruite, rien ne pourrait la remplacer. Mais elle est un portrait toscan de la Haute Renaissance et, à ce titre, elle est rapprochée, dans la salle des États du Louvre, de portraits vénitiens contemporains. En bref, la chose sacrée est unique en chacune de ses effectuations, et sans original ; l'objet de musée doit être original (authentique), mais n'est unique que relativement à une série.

L'autre opposition fondamentale entre chose sacrée et objet de musée tient à leur régime respectif d'exposition (ou plutôt, à ce que seul ce dernier est régenté par un régime d'exposition). L'agentivité du sacré, c'est-à-dire les processus qui instaurent la sacralité d'une chose, s'appuie notamment sur la raréfaction de la visibilité de celle-ci. De la statue du dieu dans la cella du temple au fétiche africain dans sa case, en passant par le tabernacle qui renferme l'hostie consacrée, la chose sacrée est avant tout soustraite aux regards. Et c'est à partir de cette dissimulation permanente que des rituels d'exhibition solennels peuvent être organisés, à l'usage desquels des dispositifs instrumentaux de mise en visibilité sont élaborés : monstrances médiévales qui laissent apercevoir la relique brandie par l'officiant (Recht, 1999, p. 115), ostension de l'hostie pendant le bref instant de l'élévation (Dumoutet, 1926), apparition du fétiche (Leyris, 1931/50, p. 187), etc. Dans l'ordre muséal, ce n'est pas la dissimulation qui est permanente pour favoriser l'exhibition rare, rituelle et sacrale de la chose (ICOM, 1974/2007) : « Le musée est une institution permanente [...] qui acquiert, conserve, étudie, expose et transmet le patrimoine [...] ». Institution permanente signifie que ses missions – dont l'exposition – sont permanentes. Aussi, la raréfaction de la mise en visibilité d'un expôt dans un musée est-elle contingente (liée aux horaires d'ouverture du musée, ou à l'état de conservation de l'objet, ou encore à une trop grande exiguïté des locaux), tandis qu'elle est inhérente à l'agentivité sacrale dans le cas d'une chose sacrée. La transcription de ce principe théorique au registre de son effectuation concrète aboutit à ce que l'exhibition d'une chose sacrée non seulement s'accommode de conditions de visibilité qu'un musée rejetterait, mais même les recherche. Pénombre, scintillements, fulguration, furtivité conviennent à l'ostention d'une chose sacrée, et même y sont requises, quand un employé du musée a le devoir professionnel de veiller à changer une ampoule vacillante ou à nettoyer une vitrine embuée. Bien entendu, il arrive que le musée imite la raréfaction sacrale de la visibilité. Il y a des vitrines sous-éclairées, ou dont le champ est volontairement réduit, des piédestaux qui évoquent des autels, etc. Mais il s'agit alors d'une imitation (présentée comme telle) qui entretient avec la véritable agentivité sacrale – celle qui dote la chose d'une efficace numineuse – un rapport d'analogie dont la teneur sémiologique – connotation, métonymie, citation, etc. – doit être étudiée au cas par cas.

S'il n'en va pas ainsi : si l'imitation muséale des conditions d'advenue de la sacralité à l'objet est si parfaite qu'elle (re)-produit une agentivité numineuse en celui-ci, ou bien si, l'exposition de l'objet provoque chez le spectateur une réaction normalement conditionnée à la présence du sacré dans la chose (délire sacré, transe, extase, etc.), alors le musée entre en contradiction avec ses propres principes. En effet, héritier des Lumières, le musée s'appuie, d'une part, sur une conception du plaisir esthétique qui n'entrave pas le libre-arbitre (Kant, 1790), d'autre part, toutes ses autres missions – collecte des objets, étude, transmission –, se fondent sur le discernement. Or l'effet du sacré, quel qu'en soit la manifestation culturellement normée, paralyse, chez celui qui l'éprouve, la faculté critique ; le ravissement est un aveuglement au cours duquel on n'éprouve pas l'objet, mais la force transcendante qui semble en émaner. Cela étant, une telle situation est très rare parce que, même quand une expographie vise à re-sacraliser un objet (ou, plus paradoxal encore : une collection d'objets), elle ne fait en réalité qu'indiquer par analogie la charge qu'il peut avoir ailleurs, en d'autres temps, sous d'autres conditions d'agentivité. Et, de fait, il n'est qu'à comparer l'attitude « normale » (c'est-à-dire tolérable par l'institution) des visiteurs d'un musée, même hystériques, avec celle d'un groupe de pèlerins ou avec celle de fidèles assistant à une cérémonie vaudou ou à une messe évangéliste pour se convaincre que le musée n'est pas vraiment le lieu du sacré. En revanche, ce qui est plus souvent ressenti par les visiteurs – et contre quoi le musée se prémunit effectivement – c'est la désaffectation de sacralité des objets présentés. Le fait que, même bien collectés, bien conservés, bien étudiés, bien exposés et bien transmis, (et pour cela même qu'ils sont tous cela) les objets de musées éprouvent une vacance – une béance – de la sacralité. Et les actions iconoclastes – pour endommager gravement ou pour détruire un expôt – , bien plus fréquentes, en fait, que les manifestations d'adoration, peuvent sans doute se comprendre en grande partie comme des tentatives aberrantes pour produire une agentivité sacrale ou, ce qui en fait revient au même, pour soustraire désespérément l'objet à ce qui apparaît comme une profanation, sa condition muséale. Le massacre, en somme, est une forme délirante de sacre.

Bibliographie

Augé, M. (1988). *Le Dieu objet*. Paris : Flammarion.

Belting, H. (1998). *Image et culte*. Paris : Cerf.

Calvin, J. (1560/1859). *Institution de la religion chrétienne* (I, xi), Paris : Meyrues.

Concile de Trente (1553), Menozzi, D. (1991). *Les Images*. Paris : Cerf.

Dumoutet, E. (1926). *Le Désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au saint sacrement*. Paris : Beauchesne.

Gell, A. (2009). *L'Art et ses agents, une théorie anthropologique*. Dijon : Les Presses du réel.

Gilman, B. I. (1918). *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

ICOM, http://icom.museum/la-vision/definition-du-musee/L/2/ consulté le 31 mai 2018

Kant, E. (1790/1982). *Critique de la faculté de juger*, tr. A. Philonenko. Paris : Vrin.

Leyris, M. (1931/50 / 1996). *L'Afrique fantôme*. Paris : Gallimard.

Mairesse, F. (2014). *Le Culte des musées*. Bruxelles : Académie royale de Belgique.

Nooter Roberts, M. (2017). Altar as Museum, Museum as Altar : Ethnography, Devotion and Display, in Buggeln, G. ; Paine, C. & Plate, S.B. *Religion in Museum*, London : Bloomsbury.

Otto, R. (1969). *Le Sacré*. Genève : Payot.

Poulot, D. (1997). *Musée, nation, patrimoine, 1789-1815*. Paris : Gallimard.

Recht, R. (1999). *Le Croire et le voir*. Paris : Gallimard.

The Sukuma Museum is a Sacred Place for the Sukuma People

Maria Alferova

Russian State University for the Humanities, RGGU – Moscow, Russia

The Sukuma Museum is a world-famous open-air museum located in the north-west of Tanzania (Mwanza province, Kiseza village, the Bujora Cultural Center). It is the only museum in the world dedicated to the art and culture of the Sukuma people, their history, and the enduring presence of the sacred.

Sukuma is the predominant ethnic group of the Mwanza province and the largest cultural group in Tanzania (13% of the total population of the country, as stated in the *East Africa Living Encyclopedia*). According to the administrator of the Sukuma Museum, Y. Salum (2016), one of the main tasks of the museum is to preserve and to spread the tribe's cultural heritage. The museum's staff are Sukuma and they pay special attention to maintaining the sacred meaning and identity of the exhibits by keeping them within their natural environment and context.

The context of the museum plays an important role, as it was created with an involvement of the local community. It can be described as a living museum, preserving historical and cultural environment as it develops and evolves, and also as an ecomuseum, where the environment is preserved by the efforts of local residents.

Despite the fact that the exhibits are separated from the outside world by the walls of the museum, a hybrid space has emerged that mixes together a cultural, a sacred, and a museum environment. (Bessire 1998, p.57), This environment provides close links between the community and the museum and allows for the use of museum exhibits during festivals and other events. In 1995, the elders of the group Bana Cecilia were loaned two drums that had belonged to a tribal chief to take with them to a festive ceremony in a neighboring tribe. In another example, Mzee Kishosha Budomodzhi-ntemi, the local head of the Bagalu dance society and also the father of the Museum director Jefta Kishoshi, often comes to the museum to clean and restore the power of the artifacts belonging to the Bagalu society (Bessire, 1998, p. 57).

In this way the exhibits presented in the Sukuma museum do not lose their traditional powers and sacred properties as the museum tries to preserve their historical mission. Local healers note that most of the qualities of the religious artifacts are preserved even when stored in the museum, but to maintain the artifacts' power the healers still feel it necessary to use them in rituals.

The museum was founded in the 1950s by the Catholic missionary, Father David Clement. Initially, however, there was no plan to set up a museum. The plan was to only build a church to convert the Sukuma people to Christianity. The idea to create a parish belonged to the Mwanza Bishop Joseph Blomjos, who launched it with the assistance of the head of African missionaries in Tanganyika, Father Hendrix Chenya. Father Clement proposed teaching Christian principles to the local population through the use of the traditional Sukuma culture. To teach local culture and ethnography, Clement organized a campaign called “Chama St. Cecilia”, which laid the foundation for the future Museum of the Sukuma people.

In 1957 the church was built. It was designed as a traditional house of the Sukuma (Msonge), and was the first building of its kind in the country. According to Bessire (1998, p. 54), the construction of this kind of church proved controversial at the time. The church was inaugurated in 1958 and is functioning to this day. Sukuma traditional dance and music were integrated into the religious ceremonies and Latin songs were translated into the Sukuma language. The church also featured a display of artifacts that had been used by Sukuma tribal leaders to communicate with God. Thus, Father David Clement created the church as an official experimental and spiritual center of “adaptation.” The concept meant using local religious symbolism and traditions to demonstrate how to hold Catholic services (Bessire, p. 54), something that was criticized by many Western missionaries and African priests at the time. Currently, there is a memorial dedicated to Father Clement, the founder of the project, to the left of the church.

The museum emerged during the work of the Center for Adaptation to Catholicism with the assistance of the local organizations: Bana Cecilia and the Research Committee. Gradually, as the power of the Sukuma tribal leaders was abolished by the new government, Father Clement, who enjoyed the great authority among the local population, started collecting artifacts. Over seven years, important items and exhibits of the collection were donated or sold by Sukuma elders and royal families to preserve the culture of Sukuma. Those objects include royal drums and regalia, costumes and accessories of dance societies, medical items used by Sukuma doctors, as well as traditional furniture, weapons, and household items.

After Tanzania became independent, the museum stepped up its work and in 1968, with the assistance of the “Bujora Sukuma” Research Committee, its new mission was outlined, which was to spread and popularize Sukuma culture in society.

The exhibits on the Museum’s premises represent traditional buildings, such as houses that belonged to a blacksmith, a doctor (or sorcerer), and the Royal Pavilion where the royal regalia is largely kept. There is also the Dance Pavilion, that tells the story of the two main dance societies, Bagik and Bagalu. Back in the 1950s, Father Clement tried to introduce the songs and dances of the Sukuma people into Christian religious ceremony. He understood the role of dance in Sukuma culture and how important it was to win the respect of the leaders of the Sukuma dancers, which is why he organized a dance festival that usually followed the traditional Corpus Christi procession. It was Clement who managed to get the two rival societies to meet for the first time and persuaded them to take part in the dance competition of Bulabo - the Sukuma word for Corpus Christi. The museum still holds the annual “Bulabo” dance festival, which features both traditional dance culture and modern trends.

Nowadays the museum is run by the state, and receives funding from the Julius Nyerere Foundation. The museum staff is composed of representatives of the Sukuma people. The administration includes a manager, a chairman, a museum director and a coordinator. The staff also includes a museum guide, an accountant, three environmentalists, and five folk crafts teachers. The museum provides an interactive and educational environment in which the elders of Sukuma teach history and traditional art to the younger generation, who in turn are encouraged to develop and expand new artistic trends of the Sukuma culture. The museum also holds workshops for those who are interested in studying the Sukuma art (“Profile and Mission Statement”).

Many scientists and organizations from other countries help support of the museum: the Danish volunteer service, the Ullandsforden Foundation for Developing Countries in Denmark, the Canada Peace Development Fund, and the Danish Development Agency. In 1995, the Dutch scientist Franz Wijsen sponsored the indexing of the museum’s archives and the training of the local librarian. The American art historians Mark Bessire and Aimee Bessire catalogued and photographed the museum’s collections. Currently, a plan is being developed to further preserve the cultural objects and to reorganize the exhibition halls.

There is also a project underway to document the history of the museum exhibitions. The plan is to fully communicate the content of the exhibition and provide full information regarding the content in Sukuma, Swahili, and in English. The concept of the museum is being redefined, aiming to blend its exhibits with the history of the Sukuma people and that of the missionary work.

All this makes the museum a very respected and revered institution within the local community, as it keeps traditional rituals alive and at the same time serves as a cultural and sacral center for the Sukuma people and the followers of Christianity.

References

Alferova M. (2016) Interview of the employee of the Sukuma museum Yasinta Salum

Bessire M. H. C. (1998). History, context and identity at the Sukuma Museum. *Museum*, 195, p. 53-58

Profile and Mission Statement of the Sukuma museum Retrieved from the URL http://sukumamuseum.org/profile-and-mission-statement-of-the-sukuma-museum/ Tanzania – Ethnic Groups. East Africa Living Encyclopedia. African Studies Center. Retrieved from http://www.africa.upenn.edu/NEH/tethnic.htm

Du désenchantement au réenchantement : le cas du Saint-Jérôme de David

Yves Bergeron et Violette Loget
Université du Québec à Montréal – Canada

Le rôle de l'Église et du sacré dans la culture québécoise

Au Québec, les trésors artistiques ayant une valeur muséale et identitaire ne sont pas tous conservés dans les musées, certaines des pièces majeures du patrimoine artistique national sont en la possession des communautés religieuses et des églises catholiques qui, en tant qu'actrices de premier plan dans la construction de l'identité collective au Québec (Simard, 1984) ont, pendant plus de quatre siècles, constitué un fonds patrimonial d'envergure. Après le *Traité de Paris* de 1763 cédant la Nouvelle-France à la Grande-Bretagne, une grande partie de l'élite coloniale retourne en France. Le clergé catholique s'y substitue dans les domaines de l'éducation, de la santé et des services sociaux jusqu'au milieu des années 1960. Un vaste mouvement social et de laïcisation, que les sociologues désignent comme la Révolution tranquille (Dickson, 2006), fait alors entrer le Québec dans la modernité. En quelques mois, les fidèles désertent les églises et le clergé se retrouve bientôt dans une situation où la conservation des biens immobiliers et mobiliers devient problématique. À partir des années 1980, les églises sont vendues, fermées, transformées ou démolies faute de moyens pour les sauvegarder (Conseil du patrimoine religieux, 2016).

La prise de conscience d'une véritable crise du patrimoine religieux alerte les spécialistes au Québec et à l'international depuis deux décennies (Turgeon, 2005 ; Paine, 2014 ; Minucciani, 2013 ; Roque, 2011), mais le problème reste à ce jour entier. Si la *Loi sur le patrimoine* permet de protéger certaines églises, elle ne prévoit pas la sauvegarde des biens mobiliers. En conséquence, le patrimoine religieux n'est pas protégé et se trouve à la merci des décisions des Fabriques[1] et du clergé. Contrairement aux États-Unis et au Canada anglais, où les musées n'étaient pas centrés à l'origine sur le patrimoine artistique en raison de la culture protestante (Hoffman, 2015), les musées québécois accordent une place centrale à l'art religieux catholique (Lacasse et Porter, 2004). D'ail-

1. Les fabriques sont des entités ecclésiastiques administrant les biens d'une paroisse pour « les fins de l'exercice de la religion catholique romaine ». Au Québec elles sont légiférées par la *Loi sur les fabriques*.

leurs, l'un des premiers objectifs du Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec fut de confier, dès 1937, à l'historien de l'art Gérard Morisset l'inventaire des œuvres d'art conservées dans les églises et les communautés religieuses (Collectif, 1981).

Conservateurs et sauveteurs du patrimoine national

À la suite de la Révolution tranquille, le patrimoine religieux est traité comme l'un des piliers de l'identité collective : il est protégé par le Ministère de la Culture et les conservateurs se positionnent de plus en plus en sauveteurs. Cependant, un obstacle majeur a longtemps empêché les conservateurs de muséaliser ces œuvres du patrimoine religieux. Impossible de muséaliser des œuvres conservant leur fonction première de culte. Seules, les œuvres désacralisées et aliénées par le clergé et les fabriques peuvent intégrer les collections muséales. En contrepartie, les musées construisent un véritable culte de l'histoire culturelle. Ce déplacement du cultuel au culturel fait du musée un espace social et identitaire qui se veut en principe laïque. Pourtant, bien que le musée se définisse comme un lieu d'authenticité et de conservation scientifique du patrimoine, son traitement a peut-être davantage de liens avec l'approche dogmatique, sacralisante et idéologique qui caractérise le clergé. On observe au musée une série de rites intégrés dans la pratique professionnelle (Mairesse, 2014), c'est-à-dire des règles coutumières à suivre qui ne peuvent être comprises que si on a été initié et intégré dans le cercle des conservateurs. À première vue, ces rites semblent profanes puisque l'institution muséale se définit comme laïque, mais l'examen de ces pratiques montre que les musées se révèlent fondamentalement séculiers, formant en quelque sorte un nouveau clergé contemporain de la culture. En somme, les musées ne seraient-ils pas devenus des espaces culturels du sacré ?

Un terrain privilégié : l'aliénation d'un bien d'intérêt religieux et collectif par l'Église

Les stratégies d'aliénation par les propriétaires d'œuvres et d'acquisition par les conservateurs constituent un terrain privilégié permettant d'observer et de comprendre les règles écrites et surtout tacites qui fondent la coutume des musées[1]. Nous croyons que l'observation des pratiques et des règles qui encadrent la tentative de vente d'une toile de Jacques-Louis David par les gestionnaires de la Basilique-cathédrale Notre-Dame de Québec au printemps 2018 est en mesure de nous permettre de cerner les enjeux collectifs liés à la gestion des biens matériels de l'Église catholique au Québec et de mettre en lumière les rapports des musées au sacré. L'analyse de la couverture médiatique de ce cas d'actualité[2] et la comparaison entre les stratégies de cessions de deux institu-

---

1. Le concept de coutume correspond ici au sens premier du terme qui renvoie au droit non écrit qui est propre à un groupe social.

2. Une grille comparative a permis de recenser les termes et catégories de langage employés par

tions, soit le Musée des beaux-arts du Canada (MBAC) et la Fabrique Notre-Dame de Québec, mettent en lumière les débats publics soulevés au regard de la protection du patrimoine religieux québécois.

En l'espèce, le 4 avril 2018, deux jours après la parution du catalogue de vente de *Christie's*, les médias canadiens annoncent que le MBAC s'apprête à aliéner une œuvre de Marc Chagall, et ce pour acquérir « un trésor national » dont le nom ne sera divulgué que le 17 avril 2018. Dans une lettre ouverte aux médias -qui couvrent la controverse avec insistance[1] -, Marc Mayer, directeur général du musée, annonce cette cession comme la seule option lui permettant d'amasser les fonds nécessaires à l'acquisition du tableau *Saint-Jérôme* (1779-1780) de Jacques-Louis David dont la Fabrique cherche à se départir. L'annonce de l'aliénation du Chagall a soulevé une série d'articles et de commentaires dénonçant le choix du Musée dans les médias (télévision, radio, journaux).[2] Les opposants à la vente du Chagall furent nombreux, à commencer par les journalistes rapidement soutenus par des historiens de l'art, des critiques d'art, des collectionneurs et des personnalités du monde culturel et politique. Les citoyens ont commenté en très grand nombre les articles dans les journaux en ligne[3]. Curieusement, les associations muséales n'ont pas pris position et le Ministère du Patrimoine canadien n'a pas tenu à interférer dans ce dossier. Les principaux arguments énoncés portent sur le principe de la responsabilité des musées de conserver les œuvres qu'ils acquièrent. De nombreux commentaires soulignent que cette œuvre appartient aux Canadiens, qu'elle s'inscrit dans le patrimoine national et qu'à ce titre le Musée ne peut s'en départir.

Bien que l'aliénation soit en théorie une pratique admise dans les règles de gouvernance des musées canadiens, on constate que manifestement, les cas d'aliénation restent des exceptions pouvant s'avérer controversées. Pourtant, un consensus social rend, dans une certaine mesure, acceptables et légitimes les aliénations d'objets sacrés par voie de restitution aux communautés autochtones d'origines[4] ou encore le transfert de la propriété de pièces incompa-

---

les commentateurs publics (journalistes, personnalités publiques, conservateurs) dans les 22 articles de presse québécois publiés entre le 17 avril et le 4 mai 2018 répertoriés sur la base de données *Eurekka* suite à une recherche comprenant les mots clés suivants : « Saint-Jérôme » ou « Jacques-Louis David » ou « Paroisse Notre-Dame de Québec ».

1. Entre le 3 et le 30 avril 2018, 70 articles ont été publiés sur le sujet dans les principaux journaux canadiens.

2. Entre le 3 et le 30 avril 2018, on dénombre 70 articles publiés sur le sujet dans les journaux suivants : *Bloomberg* (1), *Canadian Art* (5), *CBC News* (9), *iPolitics* (4), *La Presse* (4), *Le Devoir* (16), *Le Journal de Québec* (2), *Le Journal de Montréal* (3), *Hyperallergic* (1), *The Globe and Mail* (13), *The Ottawa Citizen* (10), *The Star* (2).

3. Deux articles publiés par *CBC News* rendent compte des fortes réactions de l'opinion publique : le 4 avril 2018 l'article « National Gallery of Canada puts Chagall masterpiece on the auction block » a été partagé 1116 fois et a fait l'objet de 304 commentaires, alors que le 26 avril 2018, l'article « National Gallery of Canada to pull Chagall painting off auction block » a été partagé 759 fois et fait l'objet de 97 commentaires.

4. Les musées expriment encore des réserves à transférer la propriété des objets autochtones

tibles avec leurs collections à de tierces institutions muséales. Ces aliénations s'apparentent davantage à des transferts entre musées, de sorte que les œuvres demeurent sous la protection muséale[1]. Mais, le cas du Chagall est exceptionnel, car la direction du MBAC souhaitait vendre l'œuvre profane du XX^e^ siècle, importante historiquement et pertinente au regard de la mission de l'institution, pour acquérir une œuvre religieuse du XVIII^e^ siècle. Or, visiblement, la marchandisation du tableau par le musée ne correspond pas aux valeurs des commentateurs et du monde de la culture. Face à la controverse, le Musée finit par se rétracter. Le 26 avril, son site internet indique l'annulation de la vente vivement décriée par les journalistes et l'opinion publique qui réclament un encadrement plus strict de la gestion du patrimoine national.

Si l'opinion publique fustige l'institution laïque qu'est le musée, de l'autre côté du spectre de la transaction, la décision prise par la Fabrique Notre-Dame et l'Évêché de vendre l'œuvre de Jacques-Louis David n'a soulevé que quelques critiques. L'historien de l'art Laurier Lacroix, le fondateur du programme de muséologie à l'Université Laval Philippe Dubé, la fondatrice du Centre Canadien d'architecture Phyllis Lambert et le sénateur Serge Joyal ont évoqué le devoir de conservation de l'Église. Alors que les journalistes la nommaient venderesse et propriétaire légitime de l'œuvre, à partir de mai 2018, la Fabrique est appelée à justifier son titre de propriété. On l'accuse de vendre illégitimement une œuvre qui, puisqu'elle a été donnée par des fidèles et que le patrimoine religieux bénéficie de subventions publiques, appartiendrait aux Québécois. L'Église, en tant que gardienne, n'aurait pas moralement le droit de spéculer sur les biens patrimoniaux collectifs dont elle est la dépositaire. Toutefois, peu de voix se sont élevées pour dénoncer l'aliénation par la Fabrique. On peut se questionner sur ce double standard dans l'opinion publique. Pourquoi une institution religieuse échapperait-elle au régime de protection collectif alors que certaines des pièces majeures du patrimoine artistique national sont en la possession des communautés religieuses et des églises ? Nous nous retrouvons ici devant une sorte de renversement des valeurs. Dans une société où le religieux a été évacué depuis la Révolution tranquille, les musées semblent avoir plus d'influence et de compte à rendre que l'Église ; les citoyens s'impliquant et se sentant davantage concernés par les pratiques des musées que celles des lieux de culte. Les musées sont peut-être devenus les nouveaux espaces sacrés de la collectivité en contexte de laïcité, en ce sens qu'ils remplacent les Églises dans leur rôle tutélaire traditionnel. C'est peut-être ce qui explique qu'il est plus difficile au Québec de fermer un musée que de fermer une église[2].

---

lorsque les communautés ne disposent pas de musées pour assurer la préservation des objets.

1. Afin de favoriser ce type de rationalisation des collections publiques, la Société des musées du Québec a d'ailleurs développé le concept de « collectionnement concerté ».

2. Le Conseil du patrimoine religieux surveille les mutations des églises du Québec et considère que depuis 2003, 500 lieux de culte ont été fermés, vendus ou transformés.

Désenchantement du monde

Ne sommes-nous pas devant une manifestation de ce que Max Weber désignait comme le « désenchantement du monde » pour expliquer le recul des croyances religieuses et de la pensée magique au profit d'une forme de sécularisation ? Dans cet esprit, les musées ont réussi cette transition en devenant les nouveaux dépositaires du patrimoine religieux dans un espace en apparence sécularisé. Paradoxalement, les musées québécois ont également hérité du sacré qui habitait autrefois les églises. Depuis la lointaine époque des cabinets de curiosités, le musée demeure un lieu d'enchantement exerçant sur les visiteurs une action mystérieuse et profonde analogue à l'attraction et la fascination qu'exerce le sacré. En ce sens, les musées ne sont-ils pas devenus ces « nouvelles églises » qui enchantent les communautés de fidèles de la culture ?

Bibliographie

Collectif (1981). *À la découverte du patrimoine avec Gérard Morisset*. Québec : Ministère des Affaires culturelles/Musée du Québec.

Conseil du patrimoine religieux du Québec (2016). *Mémoire déposé dans le cadre des consultations publiques portant sur le renouvellement de la politique culturelle du Québec*. Québec : CPRQ.

Dickson, O. (2006). *La Révolution tranquille : période de rupture ou de continuité*. Montréal : UQAM, thèse de maîtrise en sciences politiques.

Hoffman, S. (2015). *L'histoire de la documentation des œuvres d'art du 17e au 21e siècle : les impacts des technologies optiques et numériques sur les pratiques documentaires des galeries nationales à Londres, Ottawa et Washington*. UQAM, thèse de doctorat en muséologie, médiation, patrimoine.

Lacasse, Y et J. Porter (Dir.), (2004). *Une histoire de l'art du Québec. La collection du Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec*. Québec : Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec.

Mairesse, F. (2014). *Le culte des musées*, Bruxelles : Académie royale de Belgique.

Québec, *Loi F-1 sur les fabriques,* [en ligne].

Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal (2018). S*aint-Jérôme de Jacques-Louis David. De l'académie de France à Rome à la cathédrale de Québec* », Montréal, Québec, Journée d'étude autour d'un chef-d'œuvre du patrimoine national, 19 mai.

Minucciani, V. (2013). *Religion and Museums. Immaterial and Material Heritage,* Toronto, Londres, New-York: Umberto Allemandi & C.

Paine, C. (2014). Sacred Waste. *Material Religion*, 10(2), pp.241-243.

Pomian, K. (1987). Entre l’invisible et le visible : la collection, *Libre,* 78 (3), p.3-56.

Roque, M. I. (2011). Le musée, lieu de mémoire du patrimoine religieux, *Les nouvelles de l’ICOM,* 3.

Simard, J. (1984). *Le grand héritage. L’Élise et la société*. Québec :Musée du Québec.

Turgeon, L. (Dir.) (2005). *Le patrimoine religieux au Québec*. Québec : Presses de l’Université Laval.

Tapu et musée : conserver et exposer des objets océaniens

Marion Bertin
École du Louvre & Université de La Rochelle – France

> « Quand les dieux sont morts, ils entrent dans l'histoire,
> quand les statues sont mortes, elles entrent dans l'art.
> Cette botanique de la mort, c'est ce que nous appelons la culture.[1] »
> **Chris Marker**

En Océanie, le sacré tient une place majeure et gouverne l'ordre social d'un grand nombre d'îles. Loin d'être un élément indépendant, le sacré est omniprésent. Malgré la grande diversité des religions et l'impossibilité d'essentialiser le sacré dans les sociétés anciennes du Pacifique, la notion de *tapu*, ou *tabu*, selon les îles et leurs langues, est commune et fondamentale à toutes. Le *tapu* codifie l'accès au sacré par le biais de prescriptions et de prohibitions. Il dicte ainsi les règles de conduite de chacun et permet de maintenir l'ordre cosmologique établi. Si le sacré est omniprésent, tant dans les discours que dans la vie courante, il se manifeste également sous des formes matérielles. Le principe du *tapu* s'étend à ces objets dont la vision et l'usage sont fortement réglementés. Ils font partie prégnante des biens inaliénables, d'après la distinction opérée par Annette Weiner (1992) et Maurice Godelier (1996), patrimoine fondant une société et permettant sa perpétuation.

L'arrivée de colons et de missionnaires européens a modifié cette organisation et entrainé la collecte des objets sacrés. Décontextualisés de leur société et de leur fonction d'origine, intégrés dans les collections publiques dès la création des premiers musées, ces objets sont conservés dans de nombreuses institutions où ils semblent jouir de nos jours d'une place privilégiée, certains ayant atteint le rang suprême de chefs-d'œuvre. En regard d'une « fétichisation de l'objet rituel » (Heinich & Shapiro, 2012, p. 264), quelle muséologie peut-elle être envisagée afin d'en garantir la valeur initiale ? L'étude des objets océaniens conservés dans les musées du monde sera prétexte à l'examen des différentes prérogatives propres au patrimoine sacré concernant à la fois sa conservation, sa gestion et son exposition. L'hétérogénéité des sociétés actuelles du Pacifique, de leur rapport aux religions anciennes et au sacré permettra d'analyser différents cas de figure. Des suggestions de réflexion plutôt que des réponses définitives seront ainsi proposées, dictées par la reconnaissance des droits des minorités culturelles et la prise d'assurance politique des populations.

---

1. Phrases d'ouverture du court-métrage documentaire *Les Statues meurent aussi*, réalisé en 1953 par Chris Marker, Alain Resnais et Ghislain Cloquet sur un scénario de Chris Marker.

Une large partie des cultes polynésiens, caractérisés par un panthéon précis, a rapidement été décimée par les missionnaires européens. Dès la fin du XVIII[e] siècle, missionnaires protestants et catholiques s'installent et entreprennent de convertir Tahiti, Tonga, les îles Marquises, Cook et de la Société (Hooper, 2006). Un « iconoclasme par la collection » (Hooper, 2008, p. 131) intervient, où les objets réunis puis envoyés en Europe servent de preuve à la conversion. Considérés comme des idoles par les missionnaires, ils deviennent des trophées (Thomas, 1991). Les populations locales ne sont pas passives et livrent volontiers leurs anciens objets de culte (Corbey & Weener, 2015). Le changement de religion entraîne la perte du savoir qui n'est que peu documenté par les missionnaires et aujourd'hui mal connu. Au-delà de cette perte immatérielle, en intervient une autre matérielle puisque les composants organiques n'étaient que peu conservés au moment des collectes. L'importance de la mise en œuvre des matériaux et de leur complémentarité, base de l'efficacité des objets, notamment les figures de divinité qui doivent être activées et ne sont que des réceptacles temporaires des dieux, amène donc à penser que les objets de musée sont devenus inertes. Témoignages archéologiques d'une religion disparue, relèvent-ils toujours du patrimoine sacré ? Quelle gestion envisager sans les dénaturer ? Leur valorisation actuelle n'est souvent que formelle et esthétique. Avec les *revival* culturels actuels, à Hawaii notamment, ces questions vont devenir plus pressantes.

À l'inverse, dans d'autres régions, religions et traditions anciennes sont demeurées plus ancrées. En Mélanésie, de nombreuses îles sont organisées autour de sociétés secrètes divisées en grades et où religion et pouvoir sont intimement liés. Les objets provenant de ce milieu ne sauraient être vus ni connus par des personnes non-initiées. C'est également le cas en Australie où le secret et l'accès progressif à la connaissance structurent la spiritualité aborigène. C'est donc aller à l'encontre des missions du musée, voué à faire connaître et exposer ses collections (Derlon & Jeudy-Ballini, 2001/2002). Leur conservation pose à la fois la question de leur monstration à un large public, mais également leur gestion par les équipes de musées, extérieures à ce champ d'initiation. La conservation même de certains objets, détruits à la fin des rituels, pose parfois question.

Selon les îles et leur poids politique, des revendications appuyées sur une affirmation d'identité culturelle ont pu mener à la création de protocoles de gestion spécialisés. C'est le cas des *tjurunga*, ou *churinga*, pierres ou bois gravés sacrés en Australie devant rester invisibles et ne pouvant être manipulés que par des hommes initiés. Certains musées, tels que le Pitt Rivers Museum d'Oxford ou le Museen Joest – Rautenstrauch de Cologne, ont ainsi adopté des mesures empêchant la vision des objets même en réserves, un conditionnement particulier et leur maniement seulement par du personnel masculin. Cette décision peut être soumise à débat, les membres du musée n'étant pas initiés. Les *churinga* restent exposés dans d'autres musées, mais leur mise en espace traduit leur dissimulation rituelle ; ainsi en est-il de la nouvelle muséographie du musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel où ils ne sont visibles qu'à travers une petite fenêtre dans une vitrine opaque. Les Māori de Nouvelle-Zélande ont également repris le droit de parole sur leurs objets sacrés. Ils interviennent en collaboration dans plusieurs établissements pour en définir le discours, comme au muséum de Rouen en France. Le droit à l'image et sa diffusion sont un enjeu important dans la gestion des collections et deviennent de plus en plus centraux. Les Māori ont fait interdire la prise de photographies dans les musées de Nouvelle-Zélande, les objets conservant leur efficience par-delà l'enregistrement de leur image. Grâce à leur proximité, les musées australiens, dont la National Gallery of Australia de Canberra, ont également entamé un dialogue avec les communautés du Pacifique leur permettant de prévisualiser les expositions et la manière dont leurs objets ont été montrés. Des cérémonies peuvent également avoir lieu en amont du vernissage pour lever les *tapu* et diminuer la puissance des objets. Ce type de collaboration a fait naître la notion d'« objets-ambassadeurs », notamment pour les Maōri et les Kanak, destinés à représenter les cultures hors de leurs lieux d'origine.

Toutes les populations du Pacifique n'interviennent pas dans la conservation des objets de musée. Leur caractère rituel et secret est néanmoins pris en compte et donné à voir par des modalités distinctes d'exposition. Un jeu entre caché et montré est communément employé, à l'exemple des pierres à magie du Vanuatu, utilisées pour la pousse des taros et faisant partie des objets les plus sacrés et secrets de l'archipel, installées au musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac à Paris dans une alcôve sombre en retrait des autres vitrines du parcours permanent. L'exposition *Sépik. Arts de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée*, présentée au Martin-Gropius-Bau de Berlin puis au musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac en 2015, adoptait une stratégie similaire afin de mettre en valeur les strates de savoirs découvertes successivement par les membres des sociétés gradées et, de fait, par les ethnologues dans leurs recherches. Le parcours matérialisait cet accès restreint aux connaissances et les objets les plus *tapu* n'étaient visibles que dans la dernière salle avec la mention de leur caractère inaccessible aux non-initiés.

Un dernier type d'objets, qui n'est pas indépendant des autres mais pose d'autres questions d'ordre éthique, doit encore être examiné : l'importance des ancêtres, commune à une large partie des îles du Pacifique, est manifestée par des productions incorporant des restes humains. Présents dans les collections muséales, ils sont plus que tout autre objet au cœur des demandes des communautés d'origine. Le rapatriement des restes humains *māori* a été demandé par la Nouvelle-Zélande en 1992 (Peltier & Mélandri, 2012). Un large ensemble de musées mondiaux ont ainsi rendu leurs *toi moko*, têtes tatouées *māori*, parfois à l'encontre de la règle d'inaliénabilité des collections publiques comme en France où leur retour en totalité a été effectué en 2012. En plus du retour matériel, une politique a été menée afin de limiter leur visibilité, interdisant la diffusion de photographies sur internet et dans les publications. Les bases de données en ligne des collections muséales ont également retiré leurs reproductions photographiques. Ces mesures ont été étendues pour les restes humains d'autres îles, ce qui a été fait par le musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac à

Paris ou le British Museum de Londres. Le Metropolitan Museum de New York a mis en place un entre-deux en ne permettant pas aux images disponibles en ligne d'être agrandies et observées en détails. Enfin, tous les restes humains ne sont pas unanimement demandés par les communautés : leur puissance effraie certaines populations, à l'instar du Vanuatu où les *rambaramp*, mannequins funéraires réalisés après le décès des chefs, ne sont pas demandés.

Le développement d'une déontologie muséale propre aux objets sacrés océaniens est en cours et croît à mesure que les voix des populations locales prennent une portée internationale. Une dichotomie peut apparaître selon la considération du sacré dans les musées, partagés entre multi-culturalité et laïcité (Pagani, 2014). C'est la légitimité de parole et de décision qui est en jeu, en parallèle de la propriété tant matérielle qu'immatérielle des objets sacrés. Un effort de collaboration et une plus grande réciprocité avec les communautés doivent encore être menés afin que la notion d'« objets-ambassadeurs » prenne totalement sens et qu'un plus grand respect soit accordé aux différentes formes de sacré.

Bibliographie

Corbey, R. H. A, Weener, F. K. (2015). Collecting while converting: missionaries and ethnographic. *Journal of Art Historiography*, 12. Page consultée le 19 mai 2018 à partir de : <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/corbey-weener.pdf>.

Derlon, B., Jeudy-Ballini, M. (2001/2002). Le culte muséal de l'objet sacré. *Gradhiva*, 30/31, 203-211.

Godelier, M. (1996). *L'Énigme du don*. Paris : Fayard.

Heinich, N. (dir.), Schapiro, R. (dir.) (2012). *De L'artification, enquêtes sur le passage à l'art*. Paris : Éditions de l'École du hautes-études en sciences sociales.

Hooper, S. (2008). La collecte comme iconoclasme. La London Missionary Society en Polynésie. *Gradhiva*, 7, 121-133.

Hooper, S. (2006). *Pacific Encounters. Art & Divinity in Polynesia 1760-1860*. Londres : British Museum Press.

Pagani, C. (2014). *Politiques de reconnaissance dans les musées d'ethnographie et des cultures au XXIe siècle*. Paris et Milan : thèse en philosophie, Paris-Est-Créteil et Università degli studio di Milano.

Peltier P., Mélandri, M. (2012). Chronologie concernant les têtes tatouées et momifiées māori ou toi moko (aussi connues sous le terme de moko mokai). *Le Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 134, 28-30.

Thomas, N. (1991). *Entangled Objects. Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. London & Cambridge : Harvard University Press.

Weiner, A. (1992), *Inalienable Possessions. The Paradox of keeping-while-giving*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press.

Every museum has a God, or God is in every museum?

Bruno Brulon Soares
Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, UNIRIO – Brazil

Introduction

The light is translucent and dramatic. The wide empty space gives a certain mystery to the objects of devotion placed high before the small crowd of believers and the curious. A woman kneels in prayer showing some sort of possession. There is no indication that the museum gallery is not a religious place. Art is in the altar.

The gallery of the Louvre in the *Pavillon des Sessions*, which was opened to the public in the year 2000 as the first showcase of the *Musée du quai Branly*[1], is a vast space of 1.400 square meters that exhibits a small, selective collection of “primitive art” from the four non-European continents. As noted by Maurice Godelier (2007, p. 27), the majority of the objects displayed were somehow related to power: of African sovereigns, of gods, of spirits, etc. In a way, beyond their beauty in European eyes, they represent the unbreakable bonds between humans and the invisible world.

Despite the predominance of aesthetics over religion, and the discourse of art invested in the exhibition, since it was inaugurated in a so called “universal” museum, it has been a stage for the spontaneous manifestation of several acts of faith. Over the years, some of the religious objects displayed as art have seen offerings placed before them, individual visitors praying in the space of the museum (Delannoy, 2002, p.23 apud Price, 2007, p.79). Recently, one of the guards stated that religious manifestations are not allowed in the *Pavillon*. “It is a public space after all,”[2] he says.

After intentionally reassessing the ethnographic value of the objects on display, the European curators behind the Louvre exhibition returned to the language of art in order to limit audience experience to only secular perception of these works. According to Germain Viatte, a Canadian curator trained in France who was responsible for the museological project behind the exhibition, the collection of the future Musée du quai Branly was supposed to enter “into another magic” (Viatte, 2006).

---

1. Inaugurated in 2006, now the museum is called Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.
2. Anonymous interview, Musée du Louvre, February 2018.

In this article we propose to decompose the museum performance, here understood as a magical act that in certain conditions may produce religious effects. The religious aspect of the museum can be seen, in this analysis, as a provocative hypothesis that threatens the unwavering secular status of this institution in the West. Created as a temple for the dissemination of civilized values, for the legitimation of a certain power and for nourishing the faith in the sovereign and in the State, the modern museum presents as many paradoxes as the modern church. Museums are based on one single culture, while pretending to be universal; they sustain their discourse with science but still need social magic to produce public faith; they are secular institutions with undeniable religious effects…

God is in every museum? Consecrating secularism as religion

To cross-examine the museum performance as secular, we must first ask ourselves: what *religion* is behind every museum? As secular institutions, museums uphold the non-ecclesiastical use of public space. Exhibitions should respect such a principle as a universal law for the representation of God and all religions in museums. However, when exhibiting religious objects without any mention to the previous use given to them before entering a European collection, isn't the museum making a religious decision of its own? In other words, isn't secularism a form of *religion* consecrated by museums?

After the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, which established since the 18th century the universal public institution, the idea of the museum as a "sacred temple" was defined as the consequence of a new mentality in Europe, in the beginning of what was called Modernity. Constructed as devices of *truth* regarding a certain cultural viewpoint believed to be superior to others, museums instated the cult of a form of authenticity (Mairesse, 2014), based on the assumption of the true object in contrast with the *false*. This museum performance, over the years, has authenticated particular values behind the idea of *civilization*. It has as its ultimate mission to produce the belief in the European modern tradition, as universal and *monotheistic*. The museum liturgy, as pointed out by François Mairesse (2014), is a result of a certain ideology that was spread throughout different corners of the world, and which was founded, in its most general and imperial assumption, on the idea of the *universality of museology*.

Religion was banned from museums when the Galician-Roman liturgy[1] was elected in the international context as the dogma for museum's *sacred secularism*. However, the ICOM code of ethics (2017 [2006], p. 25) considers that

1. Mairesse refers to different museum liturgies according to geographical and cultural influences. In his analysis, Galician-Roman liturgy is the one essentially practiced in Latin countries, which has ICOM as its central disseminator. (See Mairesse, 2014, p.56-59).

sacred materials must be acquired and exhibited respectfully with regard to the beliefs or religion of the groups from whom they came.

Due to this window opened to the sacred in their collections, museums, as secular as they wish to be, are susceptible to "religious sensitivities" (Favret-Saada, 2017). Over the years, after the end of colonisation, several museums in the West have been accused by religious organisations of hurting someone's beliefs by exhibiting "blasphemous objects". Today, when exhibitions are being closed for showing "sensitive" religious materials or for contradicting a certain moral code, religiously motivated reactions to museums happen more and more often, and this at a time when democratic institutions are facing an unprecedented crisis. It is, therefore, more relevant than ever to explore the relation between cultural difference, politics and religion in this secular temple.

Every museum has a God?

Once museum professionals start perceiving their own practice as a form of enchantment (Gell, 1995), recognizing museum work as a set of rites of institution (Bourdieu, 2009) dependent on social magic, museology can start seeing its own magic as one magic among others. To recognize museum performance as a magical act that involves a certain system of beliefs, one must "be affected" (Favret-Saada, 2007) by the very feelings, perceptions and thoughts that are unspoken and that can only be known through experience.

The paradigm of reason, predominant in museums but also in other subjective fields as in art, systematically avoids any interpretation of museum performance as religious or dependent on faith. The role of *affect* in human experience has frequently been neglected or denied and museums were perceived as machineries for the production and dissemination of knowledge with no space for emotions or the existence of affect.

Nevertheless, different museologies presuppose different kinds of affects that allow visitors to engage in the museum performance as we envision it. Let us here suppose that there is such thing as *museum magic*, instead of struggling to deny our faith. In this case, we might accept it as "an act of communication" (Favret-Saada, 2007) that enables mediation between what is known and the unknown. Then, and only then, can we connect to a particular form of human experience, the sacred experience, that is the museum experience.

The debate on museums and museum exhibitions as a realm of faith leads us to a fundamental question: what is the belief of the disbelievers? As temples of a past imagined to be believed, or "churches" where civilized people venerate their ancestors, are museums places of a secular faith? And, as previous experiences have shown, if secularism does not necessarily exclude the expression of faith and the value of beliefs, shouldn't we be asking ourselves, when visiting an exhibition, what is the religion of its curator?

Are we devotees of a supremacist museology?

Museology was organized in terms of different beliefs regarding what the museum could be and how its magic could be explained. A set of somewhat dogmatic ideas were defined as the Theory of Museology, adopted in some works as commandments of unquestionable truths. What we have intended to begin to unveil in the present article is the idea that *believing* in one single Museology used to shape and sustain the museum is, in fact, to corroborate the very dogmas we, as museologists, should be trying to decompose.

So that museums can acknowledge indigenous beliefs and non-European faiths, they must recognize a belief of their own. Curators who decide to open the doors of their institutions to beliefs other than their own are obliged to see, first, their system of beliefs as one among others, recognizing cultural difference as a central museum object.

However, defenders of this supposed secular institution have argued that the efforts of museums to reconcile multiple faiths can put them at risk of reaching a state of discursive infertility, jeopardizing museums' social role, or the faith society invests in them (see, for instance, Derlon & Jeudy-Ballini, 2001/2002). One can argue that museums assume the role of sanctuaries, in direct contradiction to their own secular "religion", when restituting objects of their sacred value while keeping them in a museum collection. But museums that decide to respect different religious sensibilities are hurting their own faith in secularity?

On the other hand, by declaring that only one interpretation of the objects displayed is allowed in the museum space, are curators presupposing the supremacy of curatorship over the visitor's experience? For the ritual objects displayed as art in the Louvre, their magical effect involves devotees in a specific aesthetics leading to the perception of non-religious works of art.

If an object of faith enters "another magic" once initiated to the museum religion, in the post-modern syncretic museum, this "museum magic" means being in touch with *different magics* at once. Therefore, it is possible to evolve from the supremacy of the museum devoted to one sovereign God, towards museums that admit believing in multiple gods. The pantheon of different religions does not disregard someone's faith; in fact, it implies the practice of mutual respect and the cult of diversity before any other.

References

Bourdieu, P. (2009). *Ce que parler veut dire*. L'économie des échanges linguistiques. Paris: Fayard.

Derlon, B. & Jeudy-Ballini, M. (2001/2002). Le culte muséal de l'objet sacré. *Gradhiva,* n. 30/31, 202-211.

Favret-Saada, J. (2017). *Les sensibilités religieuses blessées*. Christianismes, blasphèmes et cinéma. 1965-1988. Paris : Fayard.

Favret-Saada, J. (2007). *Les mots, la mort, les sorts*. Paris: Gallimard.

Gell, A. (1995). The technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology. In: Coote J. & Shelton, A. (ed.). *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics* (pp.40-63). Oxford: Clarendon Press,

Godelier, M. (2007). Les métamorphoses de la qualification. In : Latour, B. (2007). Le dialogue des cultures. Actes des rencontres inaugurales du musée du quai Branly (21 juin 2006). *Babel,* n. 821.

ICOM – International Council of Museums. (2017 [2006]). *Code of Ethics for Museums*. Available at <http://archives.icom.museum/ethics.html>, consulted in 14 February, 2018.

Mairesse, F. (2014). *Le culte des musées*. Bruxelles : Académie royale de Belgique.

Price, S. (2007). *Paris primitive. Jacques Chirac's Museum on the Quai Branly*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

Viatte, G. (2006). In: Quai Branly. (2006). *L'Autre Musée*. Written and produced by Augustin Viatte. 1DVD (52 minutes), color.

Reinterpreting a sacred place. When a church becomes a museum from an ecclesiastical point of view

Rita Capurro
Politecnico di Milano – Italy

From a religious point of view, the sacred and the profane have different and specific fields of action. The religious life of believers inhabits both, but semantically, what is sacred excludes by definition what is profane.

Nevertheless, the secular sense of religiosity in museums is present in major national museums and, in particular, those deeply rooted in Enlightenment ideals. Humanity has the highest level of expression in art, and museums represent places for the cult of it.

In general, in museology, we can consider two elements that bring together the ideas of museum and the sacred: architecture and the process of "musealization".

The first element is in the well-known link between the Greek temple and, in particular, the façade of the first national museums. It is unnecessary to recall the original connection between the word museum and the Muses from Olympus. All these elements are part of an ancient ideal, far from the modern idea of museum.

The second element is a bit more crucial: as well described by Paine:

> *'Musealization' – the entry of an object into a museum - has a striking parallel with 'sacralization' - the making of an object sacred. Both are processes that remove the object from the world, and most notably remove the object's exchange value. (Paine 2013, p.2)*

So, from an anthropological point of view, we can state that the category of sacred can be applied to museums, although only for similarities.

These considerations need to be refocused when we take into account religion, which is something not only related to the sacred but also to specific beliefs and practices, where the dimension of the sacred has its own particular characteristics.

In the Roman Christian Church, the use of the word sacred is connected with places or things which connect life on earth with the dimension of God; saints, relics, and consecrated things are sacred. In particular, for the latter, the condition of sacred is attached to their use: from churches to sacred vases, all of these elements are created with specific characteristics and meanings and they fulfill their condition of sanctity when they are used in liturgy.

In recent years, sacred objects in museums have been objects of study in many books and essays (Paine 2013; Capurro 2013; Buggeln et al. 2017), while less attention has been given to museums in ex-churches.

One of the most difficult issues with regard to museums and the Catholic Church is the reuse of churches as museums. The conversion into museums of many religious buildings that have lost their original function creates a possible misunderstanding about the sanctity of the place, all the more so when the process of musealization is made by a religious institution, and when the purpose of the building is a museum of religious objects.

In this field, the context does not help because the process of adapting to tourism, added to widespread secularization, tends to erase different experiences of cultural heritage: the visit to the church is like a visit to a museum, with the result of eliminating the idea of borders between the sacred and the profane. The loss of specific meanings in the tourism to churches and others places of faith can be due to:

> *[...] the failure of those responsible for religious monuments [...] to clearly communicate the function of these sacred spaces, and the relationship to that function of the works of art adorning them. Indeed, in not a few cases, churches get presented as if they were museums. (Verdon 2012, p. 24)*

If for churches visited like museums the debate is open and we can find new approaches to the visit (e.g. courses for tour guides at Pontificio Ateneo Sant'Anselmo, Rome), for churches reused for other purposes than sacred the issue is different.

In the Roman Catholic Church, what makes a building sacred is the celebration of its liturgy when a community of Christians is gathered for worship (Tomatis 2016, p. 31). When a church is no longer used as a sacred place, its destination must follow the indications of Code of Canon Law which say: "If a church cannot be used in any way for divine worship and there is no possibility of repairing it, the diocesan bishop can relegate it to profane but not sordid use" (Can.1222 §1). The process of choosing a new destination is a direct responsibility of the bishop: "Where other grave causes suggest that a church can no longer be used for divine worship, the diocesan bishop, after having heard the presbyteral council, can relegate it to profane but not sordid use" (Can.1222 §2).

The reuse as museum is considered a profane use, but not sordid; in Italy there are many buildings created as churches but currently reused as private homes, theaters, etc. (Bartolomei 2017); there are also museums hosted in churches (e.g. Museo Francesco Messina, Milan; Musei Civici Santa Caterina, Treviso), there are only a few museums of sacred art are hosted in ex-churches, and these are the object of this paper.

The phenomenon of changing the purpose of buildings created as churches is a relevant topic for the Catholic Church. In fact, in the case of churches reused as museums by the ecclesiastical owners, the identity of the place originally sacred has to be treated with particular care. This is because, even when the buildings in their original forms and contents are respected in their formal aspects, as meaningful examples of art, there is a condition of ambiguity that cannot be ignored by ecclesiastical authorities.

There is a specific responsibility to maintain separation between the dimension of the sacred from that of the profane, and this is more difficult as the formal language of the building and the nature of collections recall a completely sacred context. This is a crucial issue not completely resolved yet.

Churches converted to museums can conserve the characteristics of consecrated spaces, but this is an immaterial aspect that cannot be perceived by the visitors; instead, the condition of being built with a specific architecture recognized as a church, is something evident to everybody.

When a church is transformed into an ecclesiastical museum, the project should include interpretational and educational tools for the enhancement of the experience of the building, considering its original function and its new identity. The risk of a superficial project could lead to an inability to recognize the original meaning of the building or to obscuring the nature of the place as a museum.

Furthermore, there are several cases where still consecrated churches, currently used for liturgy, are somewhat included in a museum path of visit: one meaningful example among many others is Orsanmichele, part of the Polo Museale Fiorentino in Florence, used as a museum but also as place for the celebration of mass (Godoli 2015, pp. 111-115).

So, what are the specificities of museums placed in churches? What are the instruments for the interpretation of these places? What are the tools to underline the difference between the sacred represented and the sacred lived in a religious context? These questions open different fields of research from a religious and ecclesiastical point of view, and from a museological point of view. It is evident that the best intentions do not always generate good results. Researching the field of museums in churches and ex-churches is useful to envisioning a meaningful representation where it is evident that, in any case, there are added complications compared to cases where a museum is hosted in buildings created as museums (Capurro 2016).

One of the most studied cases of a museum-church in Italy is the Museo di Melezet, part of the Sistema Museale Diocesano di Susa (Minucciani 2003), considered among the best examples in ecclesiastical museums because it is possible to conjugate an appropriate interpretation of the building with the dynamism that characterizes the life of the museum. This Sistema Museale was created in 2000 and includes five different museums located in the mountain environment of Valsusa, north-western Italy. With the exception of Museo di Susa and Museo di Arte Religiosa Alpina of Giaglione, the other three museums are in three chapels: Museo Melezet in Bardonecchia, Museo di S.Giorio, and Museo di Novalesa. Among these three, Museo Melezet is the only one where objects of the collections are put on display to recreate the idea of their original function in communication with the space. Thanks to the cultural project, the fundamental position for the life of Sistema Museale, Museo Melezet is to present didactic elements that are helpful for interpreting the complex meanings of the space of a church and all the specificities of the objects created for the cult.

One of the most recent ecclesiastical museums hosted in a church is the Museo Diocesano di Volterra. Inaugurated in autumn 2017, it is a case worth consideration and critical study for its peculiar connotations. The site chosen to host the museum is a still consecrated church in the center of the Tuscan town, with specific artistic decorations, and, above all, a chapel where it is possible to say mass with access from the church itself. The museum's constitution allowed for the opportunity to regenerate the building in dire conditions of conservation in the heart of the town. Nevertheless, the new use of the church is a delicate issue that needs particular attention, even more so because the new destination is an ecclesiastical museum, which by definition is an institution that cannot be indifferent toward a space originally created for liturgy. In the case at hand, the Diocese of Volterra tried to find a solution by entrusting the museum project to highly skilled professionals: Guicciardini & Magni Architetti, Gianmario Magnifico, and Massimo Iarussi. They used different colors and levels in the church to underline the differences of the original use of the building, and tried to maintain a rich narrative, including specific religious characteristics (AMEI 2018). The need to draw attention to the new use of the building is translated through detailed panels. The effectiveness of this project can be measured and assessed after the first season of visits in the summer of 2018.

References

AMEI (Ed.). (2018). Il Museo Diocesano di Volterra. *Arte Cristiana*, 905, 76-78.

Bartolomei, L. (Ed.). (2017). *Il futuro degli edifici di culto*. Bononia, IT: Università di Bologna.

Buggeln, G., Paine, C., & Plate, S.B. (Eds.). *Religion in museums. Global and multidisciplinary perspectives*. London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Capurro, R. (2013). *Musei e oggetti religiosi*. Milan, IT: Vita e Pensiero.

Capurro, R. (2016). La musealizzazione di edifici per il culto. Sfide museografiche e museologiche. In C. Bartolozzi (Ed.), *Patrimonio architettonico religioso. Nuove funzioni e processi di trasformazione* (pp. 239-246). Rome, IT: Gangemi.

Godoli, A. (2015). Orsanmichele: church and museum. In M. Wellington Gahtan (Ed.), *Sacred objects in sacred collections* (pp. 101-116). Florence, IT: Edifir.

Minucciani, V. (2005). *Musei fra immanenza e trascendenza. Esposizioni e raccolte di arte sacra e beni culturali religiosi in Piemonte e in Valle d'Aosta*. Milan, IT: Lybra.

Paine, C. (2013). *Religious objects in museums*. London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Tomatis, P. (2016). Gli edifici ecclesiali, tra culto liturgico e cultura Cristiana. In C. Bartolozzi (Ed.), *Patrimonio architettonico religioso. Nuove funzioni e processi di trasformazione* (pp. 31-38). Rome, IT: Gangemi.

Verdon, T. (2012). Churches, temples, mosques: places of worship or museums? A delicate balance. In M. Wellington Gahtan (Ed.), *Churches, temples, mosques: places of worship or museums?* (pp. 23-33). Florence, IT: Edifir.

Sacred vs. Secular, Peircean Semiotics, and Online Museology

Yun Shun Susie Chung

Southern New Hampshire University – Manchester, New Hampshire, U.S.A.

> "The art of reasoning is the art of marshalling such signs, and of finding out the truth."
> **Charles Sanders Peirce**

Introduction

As the wave of the future of online education persists and moves forward, universities are establishing degree programs in museology where the institutions have found ways to link the hands-on environment with online pedagogical approaches (see, for example, the American Alliance of Museums' Directory of Museum Studies Programs). In this paper, the spectrum of the sacred and secular of online museology and online exhibits in connection with museums, libraries, and archives will be examined. It was questioned back in 2002 on the state of presenting objects or ideas, the hazards of the application of the virtual needed to be checked by museology (Maroević, 2002), but not investigated. *Through Peircean semiotic analysis, the future of online museology will embrace a stronger tie with the sacred and the secular – the tangible and the intangible, in both academia and museums.*

The methodology of this paper is to structure the discussion into the subthemes of the sacred vs. secular, exploring the published museological literature, theory, and case studies, i.e., issues on the repatriation and restitution/illicit trafficking of heritage; object-centered vs. information-centered approach; online museology and aspects of the "sacred". The paper applies a socio-cultural lens through the application of Peircean semiotics. This qualitative research and analysis utilize primary sources to support the argument of this paper sought from online exhibits from museums, libraries, and archives. Case studies are selected to represent two museums, libraries, and archives.

Semiotics and Online Museology

The doctoral dissertation "Museum Semiotics: A New Approach to Museum Communication" examines museum semiotics centering on the relationship between museologists and the public dialogue, the codes, systems, and rules (Horta, 1992). The main focus is Umberto Eco's sign-function concept applying it to the museum message. More museological works on semiotics from the same author are a part of the *International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM) Study Series* (for example, Horta 1991). “A Museum Analysis Model-an Outline” (van Mensch, 1994b) and another unique semiotic analysis is “the characteristics of exhibitions” deciphering various different types into purpose, strategy, style, technique, and diverging policies (van Mensch, 2003). Recent studies on semiotics include the politics of objects, landscapes, interpretation (Chung, 2003; Chung, 2017 September 28; Ferwati and Khalil, 2015). Thus, as far as investigating the published literature in *theoretical museology*, there is no distinctive in-depth examination of Charles Peirce and museum semiotics.

Examining established theories in museology, such as the role of globalization and the computer age, with the changing of cultures as what is perceived to be authentic illuminated from the static perspective to a more contemporary view of the new ideas on culture (Maranda, 2008) and the virtual museum (Mairesse, 2002) have already been discussed. If museology is to embrace this change, how can Peircean semiotics aid to construct and deconstruct the meaning of the online museum exhibits? To delve deeper into this understanding, an examination of “What Is a Sign?” by Charles Peirce (1998), logic, and semiotics is key to the art of reasoning if one masters the art of arranging signs. Bringing all the museological and semiotic concepts together, the sacred and the secular and brick-and-mortar museology have been covered by museological literature mentioned above in regard to the communication of exhibits. The University of Berkeley Library on the West Coast (2016, July 13); Linda Hall Library in Missouri, a southern state (2018); Naper Settlement in Illinois, a mid-western state (2018); Historic Jamestowne (2018) and Jamestowne Settlement in Virginia, a south-eastern state (2018); and University of Maryland Special Collections in Maryland, a north-eastern state (2016, July 13) are the case-study museums to examine the online exhibits.

Sacred vs. Secular and Online Museology

The concept of the sacred versus secular is prominent in the field of cultural anthropology with discussions on objects and systems. In this paper, the focus of this concept is in the realm of the museum field. For example, literature on the illicit trafficking and pillage of heritage is extensive in museum literature (Brodie, N., Renfrew, C., and Doole, J., 2001; Messenger, 1999; O’Keefe, 1997). *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property* is foundational to the concepts of the sacredness of cultural heritage (Messenger, 1999). On the discussion of the sacred as original or authentic and the secular as substitute, this idea was dedicated in an entire *ICOFOM Study Series* (Sofka Ed., 1985), in addition to a particular article in *Museum International* (de Gorgas, 2001).

In lieu of an anthropological theory, the sacred versus the secular can also be understood as the idea-centered versus the object-centered approach (van Mensch, 1993; Washburn 1984). The *Museological Working Papers* (MuWoP) explore the definition of museology and its structure, containing the earlier forms of definitions and the structure of museology as a scientific discipline

(Sofka Ed., 1981), and the definition of museology and its future (Brulon, 2012; Leshchenko, 2012; Mairesse, 2006; Scheiner, 2008; Stransky 1980). Moreover, museologists discuss the concept of the tangible that can be communicated through discourse of the sacredness of the tangible's values through intangible concepts, in other words, cultural, social, and spiritual (Descarolis, 2000; UNESCO, 2016).

The online exhibits can further enlighten the visitor experience in relation with the Keeping Place and museum (Simpson, 2001) to produce a sacred understanding in a secular environment through the unrestricted access of permissible indigenous heritage. For many of the online degree programs in museology and museum studies, what is common for the graduate programs is that at the end of the program there is the thesis, project, or internship that is chosen by the student, ranging from online exhibitions to physical tours (Chapman, 2017; Lange, 2017; Peters, 2017). Another aspect of the challenge is the online visitor as the majority of studies have been conducted on visitors to physical museums (Davis and Smeds, 2016). For most website analytics, it is the number of how many clicks that the museum website receives. Unlike social media, there is not much interaction within the online exhibit. There are some webpages that allow visitors to leave comments; however, it would be an empowering, creative, experiential, and identity-collective visitation if these websites allowed visitors to produce a kind of rapport with "free-range interpretation" (Chung, 2017[a]; Chung 2017b).

Conclusion

Thus the "human inner world" (Scheiner, 2000, p. XIII) can be represented by what is presented as Peircean semiotics, icons, indices, and symbols through virtual reality. The earlier discussions on sacrilization and desacrilization have produced a starting point for exhibitions' brick-and-mortar as well as semiotics in museology to attain improved communication. The strength of online museology is the fact that it is "de-territorialized" accessible to a global community (Scheiner, 2000, p. XIV). In conclusion, online museology and brick-and-mortar museology are no longer polemics of the sacred and secular; and Peircean semiotics helps to define the communication process through deconstruction before final construction in online exhibitions as in a brick-and-mortar exhibition. Sacred and secular and semiotics belong to a dependency within museology programs as a part of the curriculum online or brick-and-mortar.

References

American Alliance of Museums. Directory of Museum Studies Programs. Accessed February 2, 2018. Retrieved from http://aam-us.org/resources/careers/museum-studies).

Brodie, N., Renfrew, C., and Doole, J. (2001). *Trade in Illicit Antiquities: The Destruction of the World's Archaeological Heritage*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Brulon Soares, B. C. (2012). Museology of the Becoming: Museums and their Power as Schools of Perspectives. *ICOFOM Study Series* 41, 114-124.

Chapman, S. (2017). *Through the Eyes of the Liberators: Soldiers' Perspectives* (Master's Thesis in History/Public History, Southern New Hampshire University).

Chung, Y.S.S. (2003). Object of Exhibit: Legitimizing the Building of the National Museum of Korea. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9 (3), 229-242.

Chung, Y.S.S. (2017[a], September 28). The Poetics and Geopolitics of Interpretation and Non-Profit vs. Income Generator of the Function of Museums," 40th International Committee for Museology Annual Symposium, Cuba, 25-29 September 2017.

Chung, Y.S.S. (Summer/Fall 2017b). Collections of Historical Markers and Signage and Public Programming Online at Public History Institutions Such as Museums and Archives. *Collections: A Journal for Museums and Archives Professionals* 13 (3/4), 243-262, edited by J. Decker.

Davis, A. and Smeds, K. (Eds.), *Visiting the Visitor: An Enquiry Into the Visitor Business in Museums*. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript, 72-88.

Decarolis, N. (2000). The Tangible and Intangible Heritage. *ICOFOM Study Series* 32, 2000, 35–39.

Ferwati, S. and Khalil, R.F. (2015). Semiotic Aspects of Museum Landscape: Contextual Integration and Symbolic Application. *International Journal of the Inclusive Museum*, 8 (3), 17-31.

Gorgas, M. R. de (2001). "Reality as Illusion, the Historic Houses that Become Museums." *Museum International,* 53 (2), 10-15.

Historic Jamestowne (2018). Accessed February 2, 2018. Retrieved from http://historicjamestowne.org/.

Historic Jamestown Settlement (2018). Accessed February 2, 2018. Retrieved from https://www.visitwilliamsburg.com/trip-idea/itinerary-tale-two-jamestowns.

Horta, M. (1991). Museum Language and Exhibitions Speeches – A Chicken and Egg Discussion. ICOFOM Study Series 19, 55–60.

Horta, M. (1992). Museum Semiotics: *A New Approach to Museum Communication* (Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D. Department of Museum Studies University of Leicester, Faculty of Arts, April 1992).

Lange, S. Chicago Shipwrecks: Disasters and their Impact on Maritime Law. (Master's Thesis in History/Public History, Southern New Hampshire University, 2017). SNHU Academic Archive. Accessed February 6, 2018. Retrieved from URL: https://academicarchive.snhu.edu/handle/10474/3177.

Leshchenko, A. (2012). Empowering Digital Museum Audiences to Foster Museum Communication. *ICOFOM Study Series* 41, 2012, 237–244.

Linda Hall Library (2018). Online Exhibits. Accessed February 2, 2018. Retrieved from http://www.lindahall.org/online-exhibitions/.

Mairesse, F. (2006). L'histoire de la muséologie est-elle finie? *ICOFOM Study Series*, 35, 81–88.

Mairesse, F. Muséologie et presentation: où sont les varies choses? *ICOFOM Study Series* 33b, 81–88.

Maranda, L. (2008). Museums, Museology and Global Communications: Whither Cultural Diversity? *ICOFOM Study Series* 37, 133–138.

Maroević, I. (2002). What Is It That We Are Presenting in a Museum – Objects or Ideas? *ICOFOM Study Series* 33b, 2002, 69 - 73.

Messenger, P. (1999). *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Naper Settlement's online exhibit. (2018). Accessed February 2, 2018. Retrieved from https://napersettlement.oncell.com/en/index.html?label=Welcome.

O'Keefe, P. (1997). *Trade in Antiquities: Reducing Destruction and Theft*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

Peters, D. Exhibit: World War and the Community It Created (Master's Thesis in History/Public History, Southern New Hampshire University, 2017). SNHU Academic Archive.

Peirce, C. S. (1994). *Peirce on Signs: Writings on Semiotic*, James Hoopes, ed., Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.

Peirce, C. S. (1998). *The Essential Peirce, Volume 2: Selected Philosophical Writings (1893–1913)*. The Peirce Edition Project, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Scheiner, T. (2000). "Museology and Intangible Heritage: The Virtual Experience. *ICOFOM Study Series* 32, Supplement, viii-xv.

Scheiner, T. (2008). Museum And Museology: Changing Roles Or Changing Paradigms ? *ICOFOM Study Series* 37, 81 – 89.

Simpson, M. (2001). *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era*. London: Routledge.

Sofka, V. (Ed.). (1981) Systematics and Systems in Museology. *Museological Working Papers* 2, 67-80.

Sofka, V. (Ed.). (1985) Originals and substitutes in Museums. *ICOFOM Study Series* 8 and 9 (Stockholm).

Stransky, Z.Z. (1980). Museology as a Science. *Museologia* 11 (15), 33-40.

UNESCO. (1970). "Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Property." Accessed January 5, 2018. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/1970-convention/.

University of California at Berkeley (2018). Online Exhibits. Accessed February 2, 2018. Retrieved from http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/about/online-exhibits.

University of Maryland Libraries Special Collections (2018). Online Exhibits. Accessed February 2, 2018. Retrieved from https://www.lib.umd.edu/special/exhibits/digitalexhibits.

van Mensch, P. (1993). Towards Museums for a New Century. *ICOFOM Study Series* 22, 15–19.

van Mensch, P. (1994). Museum analysis model – an outline. In P. van Mensch ed. (1994). *Theoretical Museology* [textbook]. Amsterdam: Master's Degree Programme on Museology, Faculty of Museology, Reinwardt Academy, 183-184.

van Mensch, P. (2003). The Characteristics of Exhibitions. *Museum Aktuell* (92), 3980-3985.

Washburn, W.E. (1984). Collecting Information, Not Objects. *Museum News* 62 (3), 5-15.

La museología y lo sagrado – La resacralización del museo

Marília Xavier Cury

Museo de Arqueología y Etnología de la Universidad de São Paulo, MAE-USP – São Paulo, Brasil

La investigación y los indígenas

Reflexionar sobre lo sagrado es una búsqueda de otros puntos de vista y los indígenas tienen un espacio importante a ocupar con trabajos colaborativos (Roca, 2015b). Actualmente practicamos una curaduría compartida, recalificación de colecciones y otras acciones que introducen múltiples voces y auto narrativas, no como apertura de los museos, sino como movimiento de esos grupos indígenas para garantizar sus derechos a la memoria (Nora, 2009) en los museos. La apropiación de los museos por distintos grupos está legitimada, y particularizamos los procesos de "indigenización" de los museos (Roca, 2015[a]).

La investigación empezó en 2010, sigue en colaboración[1], hoy desarrolla[2] una exhibición con las áreas de acción educativa y de organización de publicaciones, auto narrativa[3] y un catálogo compartido con el MAE-USP[4]. La investigación involucra indígenas del Oeste de la provincia de São Paulo, Kaingang, Guarani Nhandewa y Terena de las tierras indígenas (TI) Araribá, Icatu y Vanuíre. Hay en MAE colecciones de esos grupos recolectadas en 1947 en la región por Schaden y Baldus, y contribuciones de C. Nimuendaju Unkel y donaciones de la *Comissão Geográfica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo* de inicios del siglo XX.

En la actualidad, entre las tantas obligaciones y responsabilidades que poseen, los museos deben informar a los grupos sobre las colecciones recolectadas, pues es un derecho de los indígenas tener acceso a los objetos de sus antepasados. En la investigación, tratamos la recalificación de las colecciones, para elaborar una narrativa acorde con los relatos indígenas – hablar de sí mismos, ser los investigadores de sus culturas y representarse en el presente, pues existen y están ubicados en un lugar.

La investigación a largo plazo permite construir confianza, trabajo que remite a capas superpuestas de relaciones conflictivas de más de 500 años de opre-

---

1. Sobre la investigación, ver: Cury, 2016, Cury, 2014, Cury, 2012.
2. Coordinación de Marília X. Cury y equipo: Carla G. Carneiro, Maurício André da Silva e Viviane W. Guimarães.
3. Ver: http://www.livrosabertos.sibi.usp.br/portaldelivrosUSP/catalog/book/203.
4. Resultados preliminares, ver: Cury, 2017[a], Cury, 2017b.

sión, aún hoy activa como etnocidio, que es más sutil que el genocidio, pero peligroso en los *modus operandi* de la hegemonía.

Tratándose de lo sagrado en el museo, los indígenas nos vienen enseñando con los saberes de la espiritualidad. Los saberes y las prácticas espirituales de esos indígenas son mantenidos por la tradición, las culturas fortalecidas y rehechas.

Hace mucho que los museos tratan lo sagrado y la idea de patrimonio se sigue apropiando de los objetos sagrados. Con la espiritualidad indígena como eje, nos apartamos de ciertas concepciones, para quebrar paradigmas. Las concepciones de artes sacras son limitadas, como también las categorías patrimoniales de los lugares, los objetos y las prácticas. También las categorías como patrimonio religioso mueble e inmueble, tangible e intangible (Aulet, Mundet & Vidal, 2017) no logran abarcar la discusión propuesta, como tampoco las funciones religiosas, culturales o turísticas (Crous, Aulet & Kanaan, 2017). Los puntos de vista de los indígenas: conocer y respetar los saberes tradicionales como base para plantear la curaduría y planear la museografía. Hacer parte los sufrimientos, la lucha y la resistencia cultural, como elementos constitutivos de esa complejidad. De acuerdo con Boaventura de Souza Santos:

> *as epistemologias do sul são um conjunto de procedimentos que visam reconhecer e validar o conhecimento produzido – ou a produzir – por aqueles que têm sofrido sistematicamente as injustiças, a opressão a dominação, e a exclusão, causadas pelo capitalismo, pelo colonialismo e pelo patriarcado. (Santos*[1] apud *Porto, 2016, p. 61-62)*

En estos términos, Brasil y São Paulo se colocan como norte para los indígenas y otros grupos discriminados históricamente por la visión colonialista. Se establece una relación entre norte y sur que no es geográfica, sino de poder y dominación del norte sobre el sur. Los desfavorecidos y oprimidos son colocados constantemente en la posición de inferiorización del sur por aquellos que se mantienen en la posición hegemónica en el norte. Los museos participan de ese proceso hegemónico, lo que debemos explicitar con la epistemología del sur para la transformación de esa situación. Por lo tanto la discusión sobre lo sagrado en el museo desde la visión indígena puede aportarnos elementos muy importantes para la discusión.

Argumentos para la discusión

En primer término, los indígenas viven lo sagrado. Entre los Kaingang, la Paje, sucesora de su madre, presenció la discriminación sufrida por ella por años. Ahora, no tiene miedo de presentarse como Paje, sabe que tiene la responsabilidad de proteger a su pueblo y a las personas de su cultura. Ella enseña a los niños dentro de la espiritualidad, para respetar las orientaciones y saber protegerse del prejuicio dentro y fuera de la aldea.

1. 2011, Épistémologies du sud, Études Rerales.

Los rituales están presentes en la resistencia cultural, como afirma la Paje Dirce Jorge Lipu Pereira

> *[...] não adianta você viver dentro de uma reserva [indígena] se não tem o conhecimento do seu povo, do seu passado. Você vai deixar de viver. Porque, sem a cultura e nossos rituais, quem somos nós? Hoje se temos força, é de viver o nosso passado. É nisso que encontramos mais força ainda*[1]*. (Pereira, 2016, p. 54)*

Vivir la espiritualidad es aceptar que los antepasados están en el cotidiano, conforme a José Campos, Kaingang:

> *É como se minha avó estivesse falando agora. [...] A gente conversa com várias pessoas. Pensamento vem tipo relâmpago que tem que falar naquela hora. Tudo vem do pessoal que já se foram e estão junto da gente espiritualmente [...] é como se ela estivesse falando agora*[2]. (Campos, 2016, p. 61)

Pereira y Campos estuvieron en el MAE en 2017 para la recalificación de las colecciones Kaingang, nos alertaron que los objetos que evocan a los ancestros no podían ser manipulados. Advertidos que las piezas no podrían ser medidas, les dijimos que tendríamos que manipularlas. Contestaron que nosotros podíamos, pues cuidamos – curamos –, por eso el diálogo con los indígenas es un camino inevitable para buenas prácticas y reposicionamiento profesional.

En segundo término, la espiritualidad es parte del cotidiano indígena, pero es una realidad con normas propias que orientan la vida social. Un ejemplo con el ñandú, ave sagrada para los Terena. Está en el cielo como constelación, en el "penacho" de los Paje y en la vestimenta masculina de la Danza del Ñandú, *Hiyokena Kipâe*. En la restauración de la vestimenta en 2018 aprendimos a respetar los plumajes sagrados; a dejar las plumas caídas sueltas, pues están así por voluntad de los espíritus; al guardar los fragmentos de plumas desplegadas, no pueden ser pisados pues son igualmente sagrados. Sobre el penacho, como es un objeto de los Pajés sólo puede ser hecho por una persona de Fe. La manipulación de las plumas del ñandú está restringida a los hombres, pero hemos sido informados de que las mujeres que trabajan en el MAE están autorizadas para tratar las plumas pues están cuidando – curando –, por eso entrenarse es importante para nosotros y para los Terena.

En tercer término, la espiritualidad es un sistema de comunicación en el cual los Paje ocupan un rol importante. Los Pajes establecen comunicaciones con los espíritus, reciben orientaciones, confirmaciones y reprensiones. Tienen sus asistentes y alrededor está la gente que acepta la espiritualidad en su vida. En el museo, los Pajes y sus asistentes tienen un papel que solo ellos pueden cumplir, por ejemplo, en la identificación de objetos sagrados o para preparar

1. Traducido pela autora.
2. Traducido pela autora.

los restos, esqueletos o huesos humanos en la reserva técnica. Ningún profesional, incluso los investigadores, debería manipular restos humanos antes de llamar a un Paje para obtener la debida orientación y autorización, como cuidado espiritual, pues son entes humanos. Los Pajes y asistentes pueden enseñarnos a ser sensibles en cuanto a exhibiciones y acciones educativas acerca de la muerte, los entierros y estructuras u objetos funerarios de humanos. Una pedagogía museológica no puede olvidar esas lecciones.

Y por último, mientras los territorios indígenas sean espacios sagrados – de prácticas, luchas, violencia, opresión, exterminio, resistencia, conquistas – como también las florestas y lugares rituales, los museos poden ser consagrados. La consagración de los museos es trabajo de los Pajes, pues son ellos los que saben cuándo y por qué. En cierta ocasión, un Paje Kaingang, hombre de más de 90 años, un sabio, estaba con nosotros. En medio de la exhibición sobre su pueblo, reunió a todos los Kaingang presentes, cantaron y danzaron lo que aprendieron de los antiguos que se fueron, evocaron los héroes míticos y celebraron su cultura. En ese momento el Paje bautizó a una niña kaingang. Hoy entiendo que él eligió el museo para que los kaingang se fortalecieran corporal y espiritualmente. Así, el museo fue consagrado por los Paje y podrá serlo muchas otras veces por otros, cuando sea merecedor de confianza. Para eso la Museología precisa trabajar aún más, para construir respeto de los pueblos indígenas.

Conclusiones

Hoy vivimos grandes cambios y la Museología puede contribuir con procesos colaborativos como la curaduría museológica. Con la colaboración, conseguimos conocer otras perspectivas de vida que deben ser respetadas por los museos.

La desacralización de los museos está superada, no tiene más sentido, otros saberes deben ser respetados e introducidos en el museo. Las lecciones acerca de la resacralización de los museos son nuevas y precisan ser estructuradas para ser incorporadas a la curaduría.

No son los museos los que hacen sagrado al objeto, pero son los objetos sagrados para las culturas indígenas los que hacen del museo un lugar de nuevos aprendizajes. Para ello, los profesionales de museos necesitan estar preparados en un profundo respeto a los saberes indígenas.

Referencias

Aulet, S., Mundet, L., & Vidal-Casellas. (2017). Monasteries and tourism: interpreting sacred landscape through gastronomy. *Ritur*, 11(1), 175-196.

Campos, J. S. B. (2016). Preservação da cultura Kaingang pelo conhecimento dos antepassados. In: *Povos indígenas e psicologia. A procura do bem* *viver*. (pp.58-63). São Paulo: Conselho Regional de Psicologia de São Paulo.

Crous Costa, N., Aulet Serrallonga, S. & Kanaan Amat, M. (2017). Lo Sagrado en el museo: más allá del objeto literal. *Ritur*, 7, 281-296.

Cury, M. X. (2017[a]). Circuitos museais para a visitação crítica: descolonização e protagonismo indígena. *Ritur*, 7, 87-113.

Cury, M. X. (2017b). Lições Indígenas para a Descolonização dos Museus – Processos Comunicacionais em discussão. *Cadernos CIMEAC*, 7, 1, 184-211.

Cury, M. X. (2016). Relações (possíveis) museus e indígenas – em discussão uma circunstância museal. In: Lima Filho, M., Abreu, R., & Athias, R. (Org.). *Museus e atores sociais: perspectivas antropológicas*. (pp. 149-170). Recife: UFPE: ABA.

Cury, M. X. (2014). Museologia e conhecimento, conhecimento museológico – uma perspectiva dentre muitas. *Museologia & Interdisciplinaridade*, 3, 5, 55-73.

Cury, M. X. (2012). Museologia, comunicação museológica e narrativa indígena: A experiência do Museu Histórico e Pedagógico Índia Vanuíre. *Museologia & Interdisciplinaridade*, 1, 49-76.

Nora, P. (2009). Memória: da liberdade à tirania. *Musas*, 4, 6-10.

Pereira, D. J. L. Resistência e defesa da cultura Kaingang. In: *Povos indígenas e psicologia. A procura do bem viver*. (pp.53-57). São Paulo: Conselho Regional de Psicologia de São Paulo.

Porto, N. (2016). Para uma museologia do sul global. Multiversidade, descolonização e indigenização dos museus. *Revista Mundaú*, 1, 59-72.

Roca, A. (2015[a]). Acerca dos processos de indigenização dos museus: uma análise comparativa. *Mana*, 21, 1, 123-155.

Roca, A. (2015b). Museus indígenas na Costa Noroeste do Canadá e nos Estados Unidos: colaboração, colecionamento e autorrepresentação. Revista de Antropologia, 58, 117-142.

D’un temple à l’autre, le retable : jaillissement de l’invisible au Moyen Age comme au musée ?

Fanny Fouché

Ecole du Louvre, Paris, France/IHAM, Université de Neuchâtel – Suisse

Le sacré peut-il vraiment entrer au musée ? La sacralité est-elle tout entière contenue dans les objets numineux ? Où résident les enjeux et les difficultés de leur transmission muséale ? Pour éclairer ces questions en lien avec la problématique de l’exposition du sacré, cette communication propose de prendre le retable pour observatoire. Elle suit ainsi une démarche double. Enrichir la compréhension des variations que l’institution muséale élabore autour d’un objet vécu comme sacré pour le contexte qui l’a vu naître et remonter pour cela la piste de l’objet sacral lui-même et des conditions initiales de sa mise en visibilité. Chercher où se loge la numinosité du tableau d’autel à partir de la fin du Moyen Age invite à se placer dans la perspective d’une phénoménologie de la vision dans la sensibilité médiévale. L’éclosion du sacré dépasse les limites de l’objet et résulte de processus dynamiques de sacralisation au terme desquels une épiphanie advient, métamorphosant la réalité immanente d’objet en réalité transcendante. La compréhension de la spécificité des enveloppes sacrales tissant - dans le contexte de l’église médiévale - les conditions de l’apparition de cet objet en tant que creuset de passage vers l’au-delà[1] invite à adopter la même démarche pour observer ce qu’il advient de cet objet liminal au sein de cette autre fabrique de sens qu’est le musée. La présentation de la Maestà de Cimabue, de *Saint François recevant les stigmates* par Giotto ou encore des anges des panneaux de Fra Angelico dans le Carré du Louvre pourrait-elle ne pas suffire ? Qu’est-ce qui pourrait faire qu’accrochées sur les cimaises des galeries muséales, les *Vierge* à l’Enfant et autres *Crucifixions* apparaissent parfois comme suspendues, hors d’elles-mêmes ? Le musée rendrait-il davantage intelligibles ces œuvres en éclairant qu’elles ne furent pas d’abord seulement des tableaux ? Quelque chose en lien avec leur destination, les croyances comme les pratiques de la dévotion qui s’y attachaient depuis la fin du Moyen Age pourrait-il être transmis en même temps que l’évidence de leurs qualités plastiques ? Puisque retirer le retable du sanctuaire, c’est immédiatement retirer le sanctuaire du retable, pour paraphraser Fisher (1991)[2], quelle posture peut adopter l’instance muséale pour permettre une appréhension anthropo-

---

1. La hiérophanie, c’est l’éclosion du sacré non à l’état pur, mais manifesté à travers quelque chose d’autre, qu’il s’agisse du mythe, du symbole, d’un être ou d’un objet. (Eliade, 1965)

2. *Take the crucifix out of the cathedral and you take the cathedral out of the crucifix*, p. 19

logique juste des objets qu'elle thésaurise pour les générations futures ? Déambuler dans l'espace solennel de la Grande Galerie du Louvre, c'est assister au triomphe de « la qualité de la peinture, [de] l'autorité des grands styles et [du] prestige des grands noms » (Chastel, [1993], 2002, p. 8). L'esthétique de ces œuvres n'est pas une invention du musée. Elle les caractérise dès l'instant de leur commande. Ce que le musée fait advenir *de facto*, c'est l'isolement du chef-d'œuvre. La nouvelle de cette amputation n'en est pas une : Quatremère de Quincy la déplorait déjà il y a deux cents ans dans ses *Lettres à Miranda*. Pourrait-on imaginer qu'en évoquant uniquement trois caractéristiques de l'existence antérieure de ces objets, le musée en permette une approche plus holistique ? Si oui, lesquelles ? Le contexte d'apparition de ces œuvres serait la première. Il s'agirait de convoquer l'église médiévale et de la donner à voir comme le lieu d'une hyper-sacralisation, comme l'épicentre de la société occidentale chrétienne depuis la fin du Moyen Age.[1] Ensuite, de ce tableau que l'accrochage horizontalise, on pourrait rappeler qu'il était une cloison dressée au cœur du sanctuaire[2], un *retabulum*, « panneau de derrière », ce qui signifie aussi qu'on pouvait en faire le tour. Elevé au-dessus de l'autel, il n'existait qu'en lien avec la célébration eucharistique, avec l'hostie dans le tabernacle et avec les reliques insérées dans la table.[3] Enfin, il s'agirait de suggérer combien le retable est une « figure de mystère et renvoie vers le mystère » (Dupront, 1987, p. 102). Par l'effet de la contemplation, de l'oraison, par l'imprégnation de l'espérance, il est lieu d'une conjonction possible entre Ciel et Terre, « point paradoxal de passage d'un mode d'être à un autre » pour Mircea Eliade (1965, p. 30). Qu'examine-t-on en considérant les redéploiements muséographiques de cet objet tendu vers l'irruption fugitive du sacré sous la forme du « tout autre »[4] ? On tâche de mettre en lumière, en amont, les épisodes et leurs heurts par lesquels ces œuvres ont été prélevées de leur contexte initial de vénération. On s'intéresse au processus de sélection, aux formes de l'appropriation muséale ainsi qu'à la lente transmutation de la cloison d'autel en tableau. Pour Ames, (1994/1995, p. 61),

> *La re-représentation d'un objet dans l'enceinte muséale n'est pas plus artificielle que sa représentation première mais constitue simplement un autre artifice.*

Cette conception invite à conduire cet examen en s'imprégnant de la dimension profondément historique et sociologique des pérégrinations ininterrompues

---

1. Voir notamment (Baschet, 2008) p. 73.
2. L'église se compose d'une succession de seuils depuis le porche et la nef, associés au combat spirituel, vers l'abside qui ouvre symboliquement sur la plénitude paradisiaque, Voir (Baschet, 2008) au point « L'image en son lieu ».
3. Sur les retables du début du Moyen Age, lire le catalogue de l'exposition *Premiers retables. Une mise en scène du sacré,* Musée du Louvre, 2009.
4. Formulation qu'on retrouve chez Rudolph Otto, Mircea Eliade, ou pour notre recherche entre les pages d'Alphonse Dupront.

de l'objet.[1] Peut-être ce travail demande-t-il alors de questionner l'orientation muséologique dont la dimension téléologique pourrait tendre à faire du musée la destination finale de l'objet déplacé. Revisiter le concept de transfert culturel[2] pourrait alors permettre de s'attacher à éclairer le continuum de la circulation des objets sacrés, dont le musée n'est qu'une étape parmi d'autres. Etapes qui ont, à chaque fois, produit des dynamiques de re-sémantisation mais entre lesquelles l'objet sacral est demeuré inchangé. La question est donc : est-il possible, dans l'espace par définition autre du musée, d'accompagner aujourd'hui la réception d'un phénomène élaboré par la dévotion médiévale ? Conservatoire de l'existence matérielle de ces créations, le musée peut-il également transmettre à l'œil et à l'esprit contemporain quelque chose de ce qui s'y jouait, au-delà du visible, dans l'espérance médiévale ?[3] La présentation des polyptyques du Wallraf Museum de Cologne semble indiquer que oui.

Qu'est-ce qui, dès le seuil[4], favorise là une perception des œuvres incluant leur sens premier ? C'est tout d'abord le revêtement bleu roi étoilé d'or emprunté à la palette et aux motifs des panneaux au mur qui installe immédiatement la réception du côté de la sensibilité médiévale. L'accrochage de la Crucifixion monumentale à la même hauteur que celle de Giotto à la croisée du transept de l'église Santa Maria Novela à Florence va dans le même sens. Au sol, la salle elle-même prend le parti d'adopter le plan d'une croix, marquant symboliquement de ce signe l'ensemble du département des peintures médiévales du musée. Dans chacun des « bras de la croix », un triptyque est présenté frontalement ouvert, tandis que deux autres se font face sur les côtés. Si une telle proximité entre les retables surprend, elle peut renvoyer à la multiplicité des autels dans l'espace du sanctuaire ainsi qu'aux hiérarchies distinguant autel majeur et secondaires. Enfin, le choix expographique le plus éloquent consiste à avoir remplacé le système traditionnel de contemplation de la galerie d'art avec ses confortables banquettes par des bancs d'église en chêne confrontant ainsi le visiteur à la forme première de la visibilité de ces œuvres en contexte ecclésial. Le musée n'est pas l'église, c'est évident. Pour autant, bien que vides de reliques autant que du corps du Christ, cet autel et cette croix de plexiglas agissent puissamment sur la réception autant que l'accrochage presque à même le sol des triptyques de Rothko dans la chapelle des Menil à Houston, toiles monumentales également données à contempler sur des bancs d'église. Ce sont peut-être là des façons pour le musée de permettre à la sensibilité contemporaine de se

---

1. On peut pour cela également s'appuyer sur les travaux d'Appadurai (1986).

2. Sur la problématique des transferts culturels, voir Michel Espagne, «La Notion De Transfert Culturel « Revue Sciences/Lettres [En ligne] (2013).

3. Elément ayant trait à l'apparition, mais également à son pendant qu'on peut aborder comme « désapparition » tel que le fait Benjamin Delmotte (2016) dans sa thèse

4. Comme dans l'espace sacral de l'église, le seuil participe activement de la construction de l'espace muséal comme « lieu autre » permettant l'avènement de nouvelles formes de sacralité. Mobiliser les notions foucaldiennes développées dans *Les hétérotopies* (2009) pour examiner ces espaces sera alors passionnant.

souvenir que *la grâce, la paix, le silence et parfois l'insoutenable des œuvres conduisent au cœur de la transcendance* (Ponnau, 2010, p. 15 & 16).

Bibliographie

Ames, M. M. (1994/1995). The Nature of Numinosity and its Museological Reconstruction. *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, 52/53*, 61-64.

Appadurai, A. (1986). *The social life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baschet, J. (2008). *L'iconographie médiévale*. Paris: Gallimard.

Chastel, A. ([1993], 2002). *Histoire du retable italien des origines à 1500*. Paris: Liana Levi.

Delmotte, B. (2016). *Le visible et l'intouchable. La vision et son épreuve phénoménologique dans l'oeuvre d'Alberto Giacometti*. Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme.

Dupront, A. (1987). *Du sacré : croisades et pèlerinages, images et langages*. Paris: Gallimard.

Eliade, M. (1965). *Le sacré et le profane*. Paris: Gallimard.

Fisher, P. (1991). *Making and Effacing Art: Modern American Art in a Culture of Museums*: Oxford University Press.

Foucault, M. (2009). *Le corps utopique (suivi de) Les Hétérotopies*. Paris: Nouvelles Editions Lignes.

Le Pogam, P.-Y., & Vivet-Peclet, C. a. d. (2009). Les premiers retables (XII^{e}-début du XV^{e}). Une mise en scène du sacré. In d. a. a. j. Musée du Louvre (Ed.). Paris: Musée du Louvre Editions.

Otto, R. (1968 [1ère éd. 1917]). *Le sacré : l'élément non-rationnel dans l'idée du divin et sa relation avec le rationnel [trad. française par André Jundt de Das Heilige. Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*. Paris: Payot.

Ponnau, D. (2010). *Labours sur la mer. Questions autour de notre héritage culturel et spirituel*. Paris : Parole et Silence.

La Museología Mexicana y lo sagrado

Scarlet Rocío Galindo Monteagudo
Museo Nacional de la Acuarela — Ciudad de México, México

El presente texto tienen como objetivo revisar cómo la museología mexicana ha intentado desacralizar los objetos o preservar el "aura" (Benjamin, 2011) de los mismos. Para este caso de estudio se revisaron museos estatales que tienen objetos religiosos dentro de su colección y museos privados que pertenecen a la iglesia o particulares que tienen objetos religiosos.

Introducción

La historia de México ha estado íntimamente relacionada con la religión católica. Un país con un vasto patrimonio cultural, un pasado prehispánico con pueblos que aún intentan rescatar sus tradiciones, y que al ser colonizado entre 1519 y 1521 por la corona Española fue evangelizado como parte de la conquista.

Los españoles al ver las coincidencias entre las creencias indígenas y las propias, cambiaron el culto prehispánico a un Dios protector, por la visión de santos patronos provenientes de Europa, sustituyendo con el tiempo a las deidades locales (López Austin, 1973, p. 76). Se mantuvo, sin embargo, una relación indisoluble entre la autoridad civil y la religiosa en la entonces Nueva España. Situación que se prolongó hasta mediados del siglo XVIII, cuando con la aparición de ideas ilustradas que llegaron de la mano de las Reformas Borbónicas y que promovían la secularización de la autoridad civil, se empezó a restar poder a la iglesia.

La Virgen de Guadalupe es un claro ejemplo del sincretismo de creencias indígenas y católicas. El uso de esta imagen como parte de la religión e historia de México comienza desde el *Catálogo del Museo Indiano*, de Lorenzo Boturini, que aparece en la tercera década del siglo XVIII con la idea de "resignificar" lo desconocido-americano, darle sentido en Occidente y documentar la aparición milagrosa de la Virgen. Es entonces cuando el coleccionismo "quería probar un pasado, un origen y un vínculo que pudiera ubicarse, inclusive, más allá del mundo terrenal-racional" (Morales Moreno, 1994, p. 29). Este hecho podría marcarse como el principio de un lazo entre la fe y el conocimiento histórico de México. Esto se pone de manifiesto cuando comienza la lucha por la independencia de la Nueva España en 1810, pues se utiliza el estandarte con la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe como símbolo patrio. Posteriormente, en el Plan de Iguala proclamado por Agustín de Iturbide el 24 de febrero de 1821 (2007), se declara la independencia de la corona española, y se establece a la religión católica como única.

Los primeros espacios museales en México son anteriores a la Independencia, en 1790 aparece el Gabinete de Historia Natural que se encontraba en el jardín botánico del Palacio Virreinal y en 1792 la Galería de la Academia de San Carlos dedicada a la exhibición de piezas de arte. Será hasta 1825 cuando por decreto del primer presidente de México se crea el Museo Nacional Mexicano presentando una idea de identidad nacional (Fernández, 1987, p. 6). El rescate del pasado prehispánico estuvo ligado a la vida religiosa católica, el jesuita Francisco Xavier Clavijero, intentó establecer la idea de una mexicanidad ilustrada, en su texto *Historia antigua de México* (1982), refuta la tesis de la "inferioridad americana" que había establecido el clérigo holandés Corneille de Pauw, y aconseja prudencia en el despojo y reapropiación del pasado indígena. Clavijero buscó vincular así el pasado prehispánico al presente novohispano, intentando crear un museo criollo, que recuperara los restos del "otro-diferente". Los elementos del pasado prehispánico eran enviados al Gabinete de Madrid como parte de las políticas de Carlos III, con algunas excepciones como fue el caso de la Coatlicue, que fue enviada a la Universidad y exhibida como elemento artístico en un principio, hasta su llegada a la Sala de Monolitos del Museo Nacional (Morales Moreno, 1994).

El laicismo y la desamortización de los bienes de la Iglesia, llegará a México por medio de las Leyes de Reforma promulgadas en 1856, dejando a un sinfín de objetos y edificios religiosos en manos del Estado Mexicano. Otros objetos fueron subastados públicamente y también destruidos o mutilados por el reacomodo urbano de la Ciudad (González Colín, 2009, p. 11); se repite así la mecánica de la conquista, el pasado trata de ser ocultado u olvidado.

Museos estatales en recintos religiosos y su museografía

La red de museos estatales que resguarda el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) abarca 121 espacios museísticos (INAH, 2015), de los cuales 33 están establecidos en edificios que originalmente sirvieron al culto católico. Únicamente 24 de ellos conservan además del edificio algún objeto religioso que los vincula con su pasado, los otros presentan discursos museográficos diferentes, relacionados con la historia del país utilizando el inmueble como contenedor de objetos (Secretaria de Cultura, 2017). La museografía de estos lugares es muy parecida, tiende a presentar de manera histórica algunos hechos, haciendo mención en ocasiones a la vida conventual, o la relevancia de la orden religiosa que los habitó. Los objetos no son presentados como parte del culto católico, sino a través de una museografía que pretende restarles su "aura" (Benjamin, 2011).

Lo mismo ocurre con los museos pertenecientes al Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes y Literatura (INBAL), dos museos en espacios que sirvieron al culto religioso: el museo Ex Teresa Arte Actual, ubicado en donde funcionó el templo y convento de Santa Teresa la Antigua, dedicado al arte actual, y específicamente la instalación del Laboratorio Arte Alameda en el antiguo convento de San Diego, que actualmente exhibe arte contemporáneo, especialmente video arte (INBA).

La Secretaría de Defensa Nacional también cuenta con dos museos en antiguas iglesias: el Museo Nacional de la Cartografía, ubicado en la iglesia de San José ex convento de San Diego en Tacubaya y el Museo del Ejército y Fuerza Aérea Mexicanos "Bethlemitas", en un edificio estilo barroco construido en el año 1675 por esa orden religiosa, el cual exhibe una colección de armas (Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, 2017).

Tal parece que para la museología mexicana una manera de desacralizar los espacios es desvincularlos del culto al que pertenecieron, presentándolos con un discurso histórico y convirtiéndolos en documentos, o bien cambiando por completo su sentido original, colocando objetos no relacionados con el espacio. En este sentido, se parece mucho a la idea de la que podríamos denominar museología novohispana, aquella que conservó los objetos, pero los mandó a otro espacio, con la idea de preservarlos por su belleza, rareza o historia, pero sin tener que ver con la religión o culto que representaban. Pero ¿qué pasa con los museos que aún se encuentran en espacios de culto vivo, como son el Museo en la Catedral Mexicana y el Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe? En estos espacios el término sagrado que designa todo aquello que es consagrado a una divinidad o culto, o que está relacionado con alguna religión y sus misterios, aún se encuentra implícito (Significados, 2013).

Museos de la Arquidiócesis y recintos privados dedicados a la religión

Existen 10 museos que pertenecen a la iglesia católica y que presentan historias de la devoción y el arte sacro (González Colín, 2009, pp. 153-161). También existen espacios privados en Totatiche, Jalisco, el primero dedicado al Beato Cristóbal Magallanes y el segundo al Obispo José Pilar Quezada, ambos con elementos y objetos sobre la vida e historia evangelizadora de estos personajes.

Estos espacios aunque pretenden presentar sus objetos como documentos históricos u obras de arte, no lo logran. Separar la idea del culto del objeto es un proceso más complicado de lo que se supone, más aun, a los museos que no están relacionados con la religión llega gente que ora o es detenida por los custodios cuando pretende besar una imagen. En el año 2009 la museóloga Elena González Colín realizó, con la colaboración de la autora del presente trabajo, un estudio de público en el Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, ubicado a un costado de la Nueva Basílica. El museo tenía los siguientes objetivos:

1. Rescatar parte de las manifestaciones artísticas que se han desarrollado en torno a la Virgen de Guadalupe.
2. Difundir el acervo artístico que se ha reunido a través de los siglos.
3. Mostrar su acervo bajo un enfoque histórico-estético.
4. Presentar un panorama general del arte religioso bajo una interpretación académica.
5. Estructurar la exposición según subgéneros del arte religioso: hagiográfico, mariano, cristológico, angelical, eclesiástico.
6. Conservar y restaurar los objetos de su acervo (González Colín, 2009, pp. 62-63).

Para poder saber si la gente al salir del recinto tenía en realidad un panorama del arte religioso y sus divisiones, se encuestaron a 245 personas y cuando se les preguntaba sobre la temática del museo, el 98.4% al visitarlo pensaba en la religión, mientras que sólo el 1.6% pensaba en los pintores novohispanos que se exhibían en ese espacio. Lo mismo pasaba cuando visitaban las exposiciones temporales del museo, a un 99.2% de los encuestados les hacían pensar sobre su religión, a un 0.8% sobre el arte y al 0 % sobre la historia de ellos.

Por lo que podemos decir que, aunque los museos al presentar de forma académica los objetos pretenden ser museos de arte, los visitantes no los perciben de esta manera; para ellos es difícil desacralizar el objeto que está tan cercano al espacio ritual. González Colín propone entonces denominar a estos últimos, *museos de culto religioso* entendiéndolos como: "una institución cuyos elementos formadores –colección, contenedor, visitantes, discurso museológico y organización -, se relacionan con el culto religioso; es decir, están relacionados con la liturgia y/o la vida religiosa de una comunidad cuyos objetos son considerados patrimonio cultural (2009, p. 139). Esta definición nos parece interesante de explorar y sobre todo saber si podría aplicarse a los museos con objetos rituales o sagrados de otras religiones.

Referencias

Benjamin, W. (2011). *La obra de arte en la era de su reproducción técnica.* Buenos Aires, Argentina: El cuenco de plata.

Clavijero, F. X. (1982). *Historia antigua de México* (Vol. 29). México, México: Porrúa. Sepan Cuantos.

Fernández, M. Á. (1987). *Historia de los museos de México*. (P.d. directa, Ed.) México.

González Colín, E. (2009). *Reflejos de la fe, resguardo de la devoción: un Museo de Arte Religioso en la Ciudad de México*. México, México: ENCRyM/INAH.

Inah. (15 de 06 de 2015). *Red de museos del Inah*. Recuperado el 15 de 05 de 2018, de Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia: http://www.inah.gob.mx/es/museos

Inba. (s.f.). *Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes*. Recuperado el 21 de 04 de 2018, de Museos: https://www.inba.gob.mx/museos

López Austin, A. (1973). *Hombre-Dios. Religión y política del mundo náhuatl*. México, México: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas-UNAM.

Morales Moreno, L. G. (1994). *Orígenes de la museología mexicana. Fuentes para el estudio histórico del Museo Nacional, 1780-1940*. México, México: UIA.

Plan de Iguala (1821). (12 de 2007). Recuperado el 20 de 04 de 2018, de www. orden jurídico. gob.mx

Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional. (27 de 01 de 2017). *Acciones y programas*. Recuperado el 15 de 05 de 2018, de Museos y Bibliotecas: https://www.gob.mx/sedena/acciones-y-programas/museos-y-bibliotecas-9853

Secretaria de Cultura. (31 de 03 de 2017). *Museos*. Recuperado el 4 de 05 de 2018, de Sistema de Información Cultural. SIC México: http://sic.gob.mx/ficha.php?table=museo&table_id=1186

Significados. (3 de 04 de 2013). Recuperado el 2018, de Significado de sagrado: https://www.significados.com/sagrado/

Forum on Museums and Religion

Maia Wellington Gahtan
Istituto Lorenzo de' Medici – Florence, Italy

The mission of the *Forum on museums and religion* is to promote dialogue between religious authorities and museum professionals in an effort to restore legitimate context to religious heritage for a variety of publics. Although the four *Forum* events we have hosted so far have had moments of discord and friction for religious and political reasons, the greater part of our discussions have moved towards developing common frameworks for appreciating sacred spaces and sacred objects within museums. An unexpected outcome of our very first *Forum* conference (*Churches, Temples, Mosques. Places of Worship or Museums?*, 2012) was precisely the recognition of shared educational and even spiritual goals (in the broadest non-denominational sense) between religious rectors of sanctuaries and houses of worship and lay directors of monuments—exactly the closing proposition of topic three (Scientific-political-religious). During those exchanges we also learned how limited such opportunities for dialogue were, encouraging us to create a permanent platform[1].

The history of object accumulation, possession and display as well as the construction of community monuments is at the very foundation of most religions, past and present, and, in many respects, the first curators were priests. Religious spaces and sanctuaries have long been the choice containers of objects of great artistic and symbolic value. Already in Archaic Greece, sacred sites had become important repositories of votive offerings in the form of pictorial adornment, statues, and luxury goods, a practice that continued through the Roman Empire when many of the dedicated objects were plundered from conquered territories and placed in specially constructed and ritually choreographed containers – temples, porticos, basilicas and gardens. The containers and the contained worked together to create a single and complexly articulated whole that focused the visitors' experience of both the objects and their environment.

A millennium later, the chronicles of Abbot Suger about the rebuilding of the Abbey of St. Denis and the reorganization of its treasury space in the 12th century demonstrate his recognition that forms and styles of display (in this case of reliquaries and church furniture) make a significant impact upon pilgrims (Suger, 1979). He champions the utility of inscriptions akin to modern museum labels and is keen to provide the best atmosphere for the contemplation of objects. For Suger, the contemplation of objects is a step towards an anagogic understanding of God through sensory phenomena, so viewing conditions are

1. http://www.ldminstitute.com/en/landing/forum-on-museums-and-religion/

highly significant. Since the role of the senses is extremely important in many houses of worship, those historically responsible for such buildings become curators of sensorial experience which of necessity includes objects and collections as well as architecture, music, and scents.

Suger's concerns were shared by many participants of our *Forum*, both religious authorities and those coming from museum and heritage management. The rich accumulation of Christian cult objects and votive gifts in medieval and modern religious sites such as the parish church of San Lorenzo in Florence or the Papal Basilica of San Francesco in Assisi collaborated towards the creation of a stage for the performance of private and public ritual.

While each object retained its individual identity, genealogy, and symbolism, it also gradually acquired and provided meaning through association with its ritual container. Although such religious spaces are, to a limited degree, museum archetypes, the bond between the container and the contained is different. Museums usually accentuate the individuality and value of the artworks they contain, while for houses of worship the opposite is often true. But when the natural and historical relationship between container and contained in ritual spaces is altered by external factors – for example, André Malraux's museum eyes (Malraux, 1965) – the balance of relational meanings also changes: no longer is the experience of the contained object indispensable to the identity of the ritual container nor is the container fundamental to the collective appreciation of the object.

Many elements can contribute to the image of a religious space as a museum. The visitor to the Basilica of San Lorenzo, for example, purchases two tickets at different entrances and may supplement one of those tickets in order to see another worthy architectural masterpiece, the Laurentian Library. He visits the complex to see the important works of sculpture, painting and architecture contained inside as well as the building container itself but these experiences tend to be psychologically isolated from each other in a way that would not have been possible before the age of museums. While the faithful engaging in services retain more of the original organic unity, this unity can be encouraged at the expense of the deep appreciation of the material beauty and historical importance of the ritual context. Both are collateral effects of the museum image, which has gradually been imposed on such performative spaces, dissecting and decontextualizing them. Religious authorities today, unlike Suger, often consider two types of visitors—those who come for worship or as pilgrims and those who visit for non-religious cultural reasons. Every door that permits entry, every cordon that blocks physical access, every label and every spotlight must be reviewed with this dual visitorship in mind, though the purpose of the institution remains religious.

A wonderful example of fruitful exchange between religious authorities and museum professionals took place in Florence and Moscow around the time of our first *Forum* meeting and was described by Cardinal Betori, Archbishop of Florence in his inaugural address to that event (Betori, 2012). As part of an exchange between the Archdiocese of Florence and Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow, three Russian icons were brought to Florence from a Moscow museum and put on exhibit, or "on offering" as he put it, in the Florentine baptistery while two paintings by Giotto from the archdiocese's holdings were sent to the Moscow museum where they were put on view in a chapel setting. The functions these images attained in their temporary settings were very different, and particularly notable for the icons, which had not enjoyed a sacred setting since the 1917 revolution.

Cardinal Betori was gratified that these icons, which preserved their character of "real presence", could participate in acts of worship—at least temporarily while they were here in Florence—and everyone was pleased at how the dialogue created between the Russian museum, the Orthodox patriarchate, and the Catholic Church resulted in deeper religious and community appreciation of the material culture of religion. While it is also true that the lion's share of visitors to the Florentine baptistery pay a ticket and visit it along with the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo and the Florentine cathedral cupola, these objects temporarily exhibited within the baptistery 'container' accentuated the baptistery's religious importance, past and present, and in particular its contemporary religious functions.

Our third *Forum* in 2015 addressed exactly the reverse: we focused on the issue of the decontextualization of sacred objects when they are removed from their cultic locations to be part of temporary exhibitions in museums—a topic we approached from both an historical and a contemporary point of view. The decontextualization of sacred objects for secular displays boasts a long history, if one considers, for example, the looting of statues and votive offerings in antiquity during times of unrest, or the objects stolen from religious sites to satisfy the tastes of ancient Roman collectors such as Gaius Verres (Lazzeretti, 2015). Probably the most significant outcome of this *Forum* exchange was the recognition that there is always a level of decontextualization of objects even when they remain exactly where they were originally planned to reside since the intangible circumstances surrounding them are in constant flux. Nevertheless, it was agreed among both secular and religious participants that it is precisely through the virtual reintroduction of those intangibles—always partial at best—that objects best survive their temporary new placements. In fact, this solution is in harmony with conclusions of our 2014 *Forum* on sacred objects housed in collections associated with religious institutions such as Diocesan museums.

Our fourth *Forum* of 2018 focused instead on intangibles—on significant moments in the educational programming that museums have employed to engage with the sacred character of objects in their collections. The objects are often beautiful and valued for their art and craftsmanship, but so much of their importance—perhaps their greatest importance exists within the realm of intangible heritage – both cultural and religious. It is here that the mediation of the museum housing them is so important, and particularly the museum educators who are at the forefront of the museum's public face.

While the sacred role of museum objects often receives less emphasis in educational programming than other aesthetic or historical characteristics, some museums and some educators have made it central to at least a portion of their programming. Recognizing the changing nature of museum publics – publics which have become more international and who bring with them a greater variety of religious knowledge, but also publics that contain an increasing number of people without any religious tradition – museum educators have discovered opportunities for interfaith communication and dialogue. While such conversations have been taking place in houses of worship for some time, the museum provides a uniquely neutral stage.

In any kind of museum programming, museums will need to consider the serious baggage that most visitors bring to any discussion of religion, but also what range of views to offer and indeed how much to include the views of believers. Sometimes museums collaborate with practitioners of different faiths for whom the timeless dimension of the objects in question may derive from a decidedly different foundation than that which invited the museum to collect and house the objects in the first place. One striking example of such collaboration is a program created by Marion Koch at the Hamburger Kunsthalle, entitled, "Art in Interreligious Dialogue", which brings three representatives of different religions to discuss themes such as the creation of holy images, what happens after death and so forth. Like religious houses, today's museum offers a hospitable setting and a distinctive opportunity further the progress of knowledge and build community trust.

We hope that our future *Forum* events will continue to demonstrate how museum personnel today have much to learn from the considerably longer history and traditions of religious institutions, but also that they have much to offer with respect to the safeguarding and integration of religious objects within contemporary society.

References

Betori, G. (2012). Preface. In M. W. Gahtan (Ed.), *Churches, temples, mosques: places of worship or museums?* (pp. 15-21). Florence: Edifir.

Malraux, A. (1965). *Le Musée Imaginaire*. Paris: Gallimard.

Lazzeretti, A. (2015). Verres, Cicero and Other Collectors in Late Republican Roma. In M. W. Gahtan & D. Pegazzano (Eds.), *Museum Archetypes and Collecting in the Ancient World* (pp. 91-101). Leiden: Brill.

Suger, Abbot (1979). *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures*. E. Panofsky & G. Panofsky-Soergel (Eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

The Sacred Rooms at the Basilica of Aparecida

Adriano Santos Godoy
University of Campinas – Campinas, Brazil

Introduction

Since 2015 I have pursued my PhD research on an ethnography of the construction of the Basilica of the National Shrine of Our Lady of Aparecida. It is the second largest Catholic place of worship in the world, located in a small town in Brazil where it receives more than twelve million people each year. First built in 1954, it is dedicated to the worship of *Nossa Senhora Aparecida,* Our Lady Aparecida, the Catholic patron of Brazil, as a national monument and is now reaching the end of its construction. I am currently finishing my fieldwork, which concerns an ethnography of this construction with interviews with some visual artists, engineers, bishops and priests related to the main work of planning and coordination of the building. In addition, I include research in some of the archives of the Catholic Church to look for documents related to the history of this church, and have made research visits to another churches related to this one.

Through the analysis of this church building process, the objective of my research is to understand how it may anthropologically elucidate questions about the material expression of religion, mainly in topics on sacred art (Meyer, 2009; Morgan, 2011), religious spaces (Houtman and Meyer, 2012), sensational forms (Promey, 2017), and Catholic institutionalization (Tweed, 2011).

In this sense, an approach promoted by museology studies and about material culture has become particularly important to understanding how this sacred space is related to two specific rooms at that building, which are the object of this presentation.

A sacred place

In a Catholic church, all places are sacred but some of these places are more sacred than others. One of the goals of my thesis is an analysis about the shadows of sacred in a church, and for that it is necessary to understand what is a place itself and how and who can embody its sacredness. For this purpose, I adopt the anthropological posoiitons of Clifford Geertz and Oskar Verkaaik.

Regarding the relationship between God, man, and architecture, Geertz attempts to understand how a church can clarify its cultural objectives. For that, the relations of power should be put side by side of the esthetical premises. Verkaaik (2013) aims at an anthropological approach that can be different from the historical one:

> *Rather than trying to decipher the authoritative meaning of a building – that is, the opinion of the architect, the commissioner or architectural critics – an anthropological perspective focuses on shifts and conflicts in meaning-making practices. Taken together, the interactionalist and contextual-interpretative approaches allow for a perspective on buildings as more than just passive objects or texts conveying a static message. (Verkaaik, 2013:13)*

One of the goals of my thesis is to understand these practices in the context of the Basilica of Aparecida. That particular building, a sacred place, it is not a static message but a microcosm that continually can make new meanings and also be made by them. For this presentation, I will talk about two specific rooms.

Basilica's rooms: museum and hall

At the Basilica, there is the *Museum of Our Lady Aparecida,* dedicated to the patron and regent of Brazil. It was inaugurated in 1956 and its main theme is the devotion to Our Lady Aparecida and the history of that shrine and town. Priests, bishops, and theologians, function largely to manage the institution with a religious and historic collection which mix the indigenous past of the town and the biography of the miraculous image.

Some objects are defined as relics of that devotion, such as a stone and a chain that prove miracles, but other objects, for example indigenous funeral urns and arrows, are disposed with no information. Bishops' chairs, clothing, paintings, and gifts are disposed of as objects of historical interest, but for many visitors these are also relics.

In that same building, there is another room called *Sala das Promessas* (Hall of Promises). This place is dedicated to displaying *ex-votos,* the objects that are donated daily to the miraculous image, usually to attest to and give thanks for a grace or a miracle. There are more than five hundred objects each week, such as clothes, pictures, images, wax bodies, books, and musical instruments. The employees must be curators for this diverse exhibition. A common place at Catholic shrines, this space aims to validate the miracles attributed to that particular devotion.

In both rooms, theologians and historians define which objects are disposed and how. Therefore, my purpose for this symposium is a comparative approach between these two rooms in the same building. Following the topic "Museology-sacred-theology", it is my objective to talk about what are the relations between museology and theology in these cases. If the sacred is the theme of both of them, the ways the Museum and the Hall of Promises display them are certainly distinct.

Museological approach

Ames (1992) and Bennet (1995) usually describe the Cathedral as the main comparative reference to explain the social function of the museum. Bennet (1995) argues that cathedrals of the Middle Ages were the main expositor of works of art and, in the same way, had patterns of public and hierarchy. At the time, the argument was that the free access of people in cathedrals would result in a banalization of religion. A similar argument is brought by Price (1989) who classifies the art gallery as a "sacred space" for its ability to convey a mystical symbolic value.

However, if in Price (1989) there is a balance of this relationship and a certain horizontality, the Eurocentric problematic that is perceived in the Ames (1992) text is that the Cathedral is placed in a chronological line, almost evolutionary, in relation to the museum.

At one point, he states that the museum represents in modernity what the cathedral represented in the Middle Ages. What my ethnographic observations point out is that a contemporary cathedral, the Aparecida, can be approached in the same way on several points.

The concept of "exhibition complex" can easily be transposed to the National Shrine of Aparecida, taking into account some of its specificities, such as the voluntary donation of most of its collection. This comparison is most evident in spaces such as the "Museum of Our Lady Aparecida" or the "Hall of Promises", where specific objects are selected in order to show a concept and an institutionalized religious behavior upheld by the clergy, who in this case is its curator. The objects donated by the pilgrim, an exotic figure, are the origin of the exhibitions cataloged by the priests who then use the objects to teach the pilgrims how to have faith. There must be a balance in the conception of these spaces in relation to what they have been in the past, like the discussion of several of these authors about the production of value through the nostalgia of a lost and overcome primitivism.

In talking about the National Brazilian Basilica and Cathedral, it is important to emphasize its temporality. The Basilica of Aparecida is an ongoing project and different from European Cathedrals. It is a contemporary building, which has seen a constant increase in the number of visitors and which aims at a constant dialogue with a religion practiced and lived by the greater part of the population of the country. When speaking about this cathedral we are speaking about the present.

Representation versus Sensational Theology

Claudio Pastro was the main artist responsible for the construction of Basilica of Aparecida from 1999 to 2016. In his books and speeches, the artist usually makes a huge difference between sacred art and religious art. The second one is classified as a representative and thematic art about religion and the first one is categorized as true religious art because it can promote a spiritual experience through beauty. Pastro claims to make sacred art because he is a medium and instrument between God and beauty, and maintains that the Catholic Church lost the true art after the Renaissance. For him, Byzantine art is more important because it is less representative than art of Roman heritage.

The construction of the Basilica of Aparecida strives to be an "exhibition complex" that is capable of teaching the Catholic religion to the visitor through art. This religious approach is very similar to what is called as "sensational religion" to Meyer (2009). Art can be understood as a theology practice focused on the individual experience.

The Museum of Aparecida and Hall of Promises are not the same artistic project. Both rooms are managed as exhibition complexes through a representation as previously described. In these rooms, the main goal is to elucidate the institutional point of view of the Catholic Church about devotional practices. It is not art but the historic, scientific, and rational discourse used to claim the religious explanation in the Museum. Therefore, the Hall of Promises uses previous and selected religious experiences to show the religious power and effect of that devotion attested to by the collection.

The Basilica of Aparecida has multiple exhibition complexes and can offer many kinds of religious experiences to the visitors. What is more important for my ongoing research is to understand how the same institution and theological prerogatives can manage these different places through artistic, scientific, and historic discourse. Only one room is called a museum but all the places of the church can be understood anthropologically with the same prerogatives as proposed by museology.

Reference

Ames, Michael. (1992). *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*. Vancouver: UBC Press

Bennett, Tony. (1995) *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics*. London: Routledge.

Geertz, Clifford. (1997) *O saber local: novos ensaios em antropologia interpretativa*. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Houtman, Dick & Meyer, Birgit. (ed.) (2012). *Things: religion and the question of materiality*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Meyer, Birgit. (2009) *Aesthetic formations: media, religion and the senses*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Morgan, David. (ed.) (2011) *Religion and Material Culture: the matter of belief*. London: Routledge.

Pastro, Cláudio. (1999) *Guia do Espaço do Sagrado*. São Paulo: Loyola.

Price, Sally. (1989) *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*. Chicago: Chicago Press.

Promey, Sally. (2014) *Sensational Religion: sensory cultures in material practice*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tweed, Thomas. (2011) *America's Church: the National Shrine and Catholic Presence in the Nation's Capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Verkaaik, Oskar (ed.). (2013) *Religious Architecture: anthropological perspectives*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Le musée désacralisé

Océane Gonnet

Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen – Düsseldorf, Germany

Pendant quatre siècles, la place Grabbe à Düsseldorf s'est re/dé/construite autour de l'église baroque Saint-André. Plusieurs institutions culturelles vinrent enrichir la vie urbaine du lieu : le musée des arts décoratifs (plus tard une bibliothèque) et l'ancienne Kunsthalle au XIXe siècle, la Kunsthalle en 1967 (dont l'architecture brutaliste fut sans cesse la cible de critiques) et le K20 en 1986. Ce dernier, objet de cette étude, abrite l'art du XXe siècle de la Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen.[1]

Le musée s'étend dans sa longueur, légèrement surélevé, sur la Grabbeplatz, lieu stratégique et central. Sur l'imposante façade de marbre noir, comparée à un sarcophage par la critique, se reflètent les bâtiments qui lui font face, y compris l'église, un choix conscient des architectes Dissing + Weitling. Une longue vitre au rez-de-chaussée et une seconde au deuxième étage, derrière laquelle se trouve un café,[2] cassent cette apparente imperméabilité qui renvoie à l'architecture sacrale. Le dialogue entre l'extérieur et l'intérieur – et vice-versa – est facilité : le visiteur fait l'expérience de ce forum aux architectures les plus diverses depuis les salles du musée. Pendant l'exposition de Dominique Gonzales-Foerster, l'installation *Hotel splendide* (2014) donnait sur l'extérieur, offrant au lieu une dimension nouvelle[3]. La structure urbaine offre de la visibilité au musée sur 300 m par la Neustraße, le liant directement avec le cœur de la vieille ville. Les larges affiches des expositions temporaires, collées sur la façade, définissent le lieu et tentent d'attirer le public. Cette méthode de communication, suivie depuis plusieurs années, casse certes le caractère hautain de l'ensemble mais porte préjudice à son esthétique. L'entrée est cachée dans le passage qui relie le centre avec le quartier de l'académie des Beaux-Arts. Cet espace hors les murs est parfois utilisé pour éveiller la curiosité des passant.e.s, comme avec l'installation *Your natural yellow daylight* (2010) d'Olafur Eliasson. Pour la prochaine exposition temporaire « musée global. Micro-histoires d'une modernité ex-centriste »[4], une entrée par la place Grabbe, au niveau des vitres, est prévue afin de favoriser la fréquentation du bâtiment.

---

1. Collection du Land Rhénanie-du-Nord-Westphalie. L'art contemporain est présenté au K21, deux kilomètres plus loin.
2. Le Lokal Lieshout a été conçu par Joep van Lieshout en 2010.
3. Dominique Gonzales-Foerster, 1887-2058, 23.04-07.08.2016.
4. museum global. Mikrogeschichten einer ex-zentrischen Moderne, 10.11.2018-10.03.2019.

La sphère culturelle et la sphère religieuse appartiennent au même cosmos urbain. Leur proximité est telle qu'elles s'assimilent sur certains points. Comme l'église, le musée recherche un public fidèle, créant des rituels en invitant régulièrement.[1] De nos jours, aller au musée représente un acte de socialisation – valorisant pour la majorité – comme l'est depuis longtemps la messe (en famille, on initie les plus jeunes). L'espace muséal peut être expérimenté en groupe ou en solitaire. Comme à l'église, le visiteur du musée a la possibilité de se retrouver, de s'enrichir. À l'église, le spectateur est confronté à des images dont il perçoit le contenu religieux dans un contexte approprié à la dévotion. La fonction de l'œuvre d'art ne peut être définie en ce sens. Initiée en 1961, la collection NRW comptait 176 œuvres à l'ouverture du K20 en 1986.[2] Son directeur Werner Schmalenbach goûta brièvement au rêve de tout conservateur : un dépôt (presque) vide, une collection entièrement mise à disposition du public. Son intention était de lier qualité et plaisir en présentant une collection élitiste avec un accrochage populaire (Flagge, 1986). Comme dans la plupart des musées d'art moderne et contemporain, la neutralité du White Cube s'est imposée. La muséographie a cependant évolué, allant d'une ambiance privée et confortable à un style plus épuré et stérile. Là où commence le récit de l'art moderne européen, des plantes ainsi que des chaises de salon et tables basses conçues par Arne Jacobsen invitaient le visiteur à commencer tranquillement la visite. Deux grandes toiles y étaient exposées : *La terrasse de Vernon* (1928) de Bonnard et la *Fenêtre ouverte* (1919) de Picasso. Les architectes ont également intégré un espace circulaire surélevé, où le visiteur peut s'asseoir en ayant vue sur l'extérieur à travers une haute fenêtre. Ce type d'espace, propice à la réflexion en évitant la relation frontale spectateur/œuvre, est idéal pour une discussion avec un petit groupe.

L'analogie entre le musée et la cathédrale repose sur différents arguments. À l'ouverture du K20, l'espace conçu pour les expositions temporaires, appelé Grabbehalle, avait été qualifié de « cathédrale de l'art » à cause de sa grandeur imposante. Cette impression peut être détournée par l'utilisation de murs temporaires ou soulignée consciemment.[3] Un autre point concerne l'accrochage permanent, dont un curatoriat dynamique peut empêcher le caractère sacré de l'ensemble. Une collection d'œuvres d'art est le résultat d'une sélection pointilleuse gérée par un.e ou des expert.e.s et d'une hiérarchisation inévitable. Certaines œuvres deviennent des icônes de l'art du XX^{e} siècle, connaissant le luxe de ne jamais être cachées dans le dépôt du musée pendant que d'autres n'en sortent plus. Ce statisme donne à la minorité de *chefs-d'œuvre* une valeur à la dimension fétichiste et enferme le reste dans des narrations secondaires. L'hé-

1. Quelques exemples : Linklaters Tag (trois jours par an de workshops et visites guidées pour les 3-12 ans), Studierende-Preview (rencontre entre les artistes et les étudiants avant le vernissage officiel), KPMG-Abend (une soirée par mois en horaires nocturnes, avec programme de médiation intense), nuit des musées.
2. Sans les ensembles Klee et Bissier. Trois décennies plus tard, la collection a atteint presque les 3000 objets.
3. Maria Hassabi, Staging : Solo #2, 02.12.2017-08.04.2018.

ritage de la modernité qui encourage le culte de l'artiste génial fait des musées des lieux de consécration. Les commissaires pensent répondre aux attentes du public – aussi vaste soit-il en 2018 ! – et le public se félicite de reconnaître une toile de Picasso. En effet, le visiteur est souvent familier avec le musée et ses objets avant la première visite, c'est la raison pour laquelle il veut y aller. Enfin, un autre aspect de la dimension sacrée du musée concerne la perception des œuvres. À la fin du XVIIIe siècle, les œuvres étaient approchées avec vénération, dans un mutisme admiratif, le spectateur semblant chercher la guérison à travers l'objet sacré (Ullrich, 2003). Les deux règles classiques du musée sont de ne rien toucher et d'être discret. Toucher (une relique, une croix) est, dans le contexte religieux, un acte transcendant. Interdire de toucher un objet lui donne automatiquement une dimension sacrée, même si les raisons dans un musée sont simplement de conservation. La curiosité et la fascination pour l'authenticité poussent les visiteurs à toucher les surfaces, ce qui oblige les restaurateurs à protéger les objets. Ainsi, trois œuvres d'Yves Klein étaient accrochées sans protection jusque dans les années 90. Aujourd'hui, chacune est enfermée dans un caisson en plexiglas, faisant du tort à l'intention de l'artiste de s'approprier l'espace. Lorsqu'une œuvre est fragile, sa protection fait d'elle un trésor, une relique.

Comment le musée peut-il rester à la fois le lieu de conservation et de mise à disposition des œuvres au public, deux de ses principales fonctions ? Comment créer une ambiance adéquate pour la perception de l'art sous la surveillance permanente, parfois étouffante des gardes ? Comment faire en sorte que le musée soit partie intégrante au quotidien de nos concitoyens sans créer de rituel ni d'obligations ? Depuis la fin des années 80, le travail de médiation joue un rôle majeur au sein des musées. Le public s'est largement diversifié, entre autres grâce à l'interaction avec les écoles ; le musée est utilisé comme plate-forme invitant à la création et à la discussion. Le public d'habitués qu'on trouve à la soirée KPMG (du nom de l'entreprise qui la finance) apprécie la forte offre éducative proposée à cette occasion, ou profite pour faire une sortie entre amis. La gratuité semble être un élément de second plan. De nombreux groupes y parcourent les salles, les espaces sont rapidement occupés, ce n'est donc pas l'occasion idéale pour le *flâneur* et l'approche contemplative. Les visites guidées permettent aux fidèles de redécouvrir la collection sous un autre angle, ou bien l'exposition temporaire. La médiation est ancrée dans le rythme du musée. En plus d'un audio-guide gratuit où sont présentées une trentaine d'œuvres,[1] des visites guidées publiques et gratuites sont proposées sur l'heure de midi (30 minutes, une fois par semaine, pour les expositions temporaires) et l'après-midi (une heure, deux fois par semaine, collection permanente et exposition temporaire). Le dialogue établi est aussi l'occasion d'orienter le public dans le musée, de faire prendre conscience de la logique narrative, de proposer des manières de regarder les œuvres, afin de mieux le guider et l'accompagner (Ullrich, 2003).

1. Un audio-guide pour les enfants a été élaboré en collaboration avec une école.

Le K20 a su éviter la prédiction adornienne d'un musée qui ressemblerait à un cimetière : le visiteur est invité à être actif mais a évidemment le choix d'être passif.[1] Il n'est pour autant pas devenu un supermarché de la culture, son offre étant quand même limitée, et les espaces s'avérant de taille idéale.[2] Tenter de désacraliser les lieux aura été un discours dominant depuis les années 90, la médiation y joue son rôle avec pragmatisme : sensibiliser la jeune génération afin de pouvoir compter sur des adultes plus tard. La perception de l'art en soi est pour la grande majorité émotive, ce qui n'empêche pas l'offre d'une démarche didactique. Aller au musée peut enrichir le savoir d'une personne et offrir les stimulations nécessaires à un épanouissement personnel (Reckwitz, 2017). Le musée de doit pas devoir choisir entre être le temple des muses ou le lieu d'éducation, il y a un juste milieu entre regarder et apprendre, deux démarches intimement liées quoi qu'il en soit. C'est aux institutions de repenser la présentation des œuvres, de créer des espaces où l'expérience sociale et sensible est possible, où le visiteur peut faire des rencontres inattendues qui l'enrichissent de différentes manières (Mörsch 2017, p. 189). Tant mieux si les œuvres perdent de leur aura à l'ère de la reproductibilité, car même si elles inondent les réseaux sociaux, parfois refoulées à l'arrière-plan de selfies, l'art et le musée peuvent largement en profiter.

Bibliographie

Flagge, I. (1986). *Architektur in der Demokratie 2. Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Düsseldorf/Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag.

ICOM Schweiz – Internationaler Museumsrat (Ed.). (2016). *Das Museum für alle. Imperativ oder Illusion ?,* Internationales Bodensee-Symposium: ICOM Schweiz.

Mörsch, C. ; Sachs, A. ; Sieber, Th. (Eds.) (2017). *Ausstellen und vermitteln im Museum der Gegenwart*, Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Reckwitz, A. (2017). Hyperkultur versus Kulturessenzialismus. Der Kampf um die Kultur in der spätmodernen Gesellschaft. *Museumskunde*, Band 82, 2/17, Berlin.

Schneede, U. (Ed.) (2000). *Museum 2000- Erlebnispark oder Bildungsstätte ?* Köln: DuMont.

Ullrich, W. (2003). *Tiefer hängen. Über den Umgang mit der Kunst*, Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach Verlag.

1. Ces deux dernières années, des groupes variés de civils ont été invités à repenser le canon de l›art moderne. Voir Laborprojekt, https://www.kunstsammlung.de/teilnehmen/labor.html.
2. 2600 m² pour l›exposition permanente, plus 600 m² Grabbehalle et 1100 m² pour la Klee-Halle.

Moái Hoa Hakananai'a, from Orongo to the British Museum: Reflections upon religious art exhibitions in museums

Matías Cornejo González
National Museum of Fine Arts – Santiago, Chile.

Discussion about an Easter Island Statue: the Hoa Hakananai'a

It has been argued that the Easter Island statue, the moai[1] Hoa Hakananai'a[2], played a crucial role in the history of Easter Island since it represents a before and an after in the manifestation of beliefs developed by the Rapa Nui culture (Routledge & Routledge, 1917; Van Tilburg, 2006; Horley and Lee, 2008). Consequently, by offering significant and tangible evidence of the iconographic processes carried out by Easter Island communities in order to represent their ancestors and gods, the Hoa Hakananai'a seems to encapsulate at least two different cultural paradigms. On one hand, it is frequently discussed that initially the Hoa Hakananai'a might have represented an ancestor of a specific clan or community within Easter Island, as it is assumed all moais do. Nevertheless, exceptional characteristics immediately emerge since the Hoa Hakananai'a "is one of only fifteen [...] to have been carved from flow lava (basalt), out of about 1000 Moais scattered in the island and the rest of world" (Pitts, M., Miles, J., Pagi, H., & Earl, G., 2014, p. 296). Additionally, it has been also observed that the Hoa Hakananai'a was conceived and carved – around AD 1200 – without an *ahu* (base), as most of moais tend to be presented, and it may have had a *pukau* (hat) although there is no evidence of this assertion (Ibid.).

On the other hand, as Pitts et al. (2014) has suggested, although the Hoa Hakananai'a was carved and displayed at Orongo village, the ceremonial place by the side of Rano Kau volcano, it was not always arranged as we see it today at the British Museum. Indeed, observers from the HMS Topaze crew such as Dundas and Palmer described the Hoa Hakananai'a as buried up to its shoulders, polychrome, and settled inside a stone house before it was taken to the English frigate in 1868. As well, according to the last digital survey conducted by Pitts and his team, consisting of photogrammetry and reflectance transfor-

1. Easter Island statue
2. Hoa Hakananai'a means 'stolen or hidden friend'

mation imaging (RTI), the appearance of the Hoa Hakananai'a has not always been the same. Therefore, it was established that the statue's carvings have, at least, three stages that might indicate the transitions from ancestor worship to the birdman cult. More precisely, these new developments, gathered from the moai's carvings on its back, argue that the unusual arrangement of the petroglyphs seems to describe the cosmogony of the birdman cult by relating common Rapa Nui symbols in a specific non-repeated composition which make the Hoa Hakananai'a even more fascinating and valuable in terms of cultural significance.

In order to understand the meaning of the carvings on the back of the Hoa Hakananai'a it would be necessary to describe the *Tangata Manu* (birdman) ritual. According to Pitts et al. (2014, p.318) it may be summarized as follows:

> *...the birdman ceremony was an annual event in which men vied to seize the first egg laid by sooty terns nesting on rocky islets just out to sea from 'Orongo'. Victory went to he who could swim back and scale the cliff with the egg. His patron then became birdman (*tangata manu*) for the year, the founder god Makemake made incarnate. Bringing power and prestige to his clan, the* tangata manu *carried the winning egg from Rano Kau around the coast to Rano Raraku, where, among standing statues on the crater's outer slope, he entered a house, which he would not leave for the remainder of the year.*

As a result, it has been maintained that the petroglyph composition in the back of the Hoa Hakananai'a comprises a *Manupiri* (paired facing birdmen) where the one on the left is male and the one on the right is female, a *Manutara* (sooty tern) above the couple's heads, and in the middle of two a *'Ao* (paddle) which represent masculinity. There is also a smaller *'Ao* in the left ear and four little *Komari* (vulva symbol) in the right ear; there are also two more *Komari* in between the two bigger *'Ao* and above the *Manutara*. In other words (Ibid.):

> *The design portrays the flight from the nest of a male chick, watched by its half-bird, half-human parents. It narrates the birdman ceremony [...] Meanwhile the entire statue [Hoa Hakananai'a] has become* Makemake *in the manner of the human birdman, each hidden from the living inside their houses*

To recapitulate, it can be argued that the Hoa Hakananai'a represents the highest artistic and cultural expressions of Rapa Nui culture and beliefs throughout its history in one single object, manifesting syncretism within the island. However, despite those extraordinary scientific facts and intercultural carvings on the Hoa Hakananai'a, it seems that the current display does little justice to the significance that this particular moai has for its people and culture and, why not, the whole of mankind. Moreover, there is a distressing lack of interpretation about the object, which may tend to mislead museum visitors' appreciation by construing the Hoa Hakananai'a as a regular moai since it does not offer any relevant contrast and explanation between the one in the exhibition and the others elsewhere. The actual British Museum interpretation of Hoa Hakananai'a is presented next as:

> *This statue, representing an ancestral figure, was probably first displayed in the open air. Some centuries later it was moved into a stone house at Orongo, centre of the birdman cult, and low-relief designs were carved on the back. It seems to have been used in both contexts to express ideas about leadership and authority.*

Thus, considering that the British Museum has housed the Hoa Hakananai'a since 1869, when Queen Victoria donated it to the collection, and the vast amount of research conducted by various sources since that time, one could argue that the museum's efforts for promoting a complete understanding and appreciation of its unique moai has been, at the least, insufficient. Similarly, as it is being displayed at The Wellcome Trust Gallery, in room number 24, called *Living and Dying*, the Hoa Hakananai'a seems to be slightly pushed into the topic where, again, information of how the Hoa Hakananai'a might be related to life and death is not accessible either *in situ* or online. Additionally, it has also been highlighted as one of the 100 objects which better represent the history of the world, according to the then British Museum's director Neil MacGregor in 2010, even though there is no indication of this considerable achievement.

Therefore, once aware of its historical and cultural significance, one may state that the Hoa Hakananai'a's display is questionable and cannot be improved as it stands. Consequently, based on this claim it would be necessary to offer alternative – perhaps unofficial – interpretive approaches of Hoa Hakananai'a that could enhance the museum visitor and the non-physical visitor experience and appreciation of the object, its significance, and the political issues behind its western appropriation. It can be envisioned that there are important actions to be taken in order to better appreciate the British Museum's moai. For instance, by introducing Hoa Hakananai'a's local community voices and customs into the narratives that complement the object display and interpretation, the learning experience might be significantly enhanced, as would provide first source knowledge, which may challenge the curator's position and promote critical thinking by the visitors. However, as Hoa Hakananai'a responds to religious needs it must be treated as such by museum curators. Hence, despite the fact that it has become "almost a standard practice in 21st century museums", asking source communities is not a simple task when talking about religious objects (Paine, 2013). Accordingly, it seems to be the case that *Living and Dying* room curators have preferred "neutrality" or "objectivity" much more comfortable and safe than consulting challenging communities such as the Rapa Nui. Likewise, as observed by Reeve, "the problematic *Living and Dying* gallery with its strong emphasis on health and well-being as dictated by the financial sponsorship" makes the Hoa Hakananai'a a prisoner of private agendas (2012, p.132).

Moreover, as museums and curators tend to define themselves as secular institutions and individuals, issues of misunderstanding arise, where "a lack of faith in their personal life can be a disadvantage, and lead to inaccurate interpretation and presentation of objects" (Shah in Reeve 2012, p.128). In this connection, Hoa Hakananai'a has not only suffered a biased omission of its condition as a religious object, but also, when recognized, its faith has been considered as a dead faith, discarding any attempt for re-activating or reconnecting the object with its source community, by, for instance, asking themselves what the statue means for them now. In other words, it might be argued that the power to interpret this moai has been the exclusive patrimony of Western white academic parties instead of the culture that created it and gave it spiritual or "metaphysic" meaning.

Yet, connecting with the ideas developed above, Ames (1994, p. 9) stated that

> *If museums are serious about listening to other voices and making space for other peoples, then they will need to come to terms with this metaphysic, which in important respects is fundamentally opposed to both modern and post-modern ideologies.*

Similarly, as museums tend to perpetuate their modernist origins, this discussion supports Bhabha's statement of "how modernity and postmodernity are themselves constituted from the marginal perspective of cultural difference [...] the alterity of postcolonial site" (1994, p. 106). Consequently, as the British Museum has privileged the aesthetic appreciation over the metaphysic of the Hoa Hakananai'a, it is implied that visitors must make their own meaning based on their prior knowledge, which in case of religious objects tends to be problematic and these issues are addressed to the visitors instead of being facilitated by the museum (Reeve, 2012; Paine, 2013).

In conclusion, it might be suggested that some museums, such as the British Museum in the case of the Hoa Hakananai'a, have prioritized mainstream religions that seem to be better displayed, interpreted, and appreciated by visitors than other faiths. Accordingly, this issue can be explained by what Reeve (2012, p. 132) has stated

The scale and quality of that representation is often dependent on who is providing financial sponsorship for the acquisition or display of religious art. Some faiths may be seen as more ethnographic and less worthy of representation, regardless of how many adherents there are in the modern world or the local community.

References

Ames, M. (1994). The Politics of Difference: Other Voices In a Not Yet Post□ Colonial World. Museum Anthropology, 18(3), 9-17.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). The location of culture. Routledge.

Horley, P., & Lee, G. (2009). Painted and carved house embellishments at ‘Orongo village, Easter Island. *Rapa Nui Journal*, *23*, 106-24.

Paine, C. (2012). *Religious objects in museums: Private lives and public duties*. A&C Black.

Pitts, M., Miles, J., Pagi, H., & Earl, G. (2014). Hoa Hakananai’a: a new study of an Easter Island Statue in the British Museum. *The Antiquaries Journal*, *94*, 291-321.

Reeve, J. (2012) A question of faith: The museum as spiritual or secular space. In: Sandell, R., & Nightingale, E. (Eds.). *Museums, equality and social justice*. (pp. 125-141). Routledge. London.

Routledge, S., & Routledge, K. (1917). The bird cult of Easter Island. *Folklore*, *28*(4), 337-355.

Van Tilburg, J. A. (2006). *Remote Possibilities: Hoa Hakananai’a and HMS” Topaze” on Rapa Nui*. British Museum.

The Soteriology of Heritage: UNESCO, Culture, Salvation

Klas Grinell

Centre for Critical Heritage Studies, Gothenburg University – Sweden

I argue that the UN in general and UNESCO in particular played a soteriological role after WWII, akin to that of the modern nation-state in the Westphalian order after the so-called Wars of Religion of the 17th century. According to theologian William Cavanaugh, "the modern [Westphalian] state is built upon a soteriology of rescue from violence" (Cavanaugh, 2002, p. 2). By swearing loyalty to the nation, the citizens of Europe should be salvaged from violence. This de-positioning of the Church gave birth to a secular doctrine of salvation, which eventually found its shape in Enlightenment liberalism built on individualism and rational choice. The nation-state promised to save the citizens from violence by imposing a monopoly on violence (Cavanaugh, 2002, p. 55). The first half of the 20th century made it all too clear that national enlightened values did not hinder the use of violence, not even within Europe. A new soteriology was needed, and it promoted culture as the key to peaceful minds.

The UNESCO charter (1945) opens with a credo: "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." To realize this Kingdom of Peace, "the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science" must be conserved and protected, and displayed by museums for the use in salvific efforts and rituals. This is the soteriology of heritage. It can be noted that there is no argument to connect the two quotes. The first statement might be empirically correct, but doesn't say anything about how a peaceful mind can be constructed. This is why it is relevant to talk about a UNESCO soteriology.

Soteriology

Soteriology means 'theory of salvation'. Salvation is often presented as a tripartite concept. It can be related to 1) *grace*, 2) *effort* and 3) *ritual* (Flood, 2016, p. 624). Another tripartition of the concept analyses soteriologies as either a) *exclusivist*; believing that only their path leads to salvation. All other roads lead astray (to Hell or rebirth or other kinds of failure); b) *inclusivist*, believing that their path leads to salvation, but inclusivists "hold that sincere outsiders who could not have recognized it as such will be saved"; or c) *pluralist*, believing that there are several paths to salvation (Khalil, 2002, p. 8).

Soteriological analysis is not an exclusively Christian subject, nor even necessarily a religious one, as seen in Robert H. Nelson's seminal *Reaching for Heaven on Earth: The theological meanings of economics* (1991, Nelson 2014). As Mohammad Hassan Khalil has shown, "salvation is arguably *the* major theme of the Qur'an" (Khalil 2012, p. 2). Here 'culture' and 'heritage' will be read as soteriological concepts in UNESCO's discourse, with similar functions as the belief in progress in economics (Nelson, 1991, p. xxii).

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) from inclusivism to pluralism

UNESCO is one of 16 specialized agencies in the UN (Singh, 2011). The nations of the world came together in UNESCO to express their belief that culture was the road towards international understanding and global peace (UNESCO, 1945, § XVII). UNESCO promoted a secular and universal culture expressed mainly in the canonical high art of the Western civilization (Hill, 1953, UNESCO, 1954, Salles, 1956).

In the 1950s, 60s, and early 70s, culture was mostly used within UNESCO as a universal. Through our joint appreciation of culture and art we can understand the humanity of each other globally (UNESCO, 1966, Maheu, 1973, Maheu, 1974). In the late 1960s many things changed. A critique of the inherent elitism in UNESCO's idea of culture grew, related to the rise of youth and popular culture in the emerging consumer societies mainly in the West. Decolonization expanded the constituency of UNESCO. Many non-Western cultures now called for appreciation and recognition (Maheu, 1973). The concept of culture became more anthropological and nationalized. ICOM began highlighting that museums are institutions in the service of society and its development (ICOM, 1974, Valderrama, 1995, Davis, 2008). Director-General René Maheu argued that "it is precisely because industrial civilization is steadily reducing the domain of the spirit that this civilization is now being challenged, particularly by young people. [---] It is an instinctive reaction to the need to preserve the cultural dimension of life" (Maheu, 1973, p. 10, UNESCO, 1971, p. 78-91). He also expanded on the idea of "a common recognition of the universal character of each separate culture and of the role it was called upon to play in the advancement of mankind" (UNESCO, 1968, p. 9). The earlier inclusivist position was changing into a pluralist one. As often in UNESCO, 'cultural values' was left undefined in order to avoid political tension (Wong, 2008). The program report *Cultural rights as human rights* introduced the need to respect the culture of minorities and argued that all larger states contain some kind of minority (Gellner, 1970, Maheu, 1973).

The call for international understanding slowly transformed into a call for intercultural dialogue (UNESCO, 1972, Harrison 2013, pp. 76-84). It was questioned whether cultural values stemmed from "the arts and literature, which serve as a means of expressing a nation's innermost aspirations", or if they should be understood to include the "fundamental values underlying the social life" of "groups" and "different peoples" that did not refer to state-bound identities (notes quoted in Wong, 2008, p. 360).

Pluralist soteriology

In the early 1990s a new theology of diversity was introduced, supplanting the earlier UNESCO orthodoxy of one universal and shared culture. Rituals were redirected towards inter-cultural dialogue and post-national identity making (UNESCO, 1995, 2002). Was it possible to create a reformed but still inclusivist theory of diversity, or was this a reformation producing pluralist soteriologies in breakaway movements such as new museology, ecomuseums, and post-museums (Vergo, 1989, Davis, 2011, Hooper-Greenhill, 2000)?

Culture was now a means to understand those who were different and had a different (but not inferior) culture. French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut gave UNESCO a central role in a perceived shift from universalistic thought into relativistic anti-thought (Finkielkraut, 1995, pp. 53 & 80). Norwegian anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen argued that the cultural diversity promoted by UNESCO in the 1990s was vague and had more to do with aesthetical value than moral one (Hylland Eriksen, 2002, UNESCO, 1995, UNESCO, 2002). "To simply state [...] that one is favorable to cultural rights simply will not do, whether the context is an academic or a political one", Hylland Eriksen concluded (2002, p. 133). In a soteriological context the vagueness is both understandable and functional as a proclamation of the open salvific power of culture.

The 1995 report *Our creative diversity* holds a conflict between an inclusivist, universal, and romantic soteriology of culture and a pluralist, multicultural, and anthropological one. The report contains opaque salvific proclamations like: "Let us rejoice in diversity, while maintaining absolute standards of judging what is right, good and true" (UNESCO, 1995, p. 55). The pluralist focus on diversity led to an ethnification of heritage and cultural identity and the rise of inter-cultural dialogue, but did not erase the absolute standards of the older inclusivist and more self-assertive soteriological belief that culture can produce international understanding and thus peace.

Conclusion

Could the museological unease with religion and the sacred be interpreted as an expression of this classically inclusivist position? The renewed interest in the sacred is one aspect of the paradigm shift of the 1980s (Casanova, 1994). From a soteriological perspective this can be labeled as an unresolved shift from an inclusivist to a pluralist position. It is in this tension between soteriologies that the concept of heritage was introduced as a less burdened signifier and carrier of soteriological hopes.

References

Casanova, J. (1994). *Public religions in the modern world*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cavanaugh, William T. (2002) *Theopolitical imagination: Discovering the liturgy as a political act in an age of global consumerism*, London. T&T Clark.

Davis, P. (2008). New museologies and the Ecomumseum. in Howard, P. & Graham, B. (eds.) *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity* (pp. 397-414), London: Ashgate.

Davis, P. (2011). *Ecomuseums: A sense of place*, London: Continuum.

Duncan, C. (1995). *Civilizing rituals: Inside public art museums*, London & New York: Routledge.

Finkielkraut, A. (1995). *The Defeat of the Mind*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Flood, G. (2016). Salvation. in Stausberg, M.l & Engler, S. (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of the study of religion* (pp. 623-634), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gellner, E. (ed.) (1970). *Cultural rights as human rights*. Paris: UNESCO.

Harrison, R. (2013). *Heritage: Critical approaches*. London: Routledge.

Hill, C. P. (1953). *Suggestions on the teaching of history*. Paris: UNESCO.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2000). *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, London: Routledge.

Hylland Eriksen, T. (2002). Between universalism and relativism: a critique of the UNESCO concept of culture. in Jane C. Cowan, Marie-Benedicte Dembour, Richard A. Wilson, eds. *Culture and rights: Anthropological perspectives* (pp. 127-148). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ICOM (1974). *Resolutions adopted by the 11th General assembly of ICOM in Copenhagen*, June 14.

Khalil, M. H. (2012). Islam and the Fate of Others: The Salvation Question. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Maheu, R. (1973). Culture in the contemporary world: Problems and prospects. Paris: UNESCO.

Maheu, R. (1974). UNESCO in perspective. Paris: UNESCO.

Nasr, S. H. (2002). Heart of Islam: Enduring values for humanity. New York: Harper Collins.

Nelson, R. H. (1991). Reaching for heaven on Earth: The theological meanings of economics. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Nelson, R. H. (2014). Economics as religion: From Samuelson to Chicago and Beyond. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press.

Salles, G. (1956). UNESCO's tenth anniversary: a review of its work for museums, sites and monuments. Museum IX: 3.

Singh, J. P. (2011). United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): Creating norms for a complex world, London: Routledge.

UNESCO (1945). Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Oganization: Adopted in London November 16, 1945, Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1954). UNESCO and its programme X: Arts and letters. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1966). Twenty years of service to peace 1946-1966. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1968). Appraisal of the Major project on mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values 1957-1966. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1971). Looking at UNESCO. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1995). Our creative diversity: Report of the World commission on culture and development, Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2002). UNESCO Universal declaration on cultural diversity. Paris: UNESCO General Conference.

Valderama, F. (1995). A History of Unesco. Paris: Unesco Publishing.

Vergo, P. (ed.) (1989). *The New Museology*. London: Reaktion Books.

Wong, L. E. (2008). Relocating East and West: UNESCO's Major project on the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values. *Journal of World History* 19:3.

Le sacré exposé : espaces, dispositifs, paroles

Olivia Guiragossian
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3 – France

Le musée, espace d'exposition centré autour d'un parcours, d'un public et d'une expérience significative, serait-il un nouveau lieu de culte ? Aux origines de l'exposition, bien avant que le musée, tel que nous le connaissons, ne soit institutionnalisé, l'Eglise avait déjà compris l'importance et la force de la monstration, au travers du culte des reliques qui n'en finissaient pas d'attirer les foules (Mairesse & Hurley, 2012). Exemple frappant s'il en est, car apparaissait déjà la dualité inhérente entre le matériel (la relique) et l'immatériel (la croyance), enjeu principal de l'exposition du sacré.

Et en effet, la multiplicité des expositions intégrant les questions de sacré et de sacralité, qu'elles soient d'art (*Traces du sacré*, Centre Pompidou), d'histoire (*Lieux saints partagés*, Musée national de l'Histoire de l'Immigration), ethnographiques (*Secrets d'ivoires*, Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac) de société (*Hajj, le pèlerinage à la Mecque,* Institut du Monde arabe) nous interpelle. Entendu comme les faits liés au culte, touchant l'humain dans son identité en tant qu'individu et en tant que groupe social[1], dans son histoire intime et collective, le sacré devient un objet à exposer. Les institutions qui l'utilisent comme outil s'orientent non plus vers le passé mais vers le présent, pour mieux appréhender le futur.

Le sacré : un concept immatériel à l'épreuve de l'expographie

Le sacré appartient donc à une problématique récurrente dans le champ muséal dès lors que l'humain devient objet d'exposition. Il s'inscrit dans une réflexion sur l'immatériel, l'intangible, qui dépasse la simple collection d'objets utilisés lors de cultes ou d'œuvres liées à une iconographie religieuse. Le paradoxe est immédiat : la présentation ne valorise plus l'objet et l'hégémonie du matériel fait place aux interrogations sur l'intégration de l'immatériel dans les expositions.

---

1. Danièle Hervieu-Léger, sociologue des religions, le rappelle dans l'émission *La Foi prise au mot* (25/05/2014) consacrée à « Exposer le sacré » : « Le sacré » en tant que substantif est une invention de Durkheim et de l'Ecole Française de Sociologie. C'est une expérience émotionnelle particulière à travers laquelle les groupes et les communautés prennent conscience qu'elles sont plus qu'un simple agrégat d'individus. Le groupe social se donne des entités, des valeurs et surtout, des objets qu'il désigne lui-même comme sacré.

De manière paradoxale, l'immatériel s'exprime par rapport au matériel, nécessité inhérente à la nature même de l'exposition. D'un point de vue philosophique, il renvoie à la sphère réelle et rappelle que dans la pensée aristotélicienne, la découverte d'un monde suprasensible composé par l'existence des sphères passe par l'étude du monde matériel (Verbeke, 1946). Mariannick Jadé (2006) remarquait également que l'immatériel, pour pénétrer notre réalité consciente, nécessite une existence physique, en étant « perceptible et appréciable par nos cinq sens ». Une imbrication d'autant plus importante que l'exposition se présente comme une expérience particulière de la réalité, l'espace prenant sens grâce aux objets présentés, provenant du monde réel.

La conception et la présentation des dispositifs de présentation sont ainsi conditionnés par leur rapport à un substrat matériel. Trois types de rapports, utiles pour définir des unités de dispositifs, semblent s'esquisser à la vue de ces réflexions :

- l'objet comme patrimoine, porteur de valeurs d'historicité et d'authenticité ;
- l'objet-symbole, adapté au parcours expographique ;
- l'objet-concept, créé *ex-nihilo* pour les besoins de l'exposition et qui n'existe que dans sa propre temporalité.

Les lignes de force structurant la muséographie de l'immatériel sont le résultat d'une recherche effectuée via une grille d'analyse de dispositifs de présentation, appliquée à un échantillon d'expositions qui intègrent dans leur sujet même cette dimension sacrée, voire religieuse. Dans cette approche centrée sur la conception d'exposition, trois logiques muséographiques émergent.

Objets, muséographie, scénographie : un nouveau rituel ?

Objets de cultes ou objets rituels, témoins des lieux et porteurs d'histoire, les objets agissent comme des « Vraies Choses »[1]. Pourtant, pour les rendre intelligible, pour expérimenter leur présence par le ressenti, muséographie et scénographie sont essentielles. Elles font appel aux sens qui ne sont pas incarnés dans la matière.

L'exposition *Hajj, le pèlerinage à la Mecque*, construite comme un voyage initiatique autour de ce pilier de l'Islam, était agencée en deux parties, la première étant la découverte et la préparation du pèlerinage, la seconde étant centrée sur l'expérience initiatique du voyage à la Mecque. Dans celle-ci, la lumière

1. En effet, Duncan Cameron (1968) rappelle que les musées travaillent d'abord, avec plus que des objets – des « vraies choses » : « des choses que nous présentons telles qu'elles sont et non comme des modèles, des images ou des représentations de quelque chose d'autre. Ce sont, quelques soient leur nature et leurs dimensions, les œuvres d'art et les objets de fabrication humaine (artefacts) des musées d'anthropologie, d'art et d'histoire. Ce sont aussi les spécimens des musées d'histoire naturelle et les démonstrations des phénomènes dans les musées de sciences physiques. »

blanche, forte, qui devait à l'origine représenter le soleil perçant des pays du monde arabe, revêt une sacralité particulière, une illumination à la fois physique et spirituelle, illustrant littéralement le passage de l'ombre à la lumière.

Ce principe de la révélation est exploité pour la collection des sculptures de bois et d'ivoires de la société initiatique Bwami de République Démocratique du Congo. En effet, dans la dernière section de l'exposition *Secrets d'ivoire, l'art des Léga d'Afrique centrale*, les œuvres émergeant de la pénombre permettaient une confrontation directe, comme elles devaient apparaître aux hommes initiés dans leur contexte original.

Art contemporain, art sacré

La création contemporaine ne fait pas l'impasse sur le sacré. A l'image de l'exposition *Traces du sacré* qui explore la relation des artistes au Divin disparaissant dans les sociétés sécularisées, la relation esthétique et artistique laisse transparaître une conception du sacré. De manière générale, la présence d'œuvres d'art contemporain se fait prégnante sur les cimaises des expositions de sujets de société et devient par extension une logique pour évoquer le sacré. D'autant que l'évolution des sociétés nécessite d'appréhender les changements et l'actualité de leurs réalités par leurs moyens d'expression contemporains (Coté, 2008).

L'exposition *Lieux Saint Partagés*, traitant des circulations des hommes, des croyances et des pratiques dans les trois religions monothéistes, s'ouvrait par l'installation « Il était trois fois » (Michelangelo Pistoletto). Constituée de six miroirs aux faces tournées vers l'intérieur, elle crée un cube dont les reflets à l'infini sont invisibles de l'extérieur. Autour, quatre objets rituels évoquent le christianisme, le judaïsme, le bouddhisme et l'islam. Une dernière vitrine, laissée vide, suggère l'agnosticisme. La place introductive donnée ici à l'art contemporain ancre les interrogations qui se déploieront tout au long du parcours.

Dans *Hajj, le pèlerinage à la Mecque*, l'art contemporain était mobilisé pour représenter la Kaaba, le lieu sacré, point central de ce voyage initiatique et pourtant absent du parcours. Les œuvres, polysémiques, illustrent par leur disposition les manières multiples dont elles peuvent être appréhendées. L'œuvre *Seven Times* (Idris Khan, 2010) pouvait être associée à une mise en scène muséographique, un dessin au sol d'un cercle formé de carrés, évoquant la déambulation des pèlerins autour de la Kaaba. The *Black Arch* (Raja, Shadia Alem, 2011) constituait dans une salle particulière une installation fonctionnant à la manière d'un dispositif immersif.

L'art contemporain, logique maintes fois exploitée, peut se confondre dans les dispositifs déjà présents ou bien créer un espace supposant de nouveaux codes de lecture.

La parole : dimension humaine et intime du sacré

A l'heure où les institutions culturelles souhaitent valoriser les histoires individuelles en contrepoint d'une histoire collective, la démarche ethnographique devient une logique d'action pour les musées, mais revue au prisme de la modernité. Des dispositifs rapprochant l'objet et la parole sont alors mis en place pour présenter les résultats de cette entreprise.

Dans *Hajj, le pèlerinage à La Mecque*, le visiteur terminant son cheminement spirituel est accueilli dans la dernière séquence d'exposition par sept postes d'écoutes audio illustrés par les photographies de sept personnes. Dans une démarche de collecte, l'Institut du Monde Arabe a réalisé des entretiens avec hommes et femmes revenus du Hajj, qui commentent un objet qu'ils ont rapporté. Pour Baba Sasa Sow, pèlerin originaire du Sénégal, « quand on revient de la Mecque, on revient dépouillé du matériel, on en ramène que des souvenirs, chargés de sacralité ». Ces objets-souvenirs sont exposés ensemble dans une vitrine située à la fin du parcours : le dispositif pourrait nous sembler disjoint, mais les photographies de ces pèlerins présentant ces objets servent ici de principe unificateur. Fonctionnant de la même manière que les objets témoins d'une civilisation, ces souvenirs projettent un regard plus personnel mais tout aussi représentatif sur l'histoire, introduisant la dimension mémorielle dans l'espace d'exposition.

Ces dispositifs sont donc issus d'une réflexion sur l'apport des récits d'individus, sans cacophonie, et finalement s'articulent à la manière d'un chœur polyphonique, représentatif du patrimoine de l'humanité.

Lieux profanes, sens sacré ?

Le sacré peut-il prendre sens au sein du musée ? Cette question du lieu était apparente dans l'exposition *Secrets* (Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel, 18 mai – 17 octobre 2015) interrogeant la « quintessence » de l'immatériel au travers de lieux révélés dans l'espace urbain. Le sacré était révélé au profane au cœur même de la crypte de l'église Notre-Dame, offrant à cette étape du parcours tout son sens. A l'autre bout du spectre, des lieux comme l'église désacralisée du Carré Saint-Anne, centre d'art de la ville de Montpellier, se constituent en espaces d'exposition opposés aux principes du White Cube.

Le musée constitue un temple de la représentation humaine, dans laquelle se déploient divers moyens d'appréhender le monde. Finalement, ce qui rapprocherait la sphère muséale et la sphère sacrée, ce n'est pas tant le lieu et les codes ritualisés qu'ils exploitent parallèlement, mais bien ce qui se déroule entre les murs mêmes de l'exposition.

Le processus d'appropriation des expositions classique, mécanisme itératif se reproduisant à chaque fois que le visiteur se confronte à un objet ou à un groupe d'objet (Dufresne-Tassé, 1996) pourrait se substituer à une appropriation du monde. Néanmoins, dans cette relation exclusive, le visiteur ne créé du sens que par l'objet qu'il voit. L'approche lictionnelle, décrite par Daniel Schmitt et Muriel Meyer-Chemeska (2014) permettrait de relier le X-monde de l'exposition aux mondes propres des visiteurs, exploitant ainsi de multiples manières de se relier au monde, de créer des savoirs sans se fonder sur le seul concept de transmission.

Finalement, dans cette quête du savoir, ce qui nous rapprocherait le plus du sacré, ne serait-ce pas le sens que l'on cherche à donner à notre présence et notre action dans cet espace ?

Bibliographie

Cameron, D. (1968). A viewpoint: The museum as a communication system and implications for museum education, Curator, 11, 33-40.

Coté, M. (2008). Création contemporaine et Musée de sciences et société, *Musée et collections publiques de France*, 254, 2, 40-41.

Dufresne-Tasse, C. (1996). Liberté de l'adulte au musée, multimédias et appropriation de l'exposition, Vienne : *Congrès de l'ICOM-CECA*.

Jadé, M. (2006). *Patrimoine immatériel : perspectives d'interprétation du concept de patrimoine*, Paris : L'Harmattan.

Mairesse, F & Hurley, C. (2012). Eléments d'expologie : matériaux pour une théorie du dispositif muséal, *MediaTropes eJournal*, III, 2, 1-27.

Schmitt, D & Meyer-Chemeska, M. (2014). Expériences de visite : de la transmission à la liction, *La Lettre de l'OCIM*, 155, 17-23.

Verbeke, G. (1946). Comment Aristote conçoit-il l'immatériel ? *Revue Philosophique de Louvain*, 44, 2, 205-236.

Is Sacredness Permanent? The Islamic Heritage on Display in the Early 20th Century

Pelin Gürol Öngören

TOBB University of Economics and Technology – Ankara, Turkey

From the second quarter of the 19th century, visual and textual representation of the past came to be constructed, re-constructed, and even politicized in certain ways in parallel to the existing socio-cultural contexts, political systems, and ideologies such as nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, and orientalism. In this context, museums in the 19th and 20th centuries played significant roles as the influential apparatuses in expansion of such ideologies. Similar museum collections would gain different meanings once they were exhibited in different contexts. Such flexibility and variability of narratives and display of Islamic arts through museums under the control of powerful mechanisms constitute the main axes of this paper, exemplified by two different historical contexts of the late Ottoman Empire and the early Republican Turkey.[1]

The Museum of Pious Foundations (Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi) (Istanbul-1914)

The Museum of Pious Foundations was the first museum made specifically to display Islamic arts. The establishment of the first museum, the Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümâyûn*) (1891), which was planned to hold an archaeological collection of Greco-Roman and Byzantine material culture in parallel to rising trends towards collecting classical heritage in Western Europe, paved the way for the preservation and display of Islamic heritage. Thus, a new section was opened to display Islamic arts as one of the six branches of the Ottoman Imperial Museum in 1889 (Shaw, 2000). The collection was moved to the Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*) in 1908, and then to the public kitchen (*imaret)* of the Süleymaniye Complex (*Külliye*), which was opened to the public in 1914.

The musealisation of Islamic arts had understandable reasons. While the Islamic heritage kept its secondary importance for almost a half century in comparison to the classical archaeological heritage, some urgent precautions had to be taken against theft and looting of the wakf (*vakıf*) works of art. Those include

---

1. This paper is based on author's dissertation entitled «Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic» by Pelin Gürol Öngören (2012). Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Middle East Technical University.

carpets, rugs (*kilims)*, Qurans, lecterns (*rahle*), candle-holders (*şamdan*) and similar objects carrying artistic and sentimental value. Beyond such practical reasons to preserve the Islamic heritage, there were explicit motivations like colonialism and orientalism, which led to inquiries of Europeans about the Islamic world and the emergence of Islamic studies in "Western societies" from the end of the 18th century onwards. Another factor was the spread of Romanticism, which reviewed the past (ancient, middle ages, including other exotic styles) for "finding an inspiration and example for the present" (Odabaşıoğlu, 2002, p. 2). Such trends towards Islamic arts took on a new meaning and found place in the greatest museums of Europe and America.

This inquiry into the Islamic past was also closely bound to a search for the population's own identity and the idea of the nation-state. Evaluation and re-evaluation of the Islamic past as an ideological expression of collective identity was explicitly seen in the Ottoman case. According to Wendy Shaw, "as the empire [Ottoman] weakened during the early twentieth century, the identification of Islamic works of art became increasingly important to the development of a sense of an Ottoman national identity" (Shaw, 2000, p. 58). Sultan Abdulhamid II's "political strategy was to use Islamism as a means of holding together all the Ottoman Muslims" (Odabaşıoğlu, 2002, p. 47). That was a political stance for resisting nationalist waves of minorities and giving a subliminal message that the Ottoman Empire is one unity with multi-cultural identities.

Thus, the empire attempted to take an active role in repairing all the mosques, madrassas (*medrese)* in the capital and the provinces in order to revive and preserve the cultural heritage of the empire's Islamic past. One of those restored buildings was the public kitchen known as *imaret* of the Süleymaniye Complex (1550-1557). The complex was one of the significant buildings that Mimar Sinan (1490-1588) built on a large terrain on the third hill of Istanbul. "The centrally organized geometric plan of this complex also seems to express the centralizing tendencies of the Ottoman state" (Necipoğlu, 1985, p. 96). Exhibition halls replaced the rooms used for storage and cooking, and the marble colonnaded courtyard designed as a garden became an airy exhibition space. This organization scheme was quite suitable for re-functioning of the museum, which also came to be used as a typical model of museums in Western countries.

Restoring such a historical building that is part of a magnificent complex, representative of four hundred years of Ottoman history, and attributing to it a new value and function as a museum, made the museum space itself an object of display. The precious Islamic collection exhibited inside the museum was crowned with a masterpiece of classical Ottoman architecture. Thus, the Islamic collection was used to set up a bridge between the past and the present of the Ottoman culture. However, a source written in 1936 argues that this museum was based on the life of Islamic tribes and was not exactly a museum concerning Turkish arts or civilization (Şapolyo, 1936). These critics were motivated by an ideology of Turkish nationalism that was in progress at the time.

This ideology referred to a radical change in the entire society and became visualized through museums, especially after foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923.

Ankara Ethnographical Museum (1925–27, opened in 1930)

The socio-cultural and political context provided a new ideological setting for display of Islamic culture during the early Republic of Turkey. The establishment of an ethnographical museum as the first museum corresponded to the birth of ethnological and ethnographical studies and museums in European countries in the 19th century. The idea of these studies is that, if ethnographical objects are analyzed correctly and systematically, they might be regarded as the most valuable documents to show social structure, national identity, character, and mentality of a particular culture. Significant contributions of ethnography to the process of nation building could be visualized through the Ethnographical Museum as a medium of state propaganda of a modern and secular nation. It became a platform where Turkish and Anatolian history was constructed and displayed through cultural and folkloric artifacts. The goal of the museum was to present a commemorative culture of the Turkish people, morally and materially, and to collect commonalities, which were motivated by factors of the enthusiasm of emancipation and nationalist movements (Koşay, 1956). The design of the museum building was entrusted to a Turkish architect, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu. The museum was built in a historicist manner using architectural elements borrowed from Seljuk and classical Ottoman styles, known as the First National Style. Once the rough construction of the museum was completed, the collections at the *imaret* of the Süleymaniye complex were transferred to the museum in 1926 (Karaduman, 2006) and the museum was opened to the public in 1930.

The collection of the museum was composed of two groups: ethnographical objects and Turkish-Islamic art works. The ethnographical objects were traditional folk garments, ornaments, carpets and rugs, and some objects used for fishery, embroidery or agriculture in daily life. Turkish-Islamic art works were manuscripts, woodwork and objects used in sacred places such as Qurans, lecterns (*rahle*), candle-holders (*şamdan*) etc. When religious venues like dervish lodges (*tekke*), guild lodges (*zaviye*) and turbah (*türbe)* were closed down on 30 November 1925 under a new law, those objects were no longer functional. The state took the possession of those objects, neutralizing them because of their potential challenge to the revolution and to a secular state. The Ankara Ethnographical Museum was established on this basis. The collection of the museum demonstrated that the historical background of the nation (traditional way of life) was neither destroyed nor ignored (Whittemore, 2003), however it was used (collected and displayed in the museum) in a way that was compatible with the official ideology.

In conclusion, the Museum of Pious Foundations and the Ethnographical Museum represent two different ideological agendas. During the late Ottoman period, the imperial power perceived the heritage of the multi-cultural structure of the empire within an Islamic setting. The building chosen for restoration was a classical Ottoman period *imaret* building that was part of a still functioning complex, which was central to the Islamic way of life. Hence, the selected museum building demonstrated coherence with the material culture put on display in the museum. The emphasis on the Islamic heritage indicated the inclusion of the Islamic past as part of the collective identity of the Ottomans. However, only after ten years were similar objects, including Qurans, lecterns, candle-holders, and prayer rugs (*seccade*), exhibited in a new museum built for this purpose in the new capital city of Turkey. The objects chosen for display in the museum signified the remote past of a national, modern, and secular state during the early Turkish Republic. The sacred relics became exteriorized and were taken out of their context. Those objects were now believed to represent Turkish-Anatolian history and evaluated as part of the historical wealth of a nation (*servet-i milliye*).

The great shift in consideration of the Islamic heritage in two different contexts was closely related with the change in political mechanisms: an empire ruled by sharia laws and a modern, secular nation-state ruled by civil laws. Thus, this paper has attempted to present the variability of the meanings given to material culture, and the possibility of formulating narratives in multiple ways under the influence of political ideologies from the late Ottoman to the early Republican periods. The first museum buildings devoted to Islamic heritage were assessed as the products of ideological approaches. Those museums, their buildings, spatial organizations, and collections were not passively shaped under the contemporary ideologies, but rather they played active roles in building collective identities and common bonds among their communities.

References

Karaduman, H. (2006). Gyula Meszaros ve Bir Halk Müzesi Projesi. *İdol* 8(31): pp. 38-45.

Koşay, H. Z. (1956). *Etnoğrafya Müzesi Kılavuzu*. İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi.

Necipoğlu, G. (1985). The Süleymaniye Complex in İstanbul: An Interpretation. *Muqarnas* 3: pp. 92-117.

Odabaşıoğlu, M. (2002). *The Perception and Representation of Islamic Art and the Emergence of the Islamic Department in the Müze-i Humayun (1889- 1908).* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Bosphorus University.

Şapolyo, E. B. (1936). *Müzeler Tarihi*. İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası.

Shaw, W. (2000). “Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923.” *Ars Orientalis* 30: pp. 55-68.

Whittemore, T. (April-June, 1943). Archaeology During the Republic in Turkey. *American Journal of Archaeology* 47(2): pp. 164-170.

Religion and Iranian Hospitality: A New Approach Toward Engaging the Community at the National Museum of Iran

Mohammad Hekmat
National Museum Institute – New Delhi, India

Introduction

The guest has a special place among Iranians. There is a famous proverb among Iranians that says, *Mehman Habib-e Khodast* (A guest is loved by God). During its eight decades, the National Museum of Iran (est.1937) has been influenced by socio-political transformations, particularly the Islamic Revolution (1979). Still, it seems the museum faces challenges in representing the nation's imagination. However, recent curatorial practices at the National Museum of Iran (NMI) have shown that the museum is going to develop and gain more response in terms of public demand. This paper proceeds as follows. The first part surveys NMI authorities and focuses on the museum's policies during the Pahlavi[1] and Islamic Republic of Iran periods that have shaped its identity narratives. My concern here is the relationship between the NMI as a curatorial principle form that has particular authorities in public engagement, and with the religious-ethnic communities in Iran that this form not only expresses in its displays, but also promotes as the country's mother museum's approach in other Iranian museums. The second part surveys the "community's imagination" and the museum engagement with focus on the Armenian community. The exhibition titled "Armenia and Iran: A Memory of the Land" (2017), along with the Armenian community have been selected to support these thoughts.

The National Museum, Policies and Identity Narratives

The Ancient Iran Museum (AIM), which is the core of the present National Museum of Iran, was founded during the period of Nationalism. During the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi[2], the government actively used 'modernization and centralization policies' (Ansari, 2007) to support and popularize the nationalist ideology of the state. The Ancient Iran Museum (*Iran-e Bastan* Museum) was established as the 'mother museum' to demonstrate a 'modern' identity linked to ancient origins (Mozaffari, 2010). It was designed and first directed

1. Pahlavi dynasty (1925 -1979).
2. Reza Shah Pahlavi (1878-1944) was the first king of Pahlavi dynasty.

by André Godard[1]. Frank Taylor's report[2] has given a clear picture of the NMI in the 1960s. The departments of the museum needed to be developed and museographic functions added at the department level (Taylor, 1968).

A policy of museum development was pursued during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah[3] (Hodjat, 1995). The state used the museum to illustrate the "imperial history" of Persia and its "civilization" (Saleh, 2013). Iranian cultural institutions were influenced by the Islamic Revolution's cultural policies in 1979. The new discourse focused on Islam in Iran and was shaped by Shi'i creeds and its heritage (Katuzian, 2003). Due to this socio-political transformation, and also the archeological authority that existed since Godard's direction, the Islamic collection was transferred to the new building[4] which had been built in the 1950s (National Museum of Iran, 2018). Since 1996, the NMI has had two separate sections, the Ancient Iran Museum (AIN) and the Islamic Period Museum (IPM). The museum's website (2018) has mentioned that the exhibited objects show the deep relationships between Iranian identity and Iranian culture, art and civilization. Iranian identity has been shaped by three parameters, as Abdolkarim Soroush (2000)[5] says: "Iranians are heir to three cultures: Iranian culture, Islamic/religious culture and western culture". With regard to the reality that Iran is a multi-religious and multi-ethnic state (Saleh, 2013), it can be argued that an Iranian national identity that is more in line with a civic understanding of nation ought to be constructed.

The Armenian Community

Armenians are a community who migrated to Iran in the 16th century, though part of the Armenian people are an ethnic group native to northwestern Iran. The community was a pioneer in using museums as a cultural medium to communicate with others. Three museums belong to them in Iran: the Vank Church Museum (est.1905), the Artak Manukian Museum (est. 2008), and the Tabriz Armenian Museum (est. 1966). Religious belief can be a powerful agent of identity and community cohesion (Watson, 2007). Investigation into these three museums has shown that the museums have embodied the community's Imagination, and that Christianity is interwoven with their identity. As Sebouh Sarkissian[6] says:

---

1. Godard (1881-1965) was a French-educated architect and archeologist.
2. Frank A. Taylor (1904-2007) was the founding Director of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History.
3. Mohammad Reza Shah (1919-1980) was the last king of Pahlavi dynasty.
4. The new exhibition museum next door originally built for the Ethnological Museum (1941) has not been completed but has been used for a succession of temporary exhibits and meetings (Taylor, 1968).
5. Abdolkarim Soroush is an Iranian Islamic thinker, reformer, Rumi scholar and public intellectual.
6. Sebouh Sarkissian is the Prelate and Archbishop of the Armenian Diocese of Tehran since 1999.

> *"We cannot understand the concept of the Armenian without Christian affiliation. Although an Armenian is originally Armenian, whatever ethnic identity he bears, he feels himself to be authentically one of the country's honest and law-abiding citizens, and totally gives himself and even sacrifices his life, if necessary." (Serkissian, S. personal communication, January 27, 2018)*

At present, Armenians remain the most powerful religious minority in Iran. They have two seats in the Iranian Parliament.

Armenia and Iran: A Memory of the Land

Between October 2017 and January 2018, an exhibition titled "Armenia and Iran: A Memory of the Land" was organized in the temporary gallery of the NMI. The exhibition was organized by mutual cooperation between the NMI and the History Museum of Armenia (Hasanzadeh & Grigorian, 2017). It was an object-oriented, archeological exhibition focused on the chronological narrative from the 4th millennium BC to the 1st century BC. The content and exhibition texts were written in expert language by archeologists, using several interpretive tools. The poster exhibition also explored churches as world heritage in Iran, in the last section of the exhibition, separately. This exhibition was the first international exhibition held in the NMI. According to the exhibition's booklet (2017), the ideological platform of the exhibition was a political-cultural decision between these two countries, in which was embodied in the message "Back to the Future".

Engaging the Sacred in the National Museum of Iran

An example of participation that is featured among Iranians is hospitality. Any guest, when in the Iranian host's home (including the Armenians), experiences the invitation, welcoming, greeting, sitting on the carpet, being in conversation, eating, and finally being escorted out by the host respectfully. This hospitality process is like the spiritual experience that happens with the sense of place that Iranians call *Adaab-e Mehman Navazi* (Hospitality Traditions). This is a profound respect to all visitors, regardless of race, religion, national affiliation or economic status. The relationship between guest and host is part of the Iranian tradition in their daily life. Seyyed Hosein Nasr[1] (1998) believes tradition means "truths of sacred origin revealed originally". However, in this case, the NMI is the opposite of the concept of tradition in the Iranian context, because the museum is interwoven with de-contextualization. Nasr explains:

> *There is no place here for such an idea as "art for art's sake", and traditional civilizations have never had museums nor ever produced a work*

---

1. Seyyed Hossein Nasr is one of the most important and foremost scholars of Islamic, Religious and Comparative Studies in the world today.

> *of art just for itself. Sacred art cannot transform us until we participate in the spiritual universe that has created it. (Nasr, 1989, p.222)*

His thought has influenced the thematic-orientation of the exhibitions of the IPM since 1996 (Mozzafari, 2010)[1], though the museum design had shown an effort to strike a balance between the museum matter and this thought. Therefore, besides policy challenges, the NMI has a barrier to engage with Armenian community: how to make a relationship between the tradition (the sacred) in the Iranian context, and the museum form, which was born out of modernism?

Conclusion

To understand the engagement between the NMI and the religious community, it is important to focus on traditional experiences in the Iranian context. The sacred is not only found in officially sacred places, but also in daily life in Iran. The engagement of the Armenian community depends on the role of the NMI in relation to their daily life—beyond its policies, showcases, and walls. This can happen when the NMI focuses on the community's imagination in its traditional context (refer to Nasr's thought). On the other hand, the secular aspects of the museum do provide a ground to serve all members of the nation. This community engagement approach may be defined as the "traditional-curatorial principle" which will be integral to a new museology's achievements.

The NMI is in a transition period from old curation to a new museology. Investigation of the museum policies, the Armenian community and the exhibition "Armenia and Iran: A Memory of the Land" have shown that the museum faces institutional challenges rather than challenges based on the state's ideology. This issue stems from old methods of museum interpretation and communication that have been used since 1968, as Frank Taylor reported. The challenge is embodied in the exhibition and programs that affected the Armenian community's experience.

Iran has been shaped by diverse ethnic and religious communities. It is important to re-construct the NMI's organization as a national institution regarding a community-based approach. Accordingly, this community engagement approach aids in the transformation of the NMI to be more inclusive as a democratic institution. The substance of this approach is being in dialogue with religious-ethnic communities in order to reinforce national unity.

References

Ansari, A.M. (2007). *Modern Iran since 1921*, 2nd Edition. Edinburgh: Pearson, Education Ltd.

---

1. The design was changed again for renovations in 2006, and the IPM was closed until 2015.

Fazeli, N. (2006). *Politics of Culture in Iran, Anthropology, politics and society in the twentieth century*. New York: Routledge.

Foundation of Museum Development in Iran, (1977). (Farsi). Tehran: The Ministry of Culture and Art.

Hasanzadeh, Y. and Grigorian, A. (2017). (eds.) *Armenia and Iran: Memory of The Land*, Tehran: Research Institute for Cultural Heritage and Tourism.

Hodjat, M. (1995) *Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an lslamic State*, unpublished PhD thesis, The King' s Manor University of York.

Katouzian, H. (2003) *Iranian History and Politics: The Dialectic of State and Society*, London: Routledge.

Mozaffari, A. (2010). *Inscribing a Homeland: Iranian Identity and the Pre-Islamic and Islamic Collective Imaginations of Place*. PhD thesis, University of Western Australia. https://research-repository.uwa.edu.au/files/3245840/Mozaffari_Ali_2010.pdf

Nasr, S. H. (1989). Knowledge And The Sacred, New York: State University of New York Press.

Saleh, Alam, (2013). *Ethnic Identity and the State in Iran,* New York: Palgrave Macmilan.

Soroush, A. (2000). A. *Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam;* Essential writings of Abdolkarim Soroush, (Eds.) Sadri, M. and Sadri, A., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, F. (1968). *Reorganization of the National Museum of Teheran*, UNESCO document, www.unesdoc.unesco.org

The National Museum in Iran (2018). (Farsi). www.nmi.ichto.ir

Watson, S. (2007). (ed.) *Museums and their Communities,* New York: Routledge.

Epreuves en muséalisation : entre sacralisation et patrimonialisation

Fabien Jakob

Université de Genève[1]*, Suisse*

Mise en ordre des collections

Comme discipline scientifique et académique, la muséologie se focalise sur l'étude des musées, sur une pluralité de façon d'en mettre à l'épreuve les individus, les objets, pratiques et dispositifs ; elle s'intéresse notamment à l'élaboration de ses collections, qui témoignent de la réalité du sacré dans toute la diversité de ses formes matérielles et immatérielles de manifestations. Si celui-ci renvoie traditionnellement à ce qui appartient au domaine des dieux et par extension à ce qui est généralement considéré comme relevant du religieux, de la sainteté, de la pureté, etc. (Breton & Le Breton, 2009, cité par Dufour & Boutaud, 2013, p.8), il tend toutefois à s'envisager dans le champ muséal, entre patrimonialisation et sacralisation, d'avantage sous des formes sociales et culturelles (Chidester & Linenthal, 1995 ; Jackson & Henrie, 1983, cité par Saretzki & May, 2011, p.28) avant tout définies par des registres hétérogènes de représentations et d'actions plutôt que selon une conception ontologique ou exclusive du religieux.

Abordant les collections comme source d'un programme scientifique qui vise à extraire de leur milieu naturel ou culturel d'origine, physiquement et conceptuellement, des éléments matériels et immatériels pour les transformer en musealium ou muséalie (Malraux, 1951 ; Déotte, 1986, Desvallées, 1998, cité par Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010, p.49), la muséologie examine alors la consécration par l'institution muséale de différentes formes de sacralité, d'« entre-lieux du cultuel et du culturel » (Turgeon & Laurier, 2005, cité par Dormaels & Berthold, 2009, p.1).

L'homme étant « la mesure de la sacralité des êtres et des choses, parce qu'il est l'agent de leur possible sacralisation » (Meslin, 1988, cité par Dufour & Boutaud, 2013, p.11), ce processus procède très schématiquement d'un ensemble d'épreuves de qualification conventionnelle tendant à négocier et établir un statut à des biens et pratiques sur la base de matrices interprétatives, d'une analyse de leurs qualités dénotatives et connotatives (Glicenstein, 2009, cité par Minucciani, 2013, p.30), dont il n'est pas toujours aisé de déconstruire les justifications (De Beaune, 2013). En effet, les différents acteurs statuant

1. Foko-KUKUSO RC-SAC Research Committee Sociology of Arts and Culture

sur le statut de ces biens témoignent non seulement de capacités critiques, réflexives, cognitives variablement distribuées mais également de modalités différentes de traitement des choses (Barbier & Trépos, 2007) ; la parcellisation des tâches (Friedman, 1963, cité par Thévenot, 1995, p.412), la régulation autonome (Reynaud, 1989, cité par Thévenot, 1995, p.412), l'utilisation et le détournement des règles (Crozier & Friedberg, 1977, cité par Thévenot, 1995, p.412) au cœur d'un modèle d'organisation industrielle complexifient la coordination des opérations cognitives et évaluatives, dont l'ordre de grandeur n'est ni nécessairement évident ni exempt de disputes, chacun revendiquant des modes de compréhension intimes avec les objets visés (Lamy & Plutniak, 2013), un monopôle cognitif sur certaines activités.

L'exigence d'une argumentation publique en justification de la muséalisation, notamment par le biais de bases d'information et de sensibilisation (Heinich, 2010), complique d'avantage encore le processus, notamment lorsque les avis des représentants officiels divergent des opinions citoyennes ordinaires (Bondaz, Isnart & Leblon, 2012) qui revendiquent le droit de faire valoir des mémoires plurielles, une pluralité de sensibilité et d'intérêts, signant par-là un certain détachement face à une forme de dominance d'expertise institutionnelle. Appuyant l'idée d'un tournant démocratique de la culture qui témoigne d'une codétermination et réactualisation de croyances, représentations, valeurs, savoirs, normes et pratiques, la muséologie cherche alors à analyser par quelles épreuves les exigences citoyennes hétérogènes confrontent différentes expertises dans l'espace public patrimonial (Habermas, 1992 cité par Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010, p.16), et selon quelles grandeurs et principes supérieurs communs se résolvent les litiges, différends et dévoilements.

Mise en contexte de sens

La muséologie vise encore à analyser comment l'introduction d'éléments dans une collection témoigne non seulement de représentations, savoirs (Lavergen & Mondémé, 2008), dispositions et pratiques situées (Joly, 2017), mais encore de la confirmation d'un potentiel documentaire (Rivière, 1989, cité par Minucciani, 2013, p.29) objectivant un système de codification du sacré puisant ses ressorts et ses raisons « dans des horizons de sens communs ou de réalité partagée » (Schütz, 1996, cité par Cefaï, 2009, p.204) inscrits dans l'épaisseur et la profondeur de multiples textures d'expérience de parcours biographiques, historiques et collectifs (Pailhé, 1984). La muséologie cherche alors à mettre en évidence comment la muséalisation participe d'une médiation entre des entités humaines et des biens sociaux qui traversent des mondes précédents, présents et à venir (Lepetit, 1995, cité par Offenstadt & Van Damme, 2009, p. 262).

Dès lors que chaque époque, selon son climat et sa trajectoire, se forge une idée du sacré à sa mesure (de Munck & Verhoeven, 1997), une sacralité venant se substituer à une précédente (Poulat, 2006, cité par Dufour & Boutaud, 2013, p.10), la muséologie vise alors à déterminer comment les processus de muséalisation procédant d'une mise en contexte de sens (Nachi, 2006), d'une certaine muséité diffuse dans l'esprit du temps révélatrice d'une ambiance morale (Barroso et Vaillant, 1993, cité par Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010, p.26), traduisent et réactualisent des mondes complexes de signes et de sens considérés fondamentaux et qui concourent « selon un ensemble de pratiques symboliques rituelles autour du sacré » (Tarot, 2008, p.50) à l'institution de nouveaux interdits participant de la structuration d'idiosyncrasies, d'une édification d'un monde, propres à assurer la protection des emblèmes totémiques (Tarlet, 2009), des énergies de vie d'une communauté (Caillois, 1988 ; Bataille, 1980, cité par Jeffrey, 2011, p.38).

La révélation d'un supérieur commun

Suivant l'hypothèse sur la vie en société selon laquelle « l'alliance entre les humains va de pair avec l'alliance avec les invisibles ; on ne peut être allié que de ceux qui s'allient aux mêmes invisibles ou qui respectent les invisibles de leurs alliés » (Caillé, 2003, p.320) ; la muséologie, par un examen critique de la structure et des cadres de l'expérience, un travail de découpage et de classement de la réalité sociale (Lemieux, 2009), interroge alors ces invisibles sous-tendant une possible élaboration, négociation de formes de sacralité autour d'une conception partagée du bien commun (Genard, 2011) comme fait, lieu et opération de médiations, régulant, distribuant et symbolisant le rapport entre soi, l'autre et le collectif (Foray, 2009, cité par Monjo, 2015, p.8).

Sous cet angle, elle permet d'envisager le sacré non seulement sous un angle inspiré en ce qu'« il est lié à la spiritualité, au recueillement et au soin du monde », soit *relegere* (Caillé, 2003, p.323), mais également en ce qu'il est « ordonné autour de la question de la cohésion à produire entre les individus », soit *religare* (Caillé, 2003, p.323), que celle-ci s'articule à des figures, objets ou dispositifs traditionnels, éventuellement de renom, ou qu'elle procède d'un agencement collaboratif entre des agents et actants multiples à même de s'abstraire d'un intérêts individuels pour servir une conception partagée du bien commun (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991).

Pour ne pas conclure

La muséalisation semble ainsi procéder d'une constellation combinatoire de répertoires complexes d'actions et d'interprétations protéiformes projetant différents contextes conceptuels et motivationnels, entre arguments techniques ou justifications inhérentes à un monde inspiré ou domestique, en vertu desquels les individus trouvent un sens à ce qu'ils entreprennent individuellement et collectivement (Levinas, 1994, cité par Hayat, 2013, p.36). Suivant un ensemble de démarches collaboratives, elle participe en particulier d'une co-détermination et réactualisation de représentations, valeurs, normes et savoirs qui concourent au titre d'une sacralisation à une mise en liaison de biens matériels et immatériels « reconnus et appropriés collectivement» (Arpin, 2000, cité par Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010, p.65) avec un entour socio-culturel, et historique (Spielbauer, 1987 ; Waidacher, 1996, cité par Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010, p.56) par lesquelles les individus vont pouvoir lire et comprendre leur appartenance à une communauté. Ces processus participent non seulement d'une meilleure acceptabilité sociale de la proposition muséale, d'une co-production et co-réactualisation de formes de sacralisation, mais également d'une distribution du rapport entre soi, l'autre et un entour socio-culturel selon une conception partagée du bien commun trouvant sa grandeur dans une cité civique.

Bibliographie

Barbier, R. & Trépos, J.-Y. (2007). Humains et non-humains : un bilan d'étape de la sociologie des collectifs. *Revue d'anthropologie des connaissances*, 1(1), 35-58.

Bessy, C. & Favereau, O. (2003). Institutions et économie des conventions. *Cahiers d'économie Politique / Papers in Political Economy*, 1(44), 119-164.

Boltanski, L., Thévenot, L. (1991). *De la justification, les économies de la grandeur*. Paris : Gallimard.

Bondaz, J., Isnart, C. & Leblon, A. (2012). Au-delà du consensus patrimonial. *Civilisations*, 61-1.

Caillé, A. (2003). Nouvelles thèses sur le religieux. *Revue du MAUSS*, 2(22), 318-327.

Cefaï, D. (2009). S'engager. Monde vécu, engagement et justification. Dans M. Breviglieri & C. Lafaye & D. Trom, *Compétences critiques et sens de la justice*, Colloque de Cerisy, (pp. 203-215). Paris: Economica.

De Beaune. S.A. (2013). Le musée comme lieu d'administration de la preuve. Genèse et destin de deux collections du XIX^e siècle. *Gradhiva*, 18, 166-199. Récupéré le 31.08.2017 de https://gradhiva.revues.org/2741.

Desvallées, A., Mairesse, F. (2010). *Concepts clés de muséologie*. Paris : Armand Colin.

Dormaels, M., Berthold, E. (2009). Introduction. In E. Berthold, M. Dormaels, J. Laplace, *Patrimoine et sacralisation*, (pp.1-15). Collection Cahiers de l'Institut du patrimoine de l'UQAM. Québec : Editions Multimondes.

Dufour, S., Boutaud, J.-J. (2013). Extension du domaine du sacré. *Questions de communication*, 23. Récupéré le 01.04.2018 de http://journals.openedition.org/questionsdecommunication/8329.

Genard, J-L. (2011). Investiguer le pluralisme de l'agir. Grands résumés, L'Action au pluriel. Sociologie des régimes d'engagement. *Sociologies*. Récupéré le 05.05.2017 de https://sociologies.revues.org/3574.

Heinich, N. (2010). La construction d'un regard collectif: le cas de l'Inventaire du patrimoine. *Gradhiva*. Récupéré le 17.01.2017 de http://gradhiva.revues.org/1707.

Jeffrey, D. (2011). Le sacré, entre médiations et ruptures. ESSACHESS. *Journal for Communication Studies*, 4, 2(8), 31-46.

Joly, M. (2017). Bernard LAHIRE, Ceci n'est pas qu'un tableau. Essai sur l'art, la domination, la magie et le sacré. *Revue européenne des sciences sociales*, 55(1). Récupéré le 13.03.2018 de http://ress.revues.org/3702.

Lamy, J., Plutniak, S. (2013). Esquisse d'une réflexion sociologique sur le patrimoine scientifique et technique. *Sciences de la société*, 89, 140-150.

Lavergen, C., Mondémé, T. (2008). Pragmatismes: vers une politique de l'action située. *Tracés. Revue de Sciences humaines*, 15, 5-22

Lemieux, C. (2009). Du pluralisme des régimes d'action à la question de l'inconscient : déplacements. Dans M. Breviglieri & C. Lafaye & D. Trom, *Compétences critiques et sens de la justice*, Colloque de Cerisy, (pp. 69-81). Paris : Economica.

Minucciani, V. (2013). *Religion and museums. Immaterial and Material Heritage*. Turin : Allemandi & C.

Monjo, R. (2015). Le défi de la foi : la raison étrangère à elle-même ? *Le Télémaque*, 2(48), 35-50.

Nachi, M. (2006). *Introduction à la sociologie pragmatique*. Paris : Armand Colin.

Offenstadt, N. & Van Damme, S. (2009). Les pratiques historiennes au risque de la sociologie pragmatique. Dans M. Brévigliéri, C. Lafaye, D. Trom, *Compétences critiques et sens de la justice* (pp. 261-274). Paris : Economica.

Pailhé, J. (1984). Boltanski (Luc). Les cadres. La formation d'un groupe social. *Espace, populations, sociétés*, 2(3), 219-228.

Saretzki, A., May, C. (2011). Produire un espace sacré : controverses autour du site de la colline royale d'Ambohimanga à Madagascar. *Mondes du Tourisme*, 3, 26-40.

Tarlet, R. (2009). Le rituel du concert et la question du sacré. *Appareil*, 3. Récupéré le 13.03.2018 de http://appareil.revues.org/841.

Tarot, C. (2008). *Le symbolique et le sacré. Théories de la religion*. Paris : Edition de la découverte / M.A.U.S.S. Récupéré le 13.03.2018 de http://www.revuedumauss.com.fr/media/TAR.pdf.

Thévenot, L. (1995). L'action en plan. *Sociologie du Travail*, 37(3), 411-434.

Museology and the Sacred

A Meaning to their Existence [1]

Lynn Maranda

Curator Emerita, Museum of Vancouver – Canada

Human beings search for meaning to their existence and are looking for answers to ascribe their life with dimensions that might or might not exist, things that give them greater significance. This ascription is often referred to as religion. Further, humankind has an innate and insatiable curiosity about itself. Who am I? Why am I here? How did I get here? From where do I come? Human beings are forever seeking answers, trying to satisfy themselves as to their origins, their purpose, and the meaning of life itself. Religion has positioned itself as a conduit through which such answers might be found. In a parallel search for the meaning of and purpose to their existence, human beings have also gravitated towards museums where "meaning" can be found in past human history and some satisfaction to their curiosity can be accrued from that source. In this way, the museum supplies human beings with meaning of where we are and where we used to be and humans can take solace with thoughts of themselves.

How do the two parallel thoughts, religion and museum, give meaning to the existence of humankind?

The head of religious thought is called a deity and the practitioners who speak to the deity and who speak to the people on behalf of the deity are priests. Priests, dressed in vestments signifying their office, ensure that the devotees adhere to the appropriate conduct including their adoration of the relics and reverence to the deity. The place of religious thought where the priest receives word from the deity to transmit to the people and where the people pay homage to the deity, has many names – church, shrine, temple, mosque, synagogue. Here, the people feel connected to the deity and this gives a spiritual meaning to their lives.

In a parallel thought, museums have developed as another kind of religion. There is a strong affiliation in the museum where objects are treated with the high levels of reverence and are worshiped for their rarity, beauty, importance and are handled by museum staff wearing their own vestments of lab coats and gloves and who ensure their care and conservation for present and future ge-

1. This paper contains information that originates from the author's personal first-hand knowledge garnered over 44 years as a museum curator.

nerations and indeed for all eternity. The museum structure itself has taken on the attributes of a temple and the curator, that of its priest. The curator's role is to make a connection with the collections and interpret them for those who visit the museum. In this way, museum collections have acquired a sacredness over which the curator has domain. In fact, the emergence of museums, their structure and reason for their existence gives a new understanding to human evolution and the hoarding and possession of collections has created a unique value made permanent through the museological credo of preservation.

In their own way, both entities (religion and museum) are ascribed with the emotional attributes of a temple - religion represents the temple of faith and the museum, that of science. Both have their priests, their own levels of spirituality, their relics, their doctrine, their scriptures and their disciples. Nevertheless, they are distinct. Human evolution is a case in point. Religion holds that humans come into existence through an ethereal intervention and further promotes thoughts of an endlessness to life. Whereby the museum ascribes to evolution, development and the tangibility of the scientific method. Religion adheres to scriptures based on faith while museums follow "scriptures" based on hard evidence. Religion is predictable and set with its own calendar for its followers to reference. Museums are unpredictable and variable with schedules set on an as needed basis. Religious relics are present for all to see and worship. On the other hand, the museum's relics are present on an "as see" basis or otherwise hidden away from view for such reasons relating to space or time or to ensure their continued and carefully monitored existence lest they come to harm. Unlike sectarian religious institutions, museums are available to all and have become platforms for public dialogue in which anyone can take part. Nevertheless, both adhere to a belief in sacred things in sacred places, where quiet contemplation and worship is the norm. Both give meaning to human existence but in different ways and for different purposes.

As the repository for the evidence of humankind's existence and charged with a responsibility to provide a comprehensible meaning in respect of such an existence, museums have sought out and collected whatever is required for fulfilling this sphere of their endeavour. This almost obsessive drive to build meaningful collections has moulded museums into the voracious predators they have become, to the extent that they often compete amongst themselves for choice objects. In turn, this has led to the museum's tenacious hold on its amassed holdings by championing the sanctity of preservation to the extent that the museum has even interfered with the sacred beliefs of "the other". For example, various totem poles, such as mortuary poles (to house coffins of dead chiefs) or memorial poles (to commemorate the inheritance of a deceased chief's title and prerogatives), are deemed sacred by the First Nations peoples of the Pacific Northwest Coast. In addition, the images or "crests" carved on these poles often represent supernatural beings which are also held to be sacred. These poles have a life cycle of their own and when they fall and decay that is perfectly natural to First Nations, but not to museums which are prone to rush in to save and salvage whatever remnants remain in the name of preservation. The overwhelming need to possess, to hoard, and to preserve such relics have caused museums to remove not only singular sacred pieces, but also entire shrines full of objects from lands on which they have no right of trespass. Their continued belief in their rights of ownership conflicts with their responsibility as stewards and they often have to address issues of bad taste, wrongful appropriation and insensitivity. This kind of activity can even be equated with the ongoing attempts of religious conversion which has been and still is all too often highly destructive, offensive and even violent. Whether this takes the form of indoctrination over a period of time, the sudden physical destruction of such religious icons as the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan, or periods of warfare, there is continual ongoing strife between religious sects which compete for attracting followers and converting them to their individual doctrines.

While religion and museum intersect in their passion over the relics, adherence to dogma, reverential acknowledgement of priests, and so forth, they will forever remain distant over the issue of the fundamental purpose of their individual temples which for religion, is the well-being of the faithful and for the museum, the advancement of scientific knowledge. Nevertheless, museums do collect and display religious objects and mount religious themed exhibitions, such as, the 1993, *Sacred Encounters: Father De Smet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West*, which toured in Canada and the United States. Museums even go so far as to host functions such as that held on 7 May 2018 at New York city's Metropolitan Museum of Art under the title, *Met Gala 2018*, the theme of which was *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination*. This *Gala* has not been without controversy, a line across which museums have been and still are prone to tread.

> *But even though the Vatican had approved of the exhibit … some Catholics thought the event [the Gala] appropriated their religion into a fashion statement. Some people called the theme sacrilegious and offensive to their faith …*
>
> *Others, who were critical of the church, called out the Met for glorifying Catholicism, despite its dark history… (Friedman, 2018)*

Other examples of religion-museum interconnectedness are evidenced by temples which were originally built as holy places of religion but are now considered museums. The Hagia Sophia in Istanbul started out as a Greek Orthodox basilica, then became a mosque, and is now a museum. Vatican City is a prime example of a mix of both religion and museum. In Russia, there is considerable controversy over the ongoing process of returning properties (which include longstanding museums formed in Soviet times) from state to church usage.

Unlike museums, the congregations of many Christian churches have lessened to the degree that even church properties have to be sold. In order to attempt to attract parishioners and especially younger people, these sacred temples have tried to contemporize religious doctrine and liturgies. Museums, on the other hand, have grown exponentially and while they have had to reach out more and more to serve society's wants and even keep pace with a changing world, they are flourishing and their visitorship continues to grow. Most communities, both big and small, have a museum where the residents can visit to learn about the history of their environs, where they fit into the scheme of things and where meaning to one's existence can be found in the physical evidence of their past.

In fact, in his article entitled, *Why Churches are the New Museums*, art critic Jason Farago confirms that museums are proliferating either through expansion or by way of new buildings and acknowledges the architectural kudos that accompanies such activity.

> *If churches and cathedrals once stood at the top of the architectural hierarchy, today the museum is the building form that every serious architect dreams of designing. The financial Medicis of the 21st Century are not throwing much money at religious institutions – but a new museum, especially one offering naming rights, can attract the sort of budget that would once have been reserved for a cathedral. (Farago, 2017)*

A museum designed by a famous architect attracts local and international attention and this in turn provides "free" press, which leads to an increase in visitorship.

> *The art museum has supplanted the church as the pinnacle of architectural ambition, but a more curious ecclesiastical shift may be taking place inside the museum's walls. These days we frequently use religious language when talking about art. We make 'pilgrimages' to museums or to landmarks of public art in far-off locales. We experience 'transcendence' before major paintings or large-scale installations…*
>
> *What is the busiest day of the week for most contemporary art museums? That would be Sunday: the day we used to reserve for another house of [Christian] worship. (Farago, 2017)*

Humankind needs religion, that is, an overall account of what is the meaning of existence. The modern explanations tend towards locating meaning found in the evolution of homo sapiens as a strict departure from the traditional temple (the place of worship) that finds meaning by the intervention of a divine creator. Whereas the museum is an institution for banking information and where there is an obvious link of a spirituality attached to artifact collections. Further, the adoration of sacred icons of the traditional religion is being replaced with a modern spirited reverence of preservation. The museum's view of the world is on an upswing in importance and the energy this creates is proselytizing world values.

References

Farago, J. (2017, July 16). *Why Churches are the New Museums*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20150716-why-museums-are-the-new-churches

Friedman, M. (2018, May 8). *People are Offended by the Met Gala's Catholicism Theme*. Retrieved from: https://www.harpersbazaar.com/celebrity/red-carpet-dresses/a20427494/met-gala-2018-catholicism-theme-controversy/

Reflexionando sobre lo sagrado en la Museología: musealidad, musealización y relaciones sociales y de poder

Luciana Menezes de Carvalho[1]

Museu da Memória e Patrimônio da Universidade Federal de Alfenas – Brasil.

La propuesta de trabajo aquí presentada se centra en discutir una problemática (1) y una propuesta (2): 1) los museos son espacios de poder y status social, incluyendo la propia Museología y sus conceptos; y 2) la sacralidad de los objetos y lugares podría existir a partir de relaciones específicas entre personas / comunidades y objetos / lugares, teniendo en cuenta los conceptos de resonancia y adherencia.

(1) Una de las características más humanas (hasta donde sabemos) es la capacidad que el ser humano tiene de pensar simbólicamente – de atribuir símbolos que se convierten en arbitrarios, y son aceptados colectivamente. Es la especie humana quien elabora lo que llamamos cultura, que en contrapartida le propicia al humano ser estructurado y ser capaz de estructurar (Bauman, 2012, p. 142-146). Es necesario, por lo tanto, ir más allá – no se pueden pensar de forma reduccionista las relaciones entre lo social y lo simbólico (Hall, 2003, p. 13).

Los museos comenzaron a proliferarse a fines del siglo XVIII y en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, período conocido como la "era de los museos" (Schwarcz, 1988; Burke, 2012, p. 122), mencionada en muchos trabajos que tratan la historia de los museos. El siglo XIX fue importante en la difusión del conocimiento occidental para las demás partes del mundo, principalmente por medio de instituciones centrales: universidades, bibliotecas y museos. Los museos, en ese momento, también reprodujeron y recrearon un tipo de representación social que se intentaba destacar: la Nación. Esa comunidad imaginada, como puntuó Anderson, necesitaba de mecanismos que reforzasen y validasen su importancia; en ese proceso y de forma concomitante, los museos se fortalecen como instituciones cuyos discursos no solamente son válidos, sino incuestionables y fortalecen la constitución de naciones. Se trata de un proceso que se repetirá por la trayectoria de ese fenómeno social, en el siglo XX.

---

1. Master y Doctora en Museología y Patrimonio. Licenciada en Museología. Directora del "Museu da Memória e Patrimônio da Universidade Federal de Alfenas".

Así, los museos también podrían ser considerados una forma de organizar simbólicamente el mundo. Para Brulon Soares, las manifestaciones tradicionales de museos, desde el siglo XVIII, fueron constituidas en la reapropiación y reconstrucción del concepto de lo clásico, tornándose instituciones que prescribían un modo rebuscado y distinto de ser, transmitidas por los Estados-Nación y apropiadas por una elite para servir a sus intereses, legitimando la autoridad de la burguesía. El rol de los museos, muy definido, era formar individuos para una sociedad que reivindicaba para sí misma el status de civilización (Brulon Soares, 2011, p. 54). Los museos – así como la apropiación de las obras de arte – fueron hace mucho tiempo constituidos por una relación social de distinción (Bourdieu, 2013, p. 213).

El fenómeno social museo, en esa perspectiva, además de ser producto de la sociedad que lo ha idealizado, también participa y actúa en el proceso de formación de los sujetos sociales, que a su vez no se constituye *per se* en la consciencia, sino por la existencia históricamente concreta que determina la existencia de un ser social – sea un individuo o una institución. Los museos integrarían la estructura ideológica de la sociedad, en la cual cualquier museo podría ser identificado, para Borges (2013, p. 3), como intelectual colectivo que desarrolla un rol importante en la formación de los sujetos como ciudadanos y en la "ordenación, organización y orientación de la vida cultural". En paralelo, y simultáneamente como consecuencia de eso, por mucho tiempo se ha defendido la idea de que los museos son templos; lugares sagrados de contemplación de objetos.

A partir de reflexiones en el ámbito de la Museología, fueron elaborados términos específicos para definir "intenciones" y procesos de entrada de objetos en museos y / o resignificación de lugares, tales como musealidad y musealización. Esos procesos conceden a los objetos y lugares un status distinto de los demás de la realidad – tal distinción podría y aún ha sido vista como poseedora de "sacralidad". Para Maroevic, la Museología es la disciplina científica que estudia la Musealidad por medio de la Musealia (objetos de museo). Musealidad es el atributo característico de un objeto cuando se cambia en "el objeto", o sea, el proceso de salida del "medio ambiente real" para el "medio ambiente museo", tornándose en documento de su realidad primera, o sea, musealia (1986, p. 183). Él profundiza su definición de Musealidad afirmando que es "la mayor parte de las cualidades inmateriales de los objetos o de los conjuntos del patrimonio cultural, o bien de los objetos de museo en sentido estricto" (1997, p. 113). También apunta que se trata de la calidad que ese objeto tiene de documentar una realidad en otra realidad – que, en el caso del museo, ese sería, en el museo, "documento de lo real", o a lo mejor, "de otras relaciones espaciales" (Maroevic, 1997, p. 113).

Por lo tanto, Musealidad sería el valor inmaterial o su significado que justifica su Musealización (proceso que permite a los objetos permanecer en el contexto del museo), conduciendo la memoria hasta la comunicación de su contenido, incitando al humano en un proceso de asociaciones y connotaciones (Maroevic, 1997, p. 113). Otro concepto importante que debe ser pensado es el de Musealización, como parte del proceso de institución de objetos (musealias, patrimonios). Según Brulon Soares (2012), los "objetos sagrados" (que a su vez conectan dos mundos – uno presente y otro ausente), al adentrarse en el contexto particular de los museos, reciben también la nomenclatura de objetos musealizados:

> *A partir de una investigación de la propia naturaleza de la musealización, se puede percibir que la 'elevación' de un objeto de la cultura a la categoría de patrimonio ocurre como una especie de atribución mágica a un objeto determinado, o a un espacio a que se atribuye [distinto] valor, fragmento del mundo que, inmediatamente, gana sentido de excepcionalidad sobre la totalidad – él la representa y contiene todo el resto en sí mismo, [...] (Brulon Soares, 2012, p. 69).*

(2) Al pensar en la relación que cada individuo o comunidad establece con los objetos, sean de museo o considerados patrimonio – Borges y Campos, más allá de discutir el concepto de resonancia, delinean el concepto de adherencia. Según esos autores, para determinar lo que es patrimonio, es necesario que haya la relación entre el bien cultural y su valor, considerando valor, como ha dicho Marx, al resultado del trabajo humano o la sustancia social de cada cosa que existe en el mundo. Se atribuye al patrimonio el significado de valor-cosa, pues al contrario se entendería que valor y cosa puedan existir separadamente y, en el caso del valor, sería posterior a la cosa. Algunos preceptos sobre ese tema necesitan ser cambiados, como un objeto que, cuando es musealizado, pierde su valor y pasa a tener un valor simbólico cuando, de hecho, él nunca perderá su real valor, mientras sea un producto de una cultura. Una forma de investigar lo que puede ser patrimonio es el concepto de resonancia de Greenblatt y que, según Borges y Campos:

> *[...] al hablarse de resonancia reportémonos a la potencialidad de un objeto o acontecimiento (un ritual, por ejemplo) de afectar un sujeto de modo de provocar efectos de memoria relativos a ese objeto o acontecimiento. Ese efecto sobre la memoria y el imaginario es producido por el poder de evocar, mediante lo cual el objeto trae a la presencia algo que sólo por la rememoración se manifiesta (Borges & Campos, 2012, p. 118).*

Los autores resaltan, sin embargo, que la resonancia "no afecta de la misma forma y tampoco con la misma intensidad sujetos que poseen diferentes referencias culturales" (Borges & Campos, 2012, p. 118). Y, por lo tanto, decir que tal patrimonio resuena en un individuo o comunidad no es suficiente para comprender si ellos se identificarán o no con el patrimonio – sean los dichos "oficiales" como los "no-oficiales".

Sobre adherencia, Borges y Campos ejemplificaron la situación de un objeto musealizado, de origen *mekuton,* dos visitantes observan ese objeto: uno es *Kayapó*, del mismo origen que el objeto; y el otro es de un contexto cultural distinto. Los dos sujetos son afectados, poseen resonancia de aquel objeto, pero lo más probable es que sólo el *Kayapó* se adherirá al objeto, identificará y fácilmente asumirá ese objeto como su patrimonio. Considerando lo expuesto, es posible inferir que el concepto de resonancia se refiere a efectos de memoria entre un bien cultural y un sujeto o grupo, y adherencia como “relativa al grado mayor o menor de relevancia para un sujeto” perteneciente al contexto cultural de determinado bien (Borges & Campos, 2012, p. 83).

Considerando a la comunidad como un grupo social local, que se configura como un conjunto de individuos organizados bajo una base territorial y que se inter-relacionan a partir de un sentimiento de pertenencia, es necesario tomar en cuenta también que ese grupo local se integra a una amplia y compleja estructura social, de carácter macrosocial. Siendo así, la preservación de los patrimonios culturales por una comunidad, realiza contribuciones fundamentales para el fortalecimiento de su subjetividad, reafirmando una identidad y una memoria común, relacionándose también con aspectos más amplios y objetivos.

Sintetizando lo que aquí se ha propuesto, es posible inferir que, dada la relevancia del museo, los objetos adquieren un *status* distinto, una distinción (Bourdieu) y algo de “sacralidad” (Brulon Soares). Así que, de una manera general, los objetos de museo <u>resuenan</u> en los individuos como siendo de relevancia cultural o social. Sin embargo, para que cierto individuo, o sociedad, reconozca algo como sagrado para sí, <u>adhiriéndose</u> a él, lo sagrado, en ese caso, exige un (re)conocimiento previo, requiere cierto capital simbólico. No hay nada que sea universalmente sagrado para todos y todas más allá de la propia premisa de la sacralidad, presente dentro y fuera de los museos. La sacralidad está presente y tiene su relevancia en todas las formaciones sociales, aunque no la nombren de esa forma o reflexionen analíticamente sobre ella.

Referencia

Bauman, Z. (2012). *Ensaios sobre o conceito de cultura*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor.

Borges, L. C. (2013). O intelectual Museu às voltas com seus oximoros. En*Encontro Nacional de Pesquisa em Ciência da Informação*. Santa Catarina.

Borges, L. C., & Campos, M. D. (2012). Patrimônio como valor, entre ressonância e aderência. En T. Scheiner; M. Granato. (Eds.), ICOFOM LAM, *Termos e Conceitos da Museologia*: Museu Inclusivo, Interculturalidade e Patrimônio Integral (pp. 112-124). Rio de Janeiro: Museu de Astronomia e Ciências Afins / UNIRIO.

Bourdieu, P. (2013). *A distinção*: crítica social do julgamento. Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul: Zouk.

Brulon Soares, B. C. (2012). A experiência museológica: Conceitos para uma fenomenologia do Museu. En *Revista Eletrônica do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Museologia e Patrimônio* (p. 55-71), PPG-PMUS Unirio/MAST.

Brulon Soares, B. C. (2012).O rapto das Musas: apropriação do mundo clássico na invenção dos museus. En *Anais do Museu Histórico Nacional* (pp. 41-65), Rio de Janeiro.

Burke, P. (2012). *Uma história social do conhecimento*. Da Enciclopédia à Wikipédia. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor.

Hall, S. (2003). *Da diáspora*. Identidades e Mediações Culturais. Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG.

Maroević, I. (1997). El rol de la Musealidad en la preservación de la Memoria. En *ICOFOM LAM,*113-118.

Maroević, I. (1986). Identity as a constituent part of Museality. *ICOFOM Study Series*, 10, 183-188

Museums, Cultural Patrimony and Religious Syncretism in Quilombola Struggles and Resistance

Silvilene Morais
Maria Amélia Reis
Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, UNIRIO – Brazil

Introduction

While visiting the sacred art museum, students from a public school, composed mainly of Afro-descendants, astonished at the sight the image of Our Lady of Conception, silenced the guide as they exclaimed: “Friends! it’s Yemanjá!”.

Did the teenagers confuse Yemanjá, a mythical figure of African religious cults, with Our Lady of the Navigators of the Catholic Church? Religious syncretism was ruled by centuries of Christian domination that silenced religions originating from African tribes and, most often, became the enemy of diverse religious beliefs. For slaves treated as animals, the practices of their original religious beliefs were carried out in secret, in the slave quarters or concealed under *capoeiras* (groves), just like the death games present in the disputes between ethnic enemies in the African diaspora - the *capoeiras*.

In the struggles against hegemonic domination, the religious beliefs of the diverse enslaved populations from Africa became important in conveying group memories now that they had been forcibly transported to Brazil. They were united, although with different traits of their original African religions attached to the new religion as they submitted to the Catholicism of the colonizers, adapting the old in order to ensure that their memory of struggles would remain, while assimilating the European religion imposed upon them. With the passage of time, from this silent resistance in the midst of physical, mental, and moral sufferings, religious syncretism was formed, becoming a mixture of Christian and African faiths as a means of effectively maintaining the memory of distant Africa, and even assuring survival when life was harsh. Clarifying certain characteristics that identify the religious beliefs of the Quilombola de Santana people, which are necessary for safeguarding their cultural, material and immaterial heritage, is the challenge of this communication.

We observed in during our research, which covers teaching and outreach developed in the Quilombola people of Santana, that on the walls and furniture of the houses of *taipa*, one could see Catholic images amongst offerings to the African religious cults that are attached to mother-nature. Bowls of clay containing seeds and leaves from local forests, candles, and colored ribbons full of faith could be seen, which thanked the Orishas for their little freedom to worship, praying for health, faith, and resistance for the dispersed groups of blacks, mulattoes, and *cafuzos* that were sold and deprived of their families.

In another extensive research project, we were welcomed into a social network with the children of the School of Samba Unidos de Padre Miguel. There, we observed the function of the drums called *Rum, Pi, Lê*, which evoked the *orixás*[1]. They always start their religious and profane events with both the drums and Catholic prayers. Intercultural collective encounters between syncretic religious beliefs bring to us an understanding of the tangible and the intangible as inseparable.

The purpose of this communication, part of the ongoing research, is to identify Quilombola knowledge in its religious representations in their territory; to value interculturality based on the contemporary understanding of cultural, material, and immaterial heritage; to identify syncretic religious expressions as alternatives to prevalent Catholicism; and to identify clues for the improvement of educational processes in museums while including knowledge and heritage derived from the religions of the Quilombolas.

The methodology of this experiment will reconcile both historical and qualitative approaches, according to the objectives and the contexts. Partial results show (a) intense contribution to the improvement of the quality of life and work of the Quilombolas and the teachers of the city in the valorization of local material and immaterial heritage, among them the hybrid religions steeped in social practices; (b) the ways in which this community interprets the other culture in its religious diversity; (c) identification of Catholic symbols, how they signify the liberation of their inhuman experience, and that Catholicism paradoxically maintains a unity among people of different faiths from Africa.

If today's experiment can find new methods for the effectiveness of an integral and educational museum, confronting hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices will create new and more radical directions, always shared, as a challenge to the management of museums. This experiment can contribute to understanding the importance of Afro-descendant religious heritage as a primary source in the contact with local histories, based on the construction of intercultural skills that are fundamental in the understanding of differentiated beliefs in each singular culture. Productive dialogue from the various encounters with cultural activities should be able to overcome potential conflicts.

1. The orixás are the ancestor deities in various religions brought by slaves from Africa to Brazil.

Religious syncretism in encounters with plural ancestry

Religious syncretism is understood to be the fusion of religious conceptions and practices belonging to different cultural origins, under cultural imposition and practice of forcing a dominant religion on another. It usually occurs in a coercive way, exercised physically, mentally, and/or morally on the subjects under disciplinary forms present in the power relations, not without the exercise of the counter-power present in the other. (Foucault, 1979: 1986).

Religious syncretism begins in the exploration of Brazil in the 1500s, and of the natives of the land – the Indigenous people with their customs, traditions, cultural heritage and their different religions, and the Portuguese settlers with their Catholic religion. This then included, in 1559, different black populations, enslaved and brought from Africa, mainly Bantus and Sudanese, each with their own religions that revered their dead. Their tribal beliefs were silenced, as opposed to Christian beliefs that were unknown to them. For this reason, many began to behave as Catholics while practicing their own religious rites and faith as a way to guarantee their memory, and struggle and to adapt to the new and unusual circumstances.

It is recognized that large agricultural properties and slavery, large haciendas, and slave quarters are the elements that composed the slave regime in the Portuguese colonies in Brazil. The religious diversity and plural cultures that formed such populations were exposed to existing ethnic conflicts, yet their struggles served to construct vigorous identities under the call of a mestizo Christianization that operated in parallel with religious beliefs founded by their ancestors.

It is historically identified that in the studied Quilombola territory, the presence of slave priests and strong evangelization differentiated those who maintained their faith in the *orixás* and the nature spirits worshiped by the natives (especially the Tupi, in their religious cultures that also resisted "compromise with the dominant culture"), and those who reconciled their beliefs with the dominant culture.

The Magic of Axé as an Afro-Brazilian Religious Cultural Heritage

Axé is the African religious principle that over the centuries has been silenced – marked by beliefs and rituals, music and dance, and brightly colored cloths. Acculturation followed, with catechisms and conversion to Catholicism under the auspices of the Society of Jesus. However, Axé's magic was not forgotten in the process of religious assimilation insofar as many of the values were preserved in daily struggles, with Catholic images associated with the *orishas* of African cults. Thus the *Orixás,* which should not be confused with Catholic saints but seen as rebellion to the imposition of Catholicism, were kept alive. African religious entities that can substitute for Catholic saints vary in different territories in Brazil. For example: Oxum is Our Lady of Conception; Yemanja is Our Lady Aparecida/Our Lady of the Navigators; Nanã is Our Lady of Santana; Yansã is Santa Bárbara; Ogum is Saint George/Saint Sebastian/Saint Anthony; Oxóssi is also Saint George/Saint Sebastian; Obaluaê is Saint Roch/Saint Lasarus; Logun Edé is Saint Michael the Archangel; Xango is Saint Jeronimo; Oxalá is Jesus Christ.

In Brazil, the African rituals *candomblé* and *capoeira* were forbidden because they were considered satanic. Many enslaved Negroes were imprisoned by the Inquisition and brutally tortured until they reached the final sentence – death at the stake. Religion as a structured symbolic field is capable of delineating what must be held in high regard from what one should not speak about or put into action. It is seen in the Santana Quilombola that religious practices legitimize a given social order, bringing to itself a lifestyle of its own, an alternative to that of the hegemonic class. It is observed that the slaves from Santana belonged to the Catholic Church.

Intercultural Education, Religion as a Challenge for Museums in the 21st Century

Both what is sacred and what is museality derive from evidence of what is real, that is the existing religious cultural heritage. Thus, the Quilombola territory constitutes heritage spaces that are also museal, where memories, documents, and diverse religious beliefs are present – along with a great number of baroque Christian images not found in other Quilombolas, and stories full of resistance and daily struggles of silent life and work.

Understanding cultural heritage as an open concept, alive and always under construction, it is recognized that religious faith does not constitute a mere inverted or contrasting distinction in its ethnic diversity. Religious faith is also a political statement that demands its African heritage, evolving under the force of change. Numerous museums are dedicated to the presentation of sacred beings in their collections that are redefined by the religious beliefs present in hegemonic societies, but little identified in musealized places that display the memory of the vanquished and that serve as testimony to a history shared by real humans with many life experiences. Are Afro-descendant religious beliefs still considered satanic to the point that their heritage is not exhibited in museums considered “sacred? Where in sacred museums do we find the sacred heritage of other religions?

As a challenge to transformation in museums, the religious beliefs of black Quilombola residents are taken as the subject of debate, with the main approach being intercultural education based on proposed liberating education (Paulo Freire, 1974) – an ethical and political vision based on methodology that understands the real as a starting point and a point of arrival in the management of museums, insofar as museums are understood as an educational whole.

The religious beliefs present in the universe of the representations and senses of the Quilombolas are incorporated into their syncretic practices, insofar as they can both construct material conflicts and reproduce them in their ways of living and of living together. In this way, the notion of sin and the presence of God, the immaterial heritage, produce acceptance of both Catholic or evangelical rituals allied with their *orixás*. As can be seen, the religious field between oppressors and the oppressed, as in the experience of the Quilombola, can both reinforce the role of the dominant groups and become a means for autonomy in the dimension of the existing counter-power. As an example, we see advances in the populations of syncretic religions, such as *Umbanda* and *Candomblé*.

References

Freire, P. (1974). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Rio de Janeiro: Peace and Earth Ed.

Foucault, M. (1996). *Genealogy of Racism*. The Silver: Editorial Altamira.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Microphysics of Power*. Rio de Janeiro: Graal: Publisher

Birth, A. (1983). *Axes of Blood and Hope* (orikis). Rio de Janeiro: Achiamé Editions

Reis, M. A. (2013). Ethnoconference for an Ethno Recognition. Research Report. Research Repository. PROPG / UNIRIO - Br / FAPERJ / RJ

La metamorfosis del imaginario sagrado en el museo. El caso del patrimonio de la Guerra Civil Española

Óscar Navajas Corral
Universidad de Alcalá de Henares – Madrid, España

Julián González Fraile
Espacios para la Memoria – Madrid, España.

Ante Mórtem

En la sociedad actual el museo es un lugar de visita pública, de salvaguarda de bienes culturales, y un elemento para el desarrollo social, cultural y económico; pero, sobre todo, es un espacio de ritualización y sacralización. En las últimas décadas, se ha convertido, además, en uno de los lugares principales de peregrinación –turística– (Alonso, 1999). Aunque nuestro museo contemporáneo, el heredero del museo de la Revolución Francesa, naciese justo como contrario a su propia raíz etimológica, la de Mouseion, aquel templo dedicado a las musas, en ningún momento se opuso a adquirir algunos de los atributos de este último: la ritualización y la sacralización.

Socialmente se posee la concepción de que un museo salvaguarda bienes culturales *ad infinitum*, pero en ocasiones se nos olvida que también salvaguarda con la misma infinitud temporal los mensajes que se han construido sobre dichos bienes. Como apuntaba John Berger, «(...) el valor espiritual de un objeto (...) solo puede explicarse desde la magia o la religión» (Berger, 2017: 21), es decir, en este contexto la memoria contenida en el museo queda envuelta en una especie de espiritualidad atemporal que el propio Berger calificaría como una falsedad de la contemporaneidad.

Es, quizás, justo en este punto donde llega la contradicción y la paradoja de la institución museística y de lo museal. El *templo* que alberga a las nueve hijas de Mnemosine y Zeus es el «almacén» en el que se queda detenida la memoria –materializada en bienes culturales en la mayoría de los casos– para poder conservarla incorrupta al paso del tiempo y; simultáneamente, es el escenario donde esa memoria se transforma en un imaginario cambiante –continuamente cambiante– en función del público que recibe a lo largo de su historia.

El peregrinaje a los museos se afianza en la sociedad por medio de la sacralización del imaginario que poseen algunos de sus bienes y, por supuesto, de mantener el ritual de visita a los mismos. Una vez que un bien patrimonial es considerado con el valor suficiente como para entrar en un museo, automáticamente asciende de categoría simbólica para el imaginario colectivo. Si, además, es seleccionado para ser expuesto en algunas de los espacios (salas) del mismo, entonces consigue la sacralización. Obras de arte como *El Guernica* de Pablo Picasso, *La Gioconda* de Leonardo da Vinci, o bienes arqueológicos como la Piedra Roseta, poseen un imaginario a su alrededor que permite que cada año millones de peregrinos se acerquen ante sus templos.

Pero en contra de lo que sucede con las reliquias religiosas, y como hemos apuntado anteriormente, el imaginario de un bien puede transformarse. El sentido de sacralización y el ritual que supone la visita a un museo no se han visto apenas alterados en sus elementos esenciales, pero el imaginario que pesa sobre sus bienes sí. Es en este instante cuando se produce un cambio de paradigma y una crisis de ideales en la propia sociedad.

En el año 2017 varias noticias han hecho replantearse cómo la institución museológica es capaz mantener imaginarios o cambiarlos. El caso más polémico fue la aparición de una estatua de Hitler frente a un decorado de Auschwitz en el ARCA Statue Art Museum de Indonesia (Pérez, 2017). Pero también ha sido polémica la política del propio Museo de Auschwitz que para numerosos autores se acerca al parque temático, desvirtuando la «esencia» de su ser (Beney et al., 2014; Naef, 2014; Neuraska, 2013).

Evitando entrar en polémicas de cómo estas iniciativas pueden o no transmitir un mensaje o generar audiencias, lo cierto e interesante es que en nuestro reciente siglo XXI los imaginarios sociales sobre hechos, momentos, espacios y/o personajes de nuestra historia reciente, y que han estado en la órbita de lo «doloroso», se están modificando, cambiando el imaginario y, por tanto, desacralizándolos o, si se prefiere, re-sacralizándolos. El discurso de lo 'sagrado', como aquello que es «objeto de culto por su relación con fuerzas sobrenaturales»[1], se está metamorfoseando, lo que afecta de forma directa al proceso de ritualización del museo-visitante y está generando confrontaciones y debates sociales intensos.

Post Mórtem

Este fenómeno que apuntábamos anteriormente se está produciendo de forma cada vez más intensa en España en lo que respecta al patrimonio de la Guerra Civil Española (1936-1939) y su musealización. Las narraciones sobre un hecho histórico que aún están presentes en el debate social, un acontecimiento que entra dentro del imaginario doloroso de la sociedad, están evolucionando del completo silencio, los tabús y las historias no clarificadas, a la creación de

1. Real Academia de la Lengua Española.

infinidad de relatos que pugnan en las salas de los museos o en los espacios patrimonializados.

La contemplación, la nostalgia, la espiritualidad, el imaginario atemporal y, sobre todo, la experimentación cognitiva y física son elementos que se están fusionando de forma orgánica en el proceso de patrimonialización de un patrimonio complejo como el de una contienda bélica civil; desplazando el monocultivo de un discurso «oficial» del mutismo o de los iconos ya establecidos y sacralizados, y que, por tanto, estaban fuera de cualquier tipo de acción contestaría o escéptica.

Los espacios donde se produjeron hechos dramáticos durante la Guerra Civil, las memorias aún vivas y la revisión historiográfica han sufrido un vuelco importante sobre todo en la última década. Solamente en la Comunidad de Madrid se pueden visitar restos de los diferentes enfrentamientos, existen ya empresas que realizan visitas guiadas tanto por la capital como por la región, y el gobierno regional ha creado una comisión de expertos, un libro blanco y un plan estratégico para la recuperación y puesta en valor de esta memoria y los bienes que la representan (Navajas & González, 2017).

El objetivo del simposio del ICOFOM es «discutir los vínculos entre la museología y lo sagrado, especialmente a través de aquello que los une y lo que diferencia al museo del templo»[1]. Más específicamente, y como apunta la línea de debate *Museo-templo-religión*, interesa analizar cómo el resultado de la re-sacralización de los espacios y bienes culturales es capaz de generar nuevas narrativas y nuevos imaginarios sociales. En nuestro caso, la patrimonialización y musealización del patrimonio de la Guerra Civil se encuentra en el momento idóneo para ser testigos y observadores de este proceso.

¿Cómo es capaz el museo, o mejor, la museología de transformar la sacralización de un bien cultural, de una memoria, y su proceso ritual en otro distinto? La respuesta estaría en la iniciativa profesional e institucional. Las herramientas y metodologías de la teoría y práctica museológica son capaces de generar espacios para esta re-sacralización. Así está sucediendo en numerosos espacios donde se han generado museos, centros de interpretación, memoriales, etc., con la intención de reivindicar una memoria olvidada (u ocultada), con fines turísticos o políticos, o con el objetivo de avanzar en la investigación histórica y arqueológica.

No obstante, y como mencionábamos más arriba, estamos en un momento crucial para detenernos antes de que este patrimonio se convierta en una «moda», y reflexionar sobre el momento de disputa entre la vieja sacralización y la que deseamos para el futuro. Necesitamos darle una nueva respuesta a cómo es capaz el museo de sacralizar. Para ello, proponemos tres puntos de vista:

---

1. ICOFOM (2017):*La museología y lo sagrado*, Convocatoria para publicación y participación en el 41° simposio organizado por el ICOFOM, Téhéran, 15-19 de Octubre de 2018. Documento interno de trabajo.

1. En primer lugar, comenzar a restar importancia a las Musas para dárselo a su madre, Mnemosine, la memoria (Bedekar, 1995). Este cambio nos permitirá eliminar nuestra mirada unidireccional sobre el bien cultural para dirigirlo a la pluralidad de imaginarios y narraciones que los individuos y las comunidades pueden, no solo generar, sino compartir.

2. En segundo lugar, no perder la noción de que el padre de las Musas fue Zeus, símbolo de poder. Los museos y los espacios patrimonializados son un proyecto político (Chagas, 2002; Varine, 2012), en el sentido aristotélico del concepto. Estar atentos a esta premisa nos hará ser capaces de replantearnos las repercusiones sociales y culturales que puede conllevar una determinada narrativa de uno los bienes musealizados.

3. En tercer y último lugar, añadiendo la negatividad en el museo, es decir, el otro. El patrimonio y la memoria heredada de un conflicto bélico están dentro de la negatividad que supone lo doloroso. En la sociedad actual la desaparición de la negatividad y el exceso de positividad tiene parte de su origen en la sobreabundancia de lo idéntico (Han, 2018) y, por tanto, en la eliminación de la otredad e impidiendo pensar en lo distinto. Para llegar al otro es necesaria una negatividad (Han, 2018). Si llevamos esto a nuestro discurso, es necesaria una pluralidad de narraciones de un mismo acontecimiento bélico, y lo más complejo: descubrir, escuchar y no juzgar las antagónicas a la nuestra.

La experiencia misma de lo sagrado posee la esencia de fusionar el temor, la imaginación y el poder en un mismo momento, lo terrenal y extraterrenal, es decir, lo desconocido que se transforma en lo divino (Otto, 1969). La ritualización y la sacralización en el fondo acaban en un discurso unitario con una sola vía de comprensión. Sin embargo, los museos están destinados (lo han estado desde sus orígenes legendarios) a la pluralidad ¿Es posible una sacralización plural?, es decir, ¿es posible que un mismo bien (material o inmaterial) fetichizado sea capaz de contener y compartir diferentes narraciones, todas igual de válidas y, además, complementarias?

Referencias

Alonso Fernández, L. (1999). *Introducción a la nueva museología*. Madrid:Alianza Editorial.

Bedekar, V. H. (1995). *New Museology for India*. Nueva Delhi: National Museum Institute of History of Art.

Beney, A., Massy, A., Loeffel, B., Gass, C., & Tschopp, A. (2014, Noviembre 12). Étude de cas: Le tourisme macabre. *Haute École de Gestion &Tourisme*: [Entrada de blog]. Recuperado de http://apps.hevs.ch/blog/getfilesFTO.aspx?id=434.

Berger, J. (2017). *Modos de ver*. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, S.L.

Chagas, M. (2002). Memória e Poder: dois movimentos. En M. Chagas, & M. Sepúlveda (Ed.).*Museu e política de Memória* (pp. 35-67). Lisboa: Cadernos de Socimuseología nº 19, Centro de Estudos de Sociomuseologia, Universidade Lusófona.

Han, B.-C. (2018). *La sociedad del cansancio*. Barcelona: Herder.

Naef, P. (2014, Diciembre 5). Disneylandisation des horreurs de la guerre. [Entrada de blog]. Recuperado de https://visionscarto.net/disneylandisation-guerre.

Navajas Corral, O., & González Fraile, J. (2017). Turismo en espacios de conflicto. Análisis de la puesta en valor del patrimonio de la Guerra Civil Española en la Comunidad de Madrid. *methaodos.revista de ciencias sociales*, 2017, 5 (1): 155-172.

Neuraska, E. (2016, Noviembre 15). Auswitchpark. *Repositorio UAM*. Recuperado de https://repositorio.uam.es/bitstream/handle/10486/11863/58410_18.pdf?sequence=1.

Otto, R. (1969). *Le sacré*. Paris: Payot.

Pérez Solero, R. (2017, Diciembre, 12). "Cultura pop nazi" reaparece con estatua de Hitler en museo de cera indonesio, *Agencia EFE*. Recuperado de https://www.efe.com/efe/america/gente/cultura-pop-nazi-reaparece-con-estatua-de-hitler-en-museo-cera-indonesio/20000014-3439926.

Varine, H. de (2012). Patrimonio y responsabilidad social. En I. Díaz Balerdi (Coord.). *Otras miradas de musealizar el patrimonio* (pp. 15-26). Bilbao y Vitoria: Servicio Editorial del País Vasco y Artium.

Museum and Church in Russia: The Formula of the Conflict

Karina G. Nazanyan

St. Petersburg State University of Culture – St. Petersburg – Russia

Alexey M. Odintsov

Ilya Repin State Academic Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture (Russian Arts Academy) – St. Petersburg - Russia

The Russian Orthodox Church has played a significant role in the cultural life of Russia. The October Revolution of 1917 destroyed the old world in which the Church was one of the most powerful institutions in Russia, with its own museums, archives, and libraries. The Church had been one of the ideological inspirations behind the development of museums in Russia and was one of the first institutions that responded to public requests for the preservation of cultural heritage.

The Russian Orthodox Church had a significant impact on the development of Russian culture. Russia and the Russian Church were under strong Byzantine influence until the last days of the Byzantine Empire. When Byzantium fell, Russian culture and the Russian Church went their own way. The Church became the main conduit for the cultural foundations of the Christian (Eastern Roman) Empire and has remained an influential force in Russian culture ever since.

In spite of a move towards Protestant aesthetics during the period of Peter the Great's reforms in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Russian Church was able to assimilate and combine these influences with eastern practice without losing Byzantine aesthetics. The Russian Orthodox Church became the most powerful participant in the creation of the culture of the Russian Empire until the end of the nineteenth century. In addition, the Church became one of the ideological inspirations behind the development of museums in Russia and was the first institution to respond to public calls for the preservation of cultural heritage.

In the first years following the 1917 October Revolution, museums became the only guardian of religious items in the Soviet Republic. The October Revolution destroyed the old world. Revolutions are typically intolerant of the ideologies of the pre-revolutionary period, and the Church, as a generator and a creator of Russian culture and a symbol of “Old Russia”, was persecuted. However, the sociocultural role of museums increased, and the most valuable architectural monuments and objects of the Church were nationalized and became non-secular museums. At that moment, the prerequisites for the existing conflict between the Church and the museum community began. For those of faith, the sacred prelate should be performed like a piece of art; it is a shrine that promotes spiritual growth. For a museum worker, it has a cultural value with aesthetic and historical significance.

During the Soviet period, the ideologists of the Communist Party, in their struggle against Christianity, used museums to widen these differences. To them, a religious object was kept in a museum for its artistic value. It was ideologically interpreted as evidence of the senselessness and degradations of religious practice on humanity.

During the “70 years of atheism”, the Museum and the Church existed in a state of armed neutrality. It was only due to the efforts of a few courageous museum workers that these cultural objects of world significance were saved. All in all, workers in the cultural sphere were forced to employ different tricks and arguments which still surprise their modern colleagues. The necessity to hide the truth in the past has led to misunderstandings today.

In the Soviet period, the sacred component of a museum object that had a previous religious purpose was eliminated from the museum visitor’s consciousness. The Russian Orthodox Church expressed grievances against the Soviet government, and this has become an obstacle to the understanding of the role of sacred heritage, its significance, and the role of the guardian of sacred heritage. This sociocultural situation has been the subject of many Russian researchers’ work, including the monographs and articles by Alexandr E. Musin (2006; 2012) and Maria E. Kaulen (2012), to name just a couple.

Today, the principal problem in the field of communication between these two social institutions – the Church and the Museum - is the interpretation of their messages depending on whether an object is in a museum space or within a church. At present, both sides believe that their approach is the correct one.

References

Kaulen, M. E. (2012) *Muzeefikacija istoriko-kul’turnogo nasledija Rossii* [Musealisation of the Historical and Cultural heritage of Russia]. Moscow: Eterna.

Musin E.A. (2006) *Vopiyushchiye kamni. Russkaya Tserkov’ i kul’turnoye nslediye Rossii na rubezhe tysyacheletiy* [Crying Stones: The Russian Church and the cultural heritage of Russia at the turn of the millennium]. St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoye vostokovedeniye [Petersburg Oriental Studies].

Musin E.A. (2010) *Tserkovnaya starina v sovremennoy Rossii* [Church Antiquity in Modern Russia]. St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoye vostokovedeniye [Petersburg Oriental Studies].

« Fragments d'un univers brisé » Théâtralité et Abstraction dans les récits muséologiques des Arts de l'Amérique Préhispanique : Renouveau et Post-muséalité ?

Micaela Neveu

Sorbonne Université/Centre de Recherche sur l'Amérique Préhispanique – Paris, France.

Effectuer une approche de l'art préhispanique au regard de la muséologie contemporaine exige l'exercice difficile de rétablir, comme condition *sine qua non*, les multiples expressions artistiques et culturelles dans leurs contextes d'origine. L'intérêt de faire surgir la pratique d'une épistémologie de l'œuvre préhispanique pose la question de l'identité et du rôle des collections extra-européennes, tout comme celle de leur transmission et de leur réception auprès des publics de non-initiés. Même si la problématique de la contextualisation (Quatremère de Quincy, 1796[1]) n'est pas inédite, elle ne doit cependant pas cesser d'intéresser le renouveau muséologique en tant que processus de libération des dogmes, des récitatifs et des pratiques hégémoniques. Sans cela, la muséologie des arts préhispaniques constitue une manœuvre supplémentaire d'aliénation culturelle, imposture rendue légitime par le truchement de l'institution (Pearl, 1998). En réalité, l'art préhispanique pose une double contrainte au musée ; religieux ou profane, objets sacrés ou objets du quotidien, il forme une expressivité du divin réservée avant tout aux initiés, et ne recherche ni les effets esthétisants ni les monstrations au sens laïque. L'art préhispanique témoigne d'un monde insaisissable procédant d'une retranscription plastique d'éléments symboliques issus d'un répertoire du sacré dont la compréhension ne peut se réaliser qu'à la lumière de ses codes et de ses symboles. Il compose une écriture du divin complexe, la manifestation d'un équilibre entre deux réalités, l'une tangible, l'autre intelligible (Lévine, 2007)[2]. La transfiguration du réel par une révélation sensuelle de l'Ineffable, à travers la diversité de ses représentations, caractérise l'esthétique préhispanique dont l'essence sacrale a été souvent ignorée par la muséologie et par conséquent, dans la scénographie

1. Dans les *Lettres à Miranda sur le déplacement des monuments de l'art de l'Italie*, Quatremère de Quincy parle de l'importance, de la contextualisation des œuvres d'art.
2. Daniel Lévine, professeur d'art et d'archéologie des civilisations préhispaniques au CeRAP/Sorbonne Université, parle de l'art préhispanique comme d'une « écriture du divin » dans la forme.

des expositions, et par extension, par le public entretenu dans les narratifs du précolombien.

A titre d'exemple, la dernière exposition du musée du Quai Branly-J. Chirac en 2018, intitulée *Le Pérou avant les Incas*, incarne une *praxis* typique du genre ; le titre seul réussit à démontrer avec brio l'aberration de tels narratifs dans les grands musées. Contre-historique – il n'existe pas de Pérou avant les Incas - le titre est avant tout révélateur de la perte de repères des missions éducative, de recherche et scientifique du musée au profit de l'attractivité. Présentée au public en éclats par les ressorts du marketing et du sensationnel (Vivant, 2008), l'œuvre de désacralisation est radicale avec pour culte ultime, l'addiction à la marchandisation des objets neutralisés dans des lumières blafardes. Peut-on y voir l'influence du collectionnisme (De L'Estoile, 2007) ? Le style scénographique du Pavillon des Sessions de Kerchache et Wilmotte, extension du quai Branly au Louvre, cristallise un genre muséographique abstrait, pendant d'un marché de l'art plutôt décomplexé qui impose son caractère : évacuation des contextes, muséographie esthétisante, épuration de l'espace et des objets sacrés transformés en chefs-d'œuvre à la mode galerie d'art (Hainard, 1994). Comme le souligne André Delpuech, le commerce de l'art préhispanique reste très controversé : pillages de sites, trafics illicites, inflation des prix, copies de pièces, acquisitions et négociations par les musées, ventes aux enchères douteuses sont tout autant de pratiques qui jettent le trouble sur la circulation des collections archéologiques américaines dont le musée ne peut s'affranchir (Delpuech, 2016).

La stylistique moderniste dans l'exposition du préhispanique a pour constante l'hygiénisme de l'objet annihilant ainsi sa fonction sacrée pour recréer une fantasmagorie mercantile. Il s'agit d'un contre-projet culturel qui ne se soucie guère des dérivations (Enrici, 2009). Or, pour être appréhendée, l'initiation à l'émotion préhispanique devrait faire l'objet d'une muséologie sur mesure réorientée vers les ressources de la théâtralité (Evreinov, 1930)[1] garante d'une « post-muséalité »[2], c'est-à-dire, vers les capacités du contexte et des mises en scène à restituer les réalités primitives auxquelles participaient, dans tout le monde préhispanique, l'univers du divin et ses hiérophanies (Eliade, 1969)[3]. La muséologie de « l'Universel », comme le souligne Roger Boulay (Boulay 2015),

1. Nous faisons référence à la théâtralité selon le concept de Nicolas Evreinov (1879-1953), dramaturge et théoricien de théâtre russe. La théâtralité est un instinct présent dans l'homme capable de transfigurer le réel pour créer des espaces de l'ordre de l'imaginal.

2. La post-muséalité que nous proposons impliquerait de recontextualiser les objets dans leur état d'origine *in situ*, dans un musée « entité du savoir, intuitive, mouvante, un méta-médiateur », et qui reposerait sur les théories de Quatremère et de la théâtralité « juste » : il ne s'agit plus d'objets muséalisés mais d'objet vrais replacés dans leur contexte par de la scénographie « juste ». La muséalie tend à exposer une fiction au détriment du scientifique créant un récit érigé en fait réel, *fait institutionnel* (le musée), et non la réalité de l'objet : « l'exposition contrefait ».

3. La notion est empruntée à Mircea Eliade, ainsi que les mots de notre titre pour se référer à la notion de profane.

tend à effacer les identités au profit d'une muséologie qui serait applicable à toutes les cultures dans une sorte de muséographie de la mondialisation[1]. Réductionniste, elle avalise et restitue, travaille par retrait et par intérêt, par abandon ou négligence. Au musée des beaux-arts de Rennes, plusieurs années ont été nécessaires pour effectuer le récolement des pièces américaines et rassembler les archives. L'apparition des collections « exotiques » coïncide avec les origines de ce musée constitué autour du cabinet de curiosités du président du Parlement de Bretagne, Christophe Paul de Robien (1698-1756), saisi à la Révolution. Réputé pour sa collection, on compte parmi les objets du musée, 255 pièces extra-européennes récolées à ce jour, dont 22 items des Amériques (Coulon, 2001). Exemple de réductionnisme, la pirogue inuite originaire de la Terre de Baffin, élément emblématique du musée aujourd'hui ayant fait partie de la collection de Robien, constitue la plus ancienne pièce conservée dans le monde sur la période de l'aire américaine. Anodine, à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle, elle n'a été mentionnée que dans l'unique rapport de 1805. La collection montre une sélection emprunte du goût pour l'objet comme élément décoratif au détriment de la raison. Leur muséographie évacua la problématique de la documentation et de l'origine culturelle de l'objet, susceptible de disparaitre des registres d'inventaire par un *inutile à cataloguer* (Coulon, 2001).

La pratique de la collection préhispanique fut conditionnée par le goût de l'or et des qualités décoratives dès 1520, lorsque Cortez ramène les cadeaux envoyés par les Mexicains à l'intention de Charles Quint. Le peintre Albert Dürer, fit l'éloge de ces objets rapportés pour le Roi[2]. Or, pour, l'homme préhispanique, l'or ne possède pas la valeur marchande que lui attribue l'Européen, et incarne essentiellement une fonction sacrée (Lehmann, 1965) peu explicitée pourtant dans les scénographies. Peut-on parler d'une infusion du goût du collectionneur qui s'établirait, comme le souligne Coulon, depuis la curiosité et l'émerveillement, associés au désir de connaitre et d'appréhender (Coulon, 2001) aux muséographies actuelle absentes de toute sacralité ? En déplaçant, en exportant, en éparpillant, en concentrant les collections dans le musée, elles perdent leur sens premier ; c'est « un crime de lèse-instruction publique » (Jestaz, 1989). Si pour Quatremère, séparer les œuvres c'est détruire, exposer est-ce imposer une contrefaçon culturelle[3] ? Pour l'artiste Frantisek Kupka, « abstraire, c'est éliminer » (Kupka, 1930), c'est donc anéantir ce qui est donné à voir. Cette forme de profanation de l'art préhispanique est une pratique récurrente de la muséologie contemporaine. Ce qui nous amène à repenser le musée à rebours via une méthodologie qui réintègrerait ces « fragments d'un univers brisé »,

---

1. En 2018, B. de L'Estoile a intitulé l'une de ses séances sur le séminaire *Réécrire le passé colonial : enjeux contemporains des collections de musée* à l'ENS-Paris), montrant qu'il y avait à travers cette pratique muséographique une forme de néo-colonialisme à l'œuvre dans les musées imposé par un style moderniste et épuré.

2. Dürer parle de ces objets dans son journal de voyage pendant les années 1520- 1521.

3. J'ai utilisé ce titre dans ma communication, INHA, avril 2018 : *Action muséologique et Scénographies d'Influence. « Quand exposer, c'est contrefaire » : L'art préhispanique et l'abstraction muséale.*

et inscrire le renouveau muséologique dans une démarche philosophique, post-muséalité, en faveur d'un musée « méta-médiateur » des contextes et des expériences, des confluences de relations et de liens, qui produit du sens et de l'Histoire, Elle-même, à l'origine des contextes, des confluences de relations et des expériences humaines, conditions incontournables pour la transmission correcte des cultures préhispaniques au grand public.

Bibliographie

Boulay, R. (2015). Les collections extra-européennes : 25 ans après. *La Lettre de l'OCIM*, consulté le 25 mai 2018, URL : http://journals.openedition.org/ocim/1502

Coulon, F. (2001). La figure du pourvoyeur d'objets extra-européen. *Outre-mers*, tome 88, n°332-333, *Collectes et collections ethnologiques : une histoire d'hommes et d'institutions,* consulté le 25 mai 2018, URL : http://journals.openedition.org/ocim/1502

De l'Estoile, B. (2007). *Le Goût des Autres. De l'Exposition coloniale aux arts premiers*. Paris: Flammarion.

Delpuech, A., (2016). Un marché de l'art précolombien en plein questionnement. *Les nouvelles de l'archéologie,*144, consulté le 30 mai 2018, URL : http://journals.openedition.org/nda/3487

Desvallées, A. & Mairesse, F. (Dir), (2011). *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de muséologie*. Paris : Armand Colin.

Dürer, A. (1993). *Journal de voyage au Pays-Bas pendant les années 1520-1521*. Paris : Maisonneuve et Larose.

Eliade, M. (1969). *Le sacré et le profane*. Paris : Gallimard.

Enrici, M. (2009). Pour qu'advienne le scénographe, la scénographie d'auteur. *Pavillon n° 2,* « Scénographie d'auteur », Monaco : Pavillon Bosio.

Hainard, J. (1994). Pour une muséologie de la rupture, *in* Desvallées A., De Bary, M.-O. et Wasserman, F. (Dir.). *Vagues. Une anthologie de la nouvelle muséologie*. Mâcon et Savigny-le-Temple : Éd. W. et M.N.E.S. t. 2.

Jestaz, B. (1989). Quatremère de Quincy, Lettres à Miranda sur le déplacement des monuments de l'art de l'Italie, introduction et notes par É. Pommier. Paris, Macula; *Bulletin Monumental*, tome 147, n°3.

Kupka, F. (1930). *Manuscrit C.*

Lehmann, H. (1965). Amérique précolombienne, *Le Courrier, Unesco.*

Levine, D. (2007). L'art religieux du Pérou préhispanique. L'écriture du divin, *Comptes rendus, janvier-mars, Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres,* Paris, Diffusion du Boccard.

Poulot, D. (2013). Le temps des musées et le temps du patrimoine, *Hermès, La Revue,* N°61.

Vivant, E. (2008). Du musée-conservateur au musée-entrepreneur, *Téoros*, consulté le 27 mai 2018, URL : http://journals.openedition.org/teoros/82.

The Collection of Sacred Relics in the Ottoman Palace: From Palace to Museum, from Sacred to Secular

Nilay Özlü
Altinbas University – Istanbul, Turkey

Like all imperial and dynastic institutions, the Ottomans collected and kept objects of economic, symbolic, religious, or institutional value. The Ottoman palace was the main venue for collecting, storing, preserving, and sometimes displaying these objects of symbolic, financial, or memorial significance. In the Ottoman treasuries, there were two types of valuables: the objects of material and tangible value, and the objects of intangible and religious value, such as the sacred relics or swords of warrior sultans (Pakalın, 1946). This article will focus on the collection of sacred relics kept at the Topkapi Palace and will analyze the politics of display in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman contexts, while scrutinizing the musealization and secularization of the collection. Thus the article will be composed of four sections, which cover the different periods in the life of the relics, from the formation of the collection during the Classical Ottoman era to the Republican period, analyzing different strategies and politics of display.

The Classical Ottoman Era

There existed several treasures within the Topkapı Palace, mainly in the second and third courts of the palace, manifesting the imperial significance of the royal collections through their architectural morphology. A significant structure in the third court of the palace was used for keeping and preserving a special kind of treasury: the Sacred Relics. This building was constructed as a Privy Chamber between the hanging gardens, Harem, and Enderun section of the palace for Mehmed II during the second half of the 15^{th} century, and used as the main residence of the Ottoman sultans until the late-sixteenth century (Necipoğlu, 1990). During the late-sixteenth century, with the expansion of the Harem and its reorganization under the Black Eunuchs, Ottoman sultans gradually shifted their residence from the male section (*Enderun*) to the female section (*Harem*).[1] During the same period, Selim I brought sacred relics

---

1. The Enderun of the Topkapı Palace was made up of three sections: male and female, plus the walled-in garden. All three sections, as the residential area of the sultan and his family and his pages, are often referred to as “*Harem-i Hümayun*”.

from his conquest of Egypt[1] and the Privy Chamber was renovated as a relic treasury (Necipoğlu, 1991). The collection of relics has expanded over the years and the collection began to be referred to as the Treasury of the Privy Chamber (*Has Oda Hazinesi*).[2] The sacred relics collection was also visited by the royal family at certain religious days and the collection was used for emphasizing the religious, political, and dynastic significance and of certain royal acts. The Chamber of Sacred Relics has been the venue for allegiance ceremonies and for royal funerals as well. The sacred relics were also circulated and displayed at various parts of the empire, thus the sacred relics collection was constantly enriched, displayed, and circulated, similar to a proto-museum[3].

Abandonment of the Topkapı Palace

After the move of the Ottoman sultans from the Topkapı Palace during the mid-19th century, the dynasty and the Ottoman notables continued their annual visits to the Chamber of Sacred Relics during the holy month of Ramadan. These royal visits to the sacred relics became a public spectacle and were held as an official procession. The list of invitees, sultan's route to the Topkapı Palace, and the protocol were carefully organized before this ceremonial visit. Apart from the Ottoman dynasty and the elites, the sacred collection remained a point of curiosity and wonder for both Muslim and non-Muslim visitors. Only after the declaration of the Second Constitution in 1908 was the Chamber of Sacred Relics opened to visits for the Muslim subjects of the Empire.[4] Still, even during the Second Constitutional era the holy chamber was kept closed to the eyes of "infidels" until the collapse of the empire. Thus, it could be argued that the Chamber of Sacred Relics was treated as a royal treasury, where sacred collections were collected, kept, preserved, and displayed to a certain audience only at certain times, particularly after the abandonment of the palace.

WWI and the War of Independence

Even though the meaning and the significance of the royal collections changed, the sacred relics kept their political and religious significance until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The possession and protection of these holy relics, which were accepted as the most sacred heritage of the Islamic world, was a question of controversy. According to the historiographical narrative, the possessor of these sacred relics was regarded as the caliph of the Muslims and believed to hold political and religious authority over them. The security of the

---

1. Yavuz Selim I brought the sacred relics, the symbols of the caliphate, from Egypt, but except for a few precious items directly related to the prophet or the caliphs, these objects were kept in the Inner Treasury.
2. Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry, hereafter BOA. BOA TS.MA.d.9 (1204 Z 29 / 31.8.1790)
3. BOA A.MKT.MHM.24034 (1279 Ra 21 /18.9.1862); BOA BEO.3575.268076 (26 CA 1327 / 15.06.1909)
4. BOA İ.HUS.176.56 (1327 / 1909).

imperial collections became a serious concern during and after World War I. During the war, the most precious and significant pieces of the treasury collection were sent to Konya as a precaution against the threat of invasion.

During the War of Independence, the destiny of the sacred relics became an issue of conflict between Ankara and Istanbul governments. During this turbulent era, the royal collections—especially the sacred relics kept in the Topkapı Palace—became a subject of political struggle. Ankara government declared its authority as the sole representative of the nation and on November 1, 1922, the Grand National Assembly enacted a legislation separating the caliphate and sultanate and abolishing the latter. Immediately after, Mustafa Kemal ordered the utmost protection of the Sacred Relics and the Imperial Treasury in the Topkapı Palace as a precaution against their being smuggled abroad by the deposed sultan or by the British (Karaduman, 2016). Soon after, Mehmed VI Vahideddin escaped from Istanbul and the next day, on November 19, 1922, heir apparent Abdülmecid was chosen as the caliph of all Muslims by the Grand National Assembly (Küçük, 1989).

However, the struggle for power between the two parties was unveiled after a while. The transfer of the royal treasures and antiquities from the Topkapı Palace to Anatolia with the order of the Grand National Assembly epitomized this tension (Karaduman, 2016; Öz, 1991). Caliph Abdülmecid approved the transfer of the royal collections but requested that some significant pieces of the sacred relics collection, including the Holy Mantle of the Prophet (*Hırka-i Saadet*) and the Holy Flag (*Sancak*-ı *Şerif*), be left under his possession (Karaduman, 2016). He claimed the possession of the relics had the utmost political significance for his legitimacy until the abolishment of the caliphate on March 3, 1924 (Danişmend, 1972). The claim of Abdülmecid to take the sacred relics with him was also rejected by the governor of Istanbul, who stated that these relics belonged to the Turkish nation. According to the decree issued by the parliament, the royal collections, possessions, properties, furniture, art works, and real estate belonging to the Ottoman dynasty were inherited by the Turkish nation (Gerçek, 1999).

The Republican Era

Right after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1924, the Topkapı Palace was officially declared as a state museum by the direct order of Mustafa Kemal and opened for public visits of the nation. The museumification of the medieval Ottoman palace and display of royal collections reflected the ideology of the new Republic that aimed at eradicate the Ottoman past. However, the collection of Sacred Relics was transferred to Ankara and kept behind closed doors for several decades, believing that the display of the relics could generate a political threat for the new secular regime. Only after 1960s was the sacred relics collection sent back to its original location in the Topkapı Palace, and started being displayed as "national heritage" in a secular museum setting, stripped from its former dynastic, ceremonial, and political connotations. The holy collection that once represented the dynastic legitimacy and religious authority of the Ottoman rulers became a touristic showcase for the international visitors of the Topkapı Palace Museum, and adopted a new symbolic meaning as the representation of the new secular regime.

To conclude, this paper will discuss the construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of the sacred relics collection in the Ottoman and Republican contexts and will scrutinize the role of the museum in re-defining and/or secularizing the sacred. Formation and museumification of the collection highlights the political role of the sacred and creates a fruitful ground for the discussion of the concepts of museality, heritage, and sacred. The paper will also discursively address and compare the pre-modern and modern practices of collecting and displaying the sacred and scrutinize the role of the museum in defining meaning.

References

Danişmend, I. H. (1972). *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi 4*. İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi.

Gerçek, F. (1999). *Türk müzeciliği*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanligi.

Karaduman, H. (2016). *Ulus-devlet bağlamında belgelerle Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi'nin kuruluşu ve Milli Müze*. Ankara: Bilgin.

Küçük, (1989). *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedis*i v.1. İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi.

Necipoğlu, G. (1990). *The formation of an Ottoman imperial tradition: the Topkapı Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*.

Necipoğlu, G. (1991). *Architecture, ceremonial, and power : the Topkapı Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*. New York, N.Y.; Cambridge, Mass.: Architectural History Foundation ; MIT Press.

Öz, T. (1991). *Hayatım*. İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi.

Pakalın, M. Z. (1946). *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü 1*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

The Study of the Sacred in Museums with a Focus on Islamic Museums

Ali Malziri Papi
Mostazafan foundation – Iran

As a relatively modern institution in the Muslim community, museums often house objects from a sacred place. For example, sacred objects such as various Quranic texts, woven fabrics with lines from the Quran, and different types of calligraphy on a variety of artifacts including tiles, pottery and textiles, are displayed in museums. But removing the sacred object from its original position has silenced them and put them out of reach. For example, a tiled altar in the mosque has its spiritual function, but its aesthetic features are prioritized in the museum and its spiritual aspects are secondary, if at all.

In addition, there are museums based on holy objects, such as the Astan Quds Razavi Central Museum in Mashhad, Iran, where a large collection of sacred works, dedicated to the holy place, is displayed. Such museums have created a more complete overview than can be seen in religious and sacred places.

On the other hand, Iran's religious-historical monuments have completely preserved their appearance as places of worship. However, their use has changed in society.

A mosque is also a place for tourists to visit, but in addition to tourist use, the mosque has maintained its religious usage, such as, for example, the Imam Isfahan mosque.

Using elements in museums from religious places such as tiles or bricks with Islamic lines from the Qur'an, can focus on the value and foster appreciation for this kind of artifact. But at the same time, the religious rites are not respected. Among the sacred works studied in this article are Imam Isfahan Mosque, the dome of the Allah Allah in Persepolis, and objects in Islamic museums.

In this study, we examine the various aspects of the sacred and its relation to religious and museum sites. This research seeks to discover the nature of people's encounter with sacred objects and the museum.

The meaning of sacred numbers and geometric shapes

Alphabets and alphanumeric numbers are one of the methods of entering the universe in order to perceive the transcendental spheres of existence. Pythagoras and his followers believed that the importance of numbers was not merely due to the important role they play, but that they also have a qualitative aspect, and it is this qualitative aspect that creates a state of mind and emotions in their combinations. The theoretical roots of this subject were developed by many philosophers from antiquity such as Thomas Aquinas, and later by Islamic philosophers such as the 'Akhavan al-Safa'. According to them, the essential foundation of the universe is the first grace of the soul, the language of monotheism, and the power of the number, so the number must be counted as pure (al-maktom, 1304).

The Number Seven

Seven often refers to the sky of seven floors, and this concept is seen in most cultures. The appearance of seven in Islamic mysticism emerges through the seven-colored rainbow, seven-colored on the seventh floor of the Tower of Babylon. All of this refers to the sacredness of this number in Iran and Mesopotamia (Nasiri 1391).

The Number Eight

In Islamic mysticism, eight appears as the eight winds and sub-directions of space; they also represent opposite pairs. The octagon is the beginning of turning the square into a circle and vice versa. There are eight angels who have kept the throne that represents the universe (Surah al- Hagraq: 16). These eight angels are matched with eight parts of space and groups of Arabic alphabet letters.

The Number Four

Numbers are one of the wonders of the universe. Numbers are one of the hallmarks of the Symbol, which has been the subject of complex semantics for thousands of years. Pythagoras and his colleagues believed that all the manifestations of the universe, whether heaven or earth, reflected the numbers in the objective world (Hall, 200).

The numbers and letters of myths in Iranian culture and the world have special functions in addition to sacredness or ominousness, which is why, in the past and even now, they use their own colors and their special abilities. These numbers and letters, which are often numerical symbols, are attributed to sacred concepts)Compilation of Scientific Research Group, 1997(.

In addition to the definitions we have, there is also a symbolic aspect to numbers - for example, the number of the flowers, the number of blades of the wheels of the Jamshid chariots, the shape of the pond of the mosques, and so on - the tangible manifestations of numbers (Cooper, 2000).

The number four can be considered one of the most important numbers, with a very special place in Persian architectural culture. The importance and manner of using this figure is unique to Iranian architecture.

Calligraphy and holy signs

Kufic is the oldest calligraphic form of the various Arabic scripts and consists of a modified form of the old Nabataean script. Kufic developed around the end of the 7th century in 'Kufa', Iraq, from which it takes its name, alongside other centers.

Weaving and calligraphy

Kufic scripts, which were originally intended to express religious themes, were decorated at that time. Some of the Seljuk fabrics (found in the Islamic Museum of Iran) are designed to be woven quite long and used as coffin or tomb covering. They have script and lines from the Qur'an; other examples have circular or geometric shapes with the design of animals facing each other. The back is filled with swirling slims that were prepared before wearing and burial.

Ernest Connel describes 'Taraz' as a form of art in which calligraphers and weavers compete so much that the more difficult it is to decode the margins of the decorative vintage)Chimmell, 1368).

Islamic museums

Islamic museums are a collection of architectural elements, architectural decorations, and museums including coins, tiles, wood, metalwork, paintings, cloths, carpets, glassware, pottery, etc.

Some overt symbols of the sacred are quite clear, like the sign of hand referring to the number five in the tomb of 'Sheikh Safi al-Din Ardebili', some are hidden and need to be introduced, like the title of a face from 'Yazdan' in the first 'Shapur' coin, which is a sign of royal sanctity in coins. Obvious and hidden expressions of sacred signs have been found in museums and monuments of Iran.

Visible sacred imagery

First, certain signs include elements such as hands, a tree in the carpet, the words of Allah Muhammad Ali on the tiles, pottery, and so on. Triangular signs can be seen in geometric shapes: four-dimensional signs, six sides in geometric shapes in traditional arts and ornamentation.

The qualitative and semi-hidden expression of symbols includes elements that are forgotten in the minds of contemporary Iranians. These elements have disappeared over time. However, these elements have holy aspects. Calligraphy is considered to have an apparently sacred nature. The public finds art that is holy and pure when seeing geometric shapes and calligraphy in Islamic museums. All the Qur'an in museums are obviously sacred. This manifestation first appears with the concept of the Qur'an as revealing divine miracles. It is then known as the most important and most sacred art of calligraphy. In fact, the Qur'an and the written inscriptions reveal the aspects of holiness. Another important form of the Holy Scripture is the direct connection of a form with long-term cultural memory such as number one, number three, and number seven. These numbers are important in folk culture.

Other holy image forms can be identified through the halo around the head in painting, metalworking and pottery in the museums. The audience, seeing the halo, directly understands the sanctity of the object. The audience knows that the object is important and accepts this element.

Hidden holiness

In the altar of a mosque in the Islamic Museum, for example, there are signs of holiness. The image of the milk that the cow squirts has hidden meanings of holiness. There are octagonal separations in the Persian gardens, which are signs of paradise. Square shapes, circles, and octahedrons are symbols of the four elements, unity, and the passage of the material world to the spiritual world. These are signs and symbols of hidden holiness, but with deep roots in all the elements displayed in the museum.

In weaving cloth, the use of the Beethoven element is an aspect of sanctity that has been wiped out. Today, when the visitors enter the museum, they do not directly communicate with the holy forms, but relate to these objects in their memory. Metalworking may be of use in some cases, the concept of which has been periodically researched.

Government entities on coins are forgotten and lose their significance. Therefore, when they arrive at the Coin Museum, the sacred features of the coin, such as the title of face from 'Yazdan' ("chehr az yazdan darad"), have lost shapes such as the moon of the star, the sun of sacred animals and other characteristics of holiness, whereas these objects were sacred things in their time.

Conclusion

Islamic museums and even other museums have both hidden and revealed expressions holiness. In general, the museum and the objects inside it are the temple that has preserved holy objects in the past. These objects often had a sacred dimension in their time, but at the present the memory of some of them has been forgotten, as well as the memory of the basic concepts surrounding them. Many objects have preserved their holy features, such as forms of calligraphy, the pottery tiles of sacred books such as Quran Majid, and its early versions with elements related to believers and religious people. Some objects of the museum have hidden holy signs, including coins and carpets filled with motifs. Visitors to Iranian museums have much to think about, when the expression of religious and sacred meanings are sometimes tangible and sometimes intangible.

References

Al-Maktoum A. A. M. (1304). *Akhavan al-Safaa and Khalan al-Wafa*; elite al-Akhbar, bomb, p. 30.

Astan Q. R. (1368). Mashhad.

Cooper, JC. (1379). *Illustrated Dictionary of Traditional Symbols*. (Karbassian, M). Tehran, Farshad Publishing Co.

James, H. (2001). *Illustrated Dictionary of Symbols in Eastern and Western Art*. (R. Behzadi , Trans.). Tehran Farhang Moaser Publishing Co.

Nasiri D. M. (1391) *Secret number seven, Compilation*, Publishing Aveqar Danesh, Third edition.

Nasr, S. H. (1998); *The Viewpoints of Islamic thinkers about nature*; Khwarazmi, Tehran, p. 79.

Research Group. (1997). *Masonry Basis*. (Saeedi, J., Trans.). Tehran: Islamic Revolution Documentation Center Publication.

Samuel, H. (1974). *Ancient Religions of Ancient Iran*. (Dr S. Najmabadi). Tehran: Iranian Centers of Culture.

Schimmel, A. (1970); *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture*; translation by Dr. Asadollah Azad; Mashhad; Astan Printing and Publishing.

Misplacement and the Sacred in Museums
A Study of Two Field Experiences

Salar Rafieian

MA, Iranian Studies; Documentation specialist/officer, Malek National Library and Museum, Tehran, Iran

Since the Renaissance, the use of the word "museum" abounds in European languages, but, before that, it was the Greeks who believed in the nine goddesses called the *Musae*. These goddesses were considered children of Zeus and Mnemosyne, and each one was the patron of one art or science. The *Musae* were goddesses of inspiration present at their own holy shrine where they were worshiped and bestowed divine inspiration on their worshipers (Thompson, 2007). "The Mouseion was not just a place for collecting scripts, documents, and objects of the past, it was a place where artists and poets received grace from the Musae. Attending a Mouseion ensued a union with Truth; a living, tangible, livable, and attainable truth. A place for inner wayfaring and sharing the primordial memory."

Contrary to this history, however, contemporary man has made a special connection with the past that could be called a musealisation and archaeo-fication of history, time, traditions, and cultures of people past." (Mollasalehi, 2005).

What made me write on this topic was another facet of this connection, which was neither religious, pilgrimage-like, nor touristic. I was involved in two parallel projects: one in setting up an exhibition of pictures of museum artifacts in hospital spaces, and the other, setting up museum workshops for a group of victims of child labor, both on and off site.

In the spring of 2016, two museum projects were organized by the Malek Museum and Library. The first exhibition, entitled "Admiring at the Hospital," included a display of pictures of Malek Museum artifacts – illustrations, calligraphy, lacquer, Korans, and prayer books – at public spaces in 12 hospitals in Tehran.

The second project for child labor victims, "The Children of Labor at the Museum", comprised two workshops and tour. First it set up a museum familiarization workshop at the supporting institution, and then a museum tour, and finally a workshop at Malek Museum. This event engaged 80 child labor victims from two child labor support institutes in Tehran. These children mostly lived in southern Tehran, and they were the second or third generation offspring of immigrants from border areas of Iran, and, of course, immigrants from Afganistan. These children were mostly deprived of a formal education and they worked either on the streets or in manufacturing environments, such as sweat shops or farms.

Mounting these two programs faced me with fundamental conceptual challenges in the relation of the museum and the Sacred. When confronting the visitors with a museum object as a sacred object in "Admiring in the Hospital", to the contrast between the museum and the curators and the child labor victims, the question was raised: "how is the Sacred perceived in the museum?"

Eliade (1995) assumes the discovery of the Sacred as manifested in the very essence or the visual manifestation of matter to be a unique quality he calls "cosmic religion," and he believes this religion was a kind of religious experience common before the advent of Judaism, still alive and thriving in primitive and Asian societies. According to him, Western knowledge was the immediate legacy of the Judo-Christian tradition that, at best, returned the perception of the object to that of scientific observation, by voiding its value or religious meaning; a cliff (considered sacred by some) was just a cliff and planets and stars just celestial bodies, not goddesses, angels, or demons.

In the museum, I have witnessed the act of touching an object within reach by a visitor, despite security warnings. In the "Admiring at the Hospital" exhibition, this experience was different. The visitors, who were mostly companions of the patients, sometimes caressed (*mash*) the pictures of the museum objects on display. If in the museum environment the unconscious curiosity caused a visitor to touch a historical or original valuable object, here, caressing a printed picture had a different association – that of "invocation." Since the Malek Museum is the inalienable property of the Holy Shrine of Imam Reza, the visitors may have considered the printed picture as part of that sacred whole, and invocated the eighth Shi'a Imam – most probably to ask for the patient to be cured.

In the "Children of Labor at the Museum" experiment, part of a pre-visit survey asked about the visitors' opinion of the benefit of museums. One of the honest, and somehow deconstructive, responses was that "the only benefit of a museum is for its objects to be sold and the money obtained to be tucked away in one's pocket!" Later, in the coin mintage workshop, this same group of visitors "came in contact" with the meaning and the arbitrary value of coins, and money, in general, in an active involved museum activity. Before that experience, the museum was something the children only observed, but, with regard to what Eliade points to, during the coin mintage experience, the working children felt the "substructure of matter and the esoteric aspects of life," of a "force" and purpose, in coins that may be called the experience of "the Sacred."

Although curator colleagues considered their work environment – perhaps from a museum point of view – to be a sacred place with its own sanctuary and rituals (silence has to be observed, nothing is to be touched, order has to be kept, curator instructions to be noted), the child workers – and now I can say any child before entering the formal educational system – did not know any of these definitions and codes. They would move in whatever direction they wanted, in any manner they chose, only to return to a fragile version of the behavior imposed by their instructor or the curators when ordered to do so. This imposed discipline became spontaneous at only one point: during the workshops!

The storytelling workshop narrated by a Naser al-Din Shah impersonator, the shadow puppetry workshop, and the coin mintage workshop, each created an atmosphere in which children participated out of their own free will. The children followed them with amazement and cooperated with excitement. Probably, in an environment controlled by security personnel and uniformed employees, the children did not expect to encounter a Naser al-Din Shah with a crooked moustache who was able to respond to their laughter with cackles, or to be able to mint themselves the money they work for every day, to be able to make it and to tuck it away in their pockets.

According to Eliade (2004), "Chagall's world, like the mysterious world of childhood, is a sacred and mysterious world;" and so he finds the Western mankind entrenched in their dreams and daydreams through special views (e.g. towards nature), hobbies (theatre, studying), their nostalgias, and impulses – though apparently they want themselves free from the Sacred. From this perspective, the artist, as a modern man, "penetrates the depths of the world and the deep layers of their mind, without letting us know or, maybe, without us realizing." But how can this artistic influence, this enigmatic and sacred mysteriousness manifest itself?

In "Art as Technique", Viktor Shklovsky writes: the technique of art is that it makes things "unfamiliar." "Formalists believe that it is the artist's job to defamiliarize, and to remove the "dust of habit" from our eyes. Defamiliarization is infinite in all arts. Any kind of change in how the artistic devices work will actually result in defamiliarization, and we will see the truth of things." (Shafi'i Kadekani, 2012). Likewise, a few centuries ago, Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani, in his *Asrar al-Balaghah* (The Secrets of Elucidation), when discussing images or imagery, including simile and metaphor, says that the more two things (the thing likened & that unto which a thing is likened) are apart or different, the more interesting it is for *nafs* (self). Al-Jurjani finds the struggling of the mind/self in forming a perception of the images (which is itself a type of artistic text) more interesting, more beautiful, and, in fact, more artistic.

Al-Jurjani believes that it comes naturally, and pleasantly, that when a person, after yearning and hoping and suffering along a desired road, reaches a source of water, it will be a sweet and beneficial achievement, and the soul of man is thirstier and keener after such an attainment. In his *Musibat-Nāma*, Farid ud-Din Attar Neyshaburi says, "Whatever goes with habit in the world, has no affinity with truth."

If we put art in the category of truth, we can conclude that this defamiliarization, or as I put it, and in a larger scale, “displacement”, can reveal a truth. As al-Jurjani said, when something appears where it shouldn’t, the mind gets excited about it. When this happens, something is created that did not exist, or couldn’t have existed, before.

In my opinion, this defamiliarization and creation in arts and literature also applies to the displacement in the domain of the sacred and the museum. If the audience in a museum today experiences the sacred, it can be because a displaced element in the context of the museum has helped the sacred to manifest itself.

This displacement – just as defamiliarization in the literary text makes it possible to perceive beauty – creates a sense of worship/prayer/purification/transcendence in the audience.

One can study displacement in the museum from two perspectives; the perspective of the subject (the work/object/monument/content), and the perspective of the object: audience/ environment/society. Each of these can be also studied in three domains: temporal displacement, locational displacement, and existential displacement.

Russian formalists believe that new forms come to abolish previous forms that have become insufficient and to replace them. If the audience can break free from at least one of his or her, or society’s, mental frameworks – be it the museum or other institutions of society – then one could say that this myth of freedom has manifested itself in the body of a new sacred. Just as, in mythology, Musae inspired human creativity by descending on Earth – a displaced status – today, it is this displacement or defamiliarization that can manifest and update the Sacred in the ancient or everyday context.

Reference

Eliade, M. (1995). *Holy and Unholy*, Nasrallah Zangwai Translation, Tehran: Soroush.

Eliade, M. (2004). *Sacred and Modern Art*, Translation by Abolfazl Hari, Iran, Tehran: Zibashenakht.

Jorjani, A. Q., Asar A. (1979). Translation from the English text Kamal Abdoudib

Mollasalehi, H. (2005). *An inquiry into culture, the phenomenon of the museum archeology*, Iran, Tehran: Institute for Research and Development of the Humanities.

Shafi’i K., Mohammad R. (2012). *Doomsday Words: Lessons Learned on the Literary Theory of Russian Formalists*, Iran, Tehran: Aagah.

Shayegan, D. (1991). *Asia versus the West*, Iran, Tehran: Bagh-e Ayene.

Thompson, J. (2007). *A history of the principles librarianship*, Iran, Tehran: Center for Academic Publishing.

Ce qui nous lie (au musée)

Jean Rey-Regazzi
Université du Québec à Montréal – Canada

Au mois d'avril, le Canada s'est ému du destin de deux œuvres, et, par rebond, de l'attitude d'un site patrimonial, de trois musées et de deux paliers d'instances gouvernementales. D'une part, le Musée des Beaux-Arts du Canada a procédé à l'aliénation de *La Tour Eiffel* de Chagall. Malgré les protestations des historiens et des professionnels de musées, au début du mois de mai, l'œuvre était déjà partie pour New York où Christie's était chargée de sa vente. D'autre part, on a appris peu après l'annonce du départ du Chagall que le Musée avait mené cette aliénation à des fins commerciales pour acquérir le *Saint Jérôme* de David dont la Fabrique de la cathédrale de Québec souhaitait se départir. Nouvel esclandre, nouvel élan patrimonial. En bref, une véritable saga qui à long terme pourrait menacer la fiabilité du public envers le musée[1].

Ces deux histoires croisées interpellent chercheurs et professionnels des musées, confrontés à cet exercice d'humilité qu'implique la transmission d'un héritage matériel et immatériel aux générations successives sur le temps long. Comment comprendre le soulèvement provoqué dans la population, le nombre d'articles parus dans la presse, y compris par des journalistes plus souvent habitués à couvrir la politique que la culture ? Quel sacrilège, au sens plein du terme, a-t-on pu commettre ? L'émoi patrimonial que révèle ce cas souligne *ce qui nous lie au musée*.

Il s'agit d'abord de ce qui relie chacun avec l'institution patrimoniale, ce qui, dans le cas du Chagall, justifie l'émoi populaire à apprendre cette sortie d'une œuvre d'une des rares collections publiques du Canada. Plus largement, c'est ce qui lie les individus entre eux par le biais du musée ou du patrimoine.

Nos précédentes recherches interrogeaient la question de l'art religieux dans les musées, plus précisément de la dimension immatérielle des œuvres réalisées dans un contexte chrétien. À savoir comment, lorsqu'un bien porteur de croyances entre dans le musée, espace public et laïque, il se voit en quelque sorte neutralisé, vidé de cette dimension immatérielle : on ne prie plus devant une Madone lorsqu'elle se trouve sur les cimaises d'une institution muséale. Du moins si l'on prie, ce n'est plus sous les mêmes aspects.

Il faut regarder la question de l'immatériel sous son autre angle : non plus la valeur cultuelle neutralisée (art chrétien entrant au musée), mais la valeur cultuelle *ajoutée*, celle qui recouvre, englobe les œuvres d'art, toutes origines

---

1. Mais tout est bien qui finit bien : le David restera au Canada, et le MBAC a pu faire marche arrière et recouvrer son Chagall.

confondues, une fois qu'elles sont sur les cimaises. S'opère en effet non seulement l'uniformisation des objets sous le même discours (voir le classement « par écoles » qui peut confondre ainsi biens profanes et biens religieux), mais aussi ce qui émerge du *discours muséal*.

Du cultuel au culturel

Plusieurs aspects permettent de pressentir que si la religion catholique qui définit le contexte de production des œuvres conservées dans nos musées d'art ancien n'est plus d'actualité, une autre religion se joue : la transformation ontologique de l'objet qui, entrant au musée, devient œuvre d'art, se vérifie pour chacun des éléments de la collection. Par les attitudes qui sont attendues de la part du visiteur dans le musée d'art, on comprend que le chemin vers les œuvres, tel qu'il est favorisé par l'institution, n'est pas celui de la dévotion mais celui de l'admiration esthétique.

Adopter au musée des comportements de dévotion catholique pourrait apparaître incongru, sinon tabou. Des murmures, des sourires, voire des rumeurs indignées accueilleraient le candide qui s'agenouillerait sur le parquet du Louvre et se signerait pieusement au pied du *Couronnement d'épines* du Titien. Et, ironie du sort, ce fidèle d'une religion ancienne, devenu intrus encombrant dans la salle des États, viendrait déranger la longue procession des adorateurs de la *Joconde* présentée dans la même pièce qui, en un temps solennellement fixé, jettent un regard convenu sur l'Œuvre consacrée.

Cet aspect étant déjà largement exploré (Rey-Regazzi, 2012), il faut opérer la bascule et comprendre que, si le musée n'est plus le lieu du culte catholique, malgré la présence d'œuvres issues de ce contexte, il n'en est pas moins le lieu *d'un* culte.

Toutes les apparences du culte : le rite et ses manifestations

Une fois que l'on a dit que le musée a son propre culte, il faut aller au-delà du cliché du musée-temple. Il faut en effet définir les modalités de ce culte qui prend naissance dans ces églises de l'Art. Or ce culte se lit par l'analyse sémiotique des accrochages, formidable outil pour un tel enjeu. Indiscutablement, le musée a ses rites au sens anthropologique. L'anthropologue Martine Segalen (1998) définit les rites comme :

> *un ensemble d'actes formalisés, expressifs, porteurs d'une dimension symbolique. Le rite est caractérisé par une configuration spatio temporelle, le recours à une série d'objets, des systèmes de comportement et de langages spécifique, des signes emblématiques dont le sens codé constitue l'un des biens communs du groupe.*

Dans une acceptation négative, on peut y voir tous les efforts de l'institution pour conditionner la visite et influer sur les visiteurs, en lui interdisant un certain nombre de comportements, en codifiant ses actes :

> *« Le musée est un lieu de silence et de réflexion. Prière de parler bas s.v.p.. »*
> *Pourquoi de tels écriteaux, cherche-t-on à conditionner le visiteur de telle manière qu'il se sente impressionné et plein de respect pour les objets qu'il va découvrir ?*
> *(Martynow-Remiche, Wéry, 1971)*

Le musée est le lieu où le visiteur est contrôlé par un ensemble de règles, explicites ou tacites, règlements de visite ou conventions sociales qui contraignent son corps et ses sens : on ne touche pas, on ne parle pas trop fort. Par ailleurs, les œuvres bénéficient d'un entour qui les rend sacrées, au sens premier du terme (*sacer,* ce qui est séparé). En muséographie, on parlera de dispositifs de mise à distance. Les interdits, sous la forme de vitrines, barrières de sécurité, gardiens ou panneaux aux pictogrammes envahissants, installent une distance solennelle digne des églises les plus rigoristes et les moins sensuelles.

Il faut alors déceler les manifestations de ce culte, dessiner les ponts entre visite de musée et rituel culturel/cultuel. Le parallèle le plus intéressant à faire permet de lier visite de musée et prière. Pour le théologien Sabatier (*Le Problème de la prière,* 1924), « le commerce avec Dieu se réalise dans la prière. La prière : voilà la religion en acte ». C'est cette manifestation qu'il convient de retrouver au musée, postulant qu'il n'y a pas de rite sans croyance. Enfin, l'analyse de cette incarnation de la « prière muséale » permet d'approcher avec la plus grande rigueur l'enjeu du culte du musée, et d'en comprendre la portée sociologique.

Le patrimoine liant

Cette ambition permet de recouvrer la fonction sociale du culte. La religion, étymologiquement, est ce qui unit, *relie,* lie entre eux les membres d'une même société. Cela renvoie à la fonction première du Louvre de 1793 : lieu de formation, lieu d'apprentissage des valeurs citoyennes et humanistes, ainsi qu'à la définition de l'ICOM (2007) pour qui le musée est une « institution permanente sans but lucratif et *au service de la société et de son développement* ».

L'histoire et le patrimoine disposent d'une capacité unificatrice puissante :

> *Le succès des journées du patrimoine et celui des grandes expositions [...] attestent que le patrimoine, miroir dans lequel l'ensemble de la société peut désormais se reconnaître, joue un rôle fédérateur et qu'il est devenu par sa diversité un instrument de lien social et d'identité partagée.*
> *(Beghain, 2011)*

La vision de l'institution muséale comme lieu de culte réservé aux initiés, peut certes constituer une motivation à la visite de musée, le public goûtant le mystère du lieu. Mais elle entraîne également l'idée d'un établissement réservé à une élite détentrice de savoir. Elle entre en cela en contradiction même avec les prétentions à l'ouverture au public le plus large, puisqu'elle alimente chez les visiteurs l'« illusion d'être exclus du savoir » qui « pèse au point d'empêcher l'accès au plaisir » (Gottesdiener, 1992).

L'institution muséale doit s'identifier aux églises au sens où elles sont au centre de la vie, lieux perméables qui prennent en compte les préoccupations de la société. Plus encore, il faut rapprocher le musée du temple antique voire du forum. Espace public, le musée n'est pas contraint, parce qu'il conserve les œuvres du passé, à n'avoir aucune efficacité sur le présent :

> *Le musée ne peut rester un* hortus conclusus *abritant de riches collections, aussi intéressantes soient-elles, mais doit s'ouvrir au public et à ses préoccupations actuelles.*
> *(Mairesse, 2000)*

Qu'est-ce qu'un musée, si ce n'est un discours que la société se tient à elle-même ? Plus qu'un simple débarras d'œuvres, le musée est un acteur de la transformation sociale qui se révèle d'une grande actualité sociale, culturelle et politique [...] Il a la capacité de donner aux enjeux de la diversité culturelle et de l'identité une mise en représentations, en symboles, en expositions qui matérialisent, tout en les consacrant, la quête existentielle, la reconnaissance de l'autre, l'affirmation de soi, l'appartenance à des groupes identitaires et la recherche de l'universel qui, ensemble, constituent la personnalité moderne. (Poulot, 2000)

Comme le rappelle Marcel Mauss (*La Prière*), « tout en se réalisant dans l'esprit de l'individu, la prière a surtout une existence sociale, au dehors de l'individu, dans la sphère du rituel, de la convention religieuse ». C'est le paradoxe de la prière comme de la visite de musée : pratiques individuelles, elles ne se comprennent que dans un cadre social donné. Reste une question à laquelle il est malaisé de répondre : de quoi le musée est-il le temple ? On ne peut qu'avancer que le musée d'art est un pur produit humain, et nous parle moins des œuvres du passé que de nous-mêmes.

Tant par la neutralisation que par la création d'un nouveau culte, l'interrogation sur ce qui nous lie au musée met en lumière les fonctions de l›institution et notamment la question de l'autorité, de la voix qui émane du discours muséal que constitue, entre autres, l'accrochage, bien loin d'un idéal de prétention des institutions muséales à la neutralité. Comme l'a révélé l'affaire Chagall-David, le patrimoine est le trésor d'une nouvelle Église, et autant de croyances, de foi et d'émotion peuvent-être liées aux collections muséales qu'à de saintes reliques. Religions au sens étymologique, le musée, le culte patrimonial doivent permettre de *faire le lien*.

En dehors des vœux pieux, dès lors que l'on postule que le culte qui se joue au musée est bien celui du génie humain, c'est un beau rôle à assumer pour les institutions, dans la poursuite de l'idée que « l'histoire des collections est en fait une histoire des rapports des Européens avec l'invisible » (Pomian, 2001).

Bibliographie

Beghain P. (2011). *Le Patrimoine : culture et lien social*, Paris : Sciences Po.

Gottesdiener H. (1992). *Freins et motivations à la visite des musées d'art*, Paris : Ministère de la Culture.

Mairesse F. (2000). La Belle histoire, aux origines de la nouvelle muséologie, *Publics et musées,* 17-18, 33-56.

Martynow-Remich A. & Wéry C. (1971). *Le Musée interdit. Enqu*ête sociologique sur le fait muséologique en milieu ouvrier dans la région lilloise, Liège : Ministère de la Culture.

Pomian K. (2001). Collection : une typologie historique, *Romantisme.*, 112, 9-22.

Poulot D. (2000). Tradition civique et appréciation de l'œuvre d'art dans les musées français des origines à nos jours. Dans J. Galard (Ed.), *Le Regard instruit. Action éducative et action culturelle dans les musées*, (pp. 21-52), Paris : Documentation française.

Rey-Regazzi J. (2012). *De l'autel aux cimaises. La transmission de la dimension immatérielle des œuvres dans les musées d'art,* Paris : École du Louvre.

Segalen M. (1998). *Rites et rituels contemporains*, Paris : Nathan.

D'une muséologie de l'objet à une muséologie du sacré : Le patrimoine sacré des peuples premiers

Michèle Rivet
*Université de Sherbrooke – Canada**

Les relations avec les objets, comme la dichotomie sacré et profane, prennent une signification très particulière dans la vie des sociétés autochtones et, partant, dans leurs relations avec les musées. Parce des objets sont sacrés aux yeux des communautés autochtones, celles-ci souhaitent les ravoir près d'elles, les rapatrier[1] ou, encore, elles exigent que certains rituels ou pratiques soient reproduits dans les espaces des musées qui les conservent. Nous aborderons ces questions afin d'en comprendre le sens du sacré et, à cette fin, nous ferons mention de quelques éléments d'histoire.

Pour l'ethnologue Clavir (2015, p.1) : « l'adjectif sacré peut désigner des objets ou des lieux vénérés, consacrés, dédiés à quelqu'un ou à quelque chose ou protégés de croyances ».

Nous regarderons, en parallèle, le Pacifique, avec les Māori de Nouvelle-Zélande, et l'Amérique, avec les Premières Nations du Canada.

Les Māori de Nouvelle-Zélande/Aoteroa, leurs trésors ont une âme

Les collections muséales, dans la langue māorie, ne sont pas juste des collections, ce sont les ancêtres (Clavir, 2002). Ce sont des gardiens vivants du patrimoine des ancêtres māoris. Les Māori ont ainsi le sens du sacré. L'état d'esprit et le mode d'existence des Māori peut ainsi se résumer : « *I Mua I Muri,* le passé est devant l'avenir est derrière » (Martin, 2011, p. 11). La « renaissance māorie » a connu son essor à partir des années 1980 (McCarthy, 2011, p 8).

Quelques dates charnières :

---

1. * Membre du CA d'ICOM-Canada, Professeure associée, faculté de droit U. de Sherbrooke.
La recommandation de l'UNESCO de novembre 2015 sur *La protection et la promotion des musées et des collections* traite spécifiquement de rapatriement, article 18.

- Par l'exposition Te Māori, au *Metropolitan Museum* de New York, les Māoris réalisent toute l'importance de leurs *taonga* (McCarthy, 2011, p. 56, 268); Hakiwai, 2014, pp 51, 52, 68).
- Les Māori décident en 1990 que les *toi moko*, têtes momifiées et tatouées (McCarthy, 2011, p.268) doivent être rapatriées.
- Le Musée Te Papa Tongarewa est inauguré le 14 février 1998, à Wellington. Le musée cristallise[1] les revendications māories. (McCarthy, 2007).
- Le gouvernement adopte en 2003 une politique sur le rapatriement des restes humains ou restes ancestraux, *köiwi tangata*, et des têtes momifiées, *toi moko* (Gagné, 2012, p. 5). Le musée prend en charge le rapatriement des kōiwi tangata Māori (McCarthy, 2011, p.265).
- Mai 2011, quatre têtes de chefs ornées de tatouages et momifiées regagnent la terre des ancêtres après plus d'un siècle d'exil. « Dissimulées dans une caisse pour échapper aux regards indiscrets, puis recouvertes de la traditionnelle cape de deuil, les têtes et l'âme des guerriers maoris pouvaient désormais reposer en paix ». (Musée du quai Branly, 2011, p.37).
- Janvier 2012, c'est la cérémonie de départ/rapatriement de 20 *toi moko* (Gagné, 2012, pp 7-21).
- Au total, plus de 400 restes humains incluant des *toi moko* sont retournés (Te Papa, 2018).

Pour les Māori, le retour des *toi moko* est d'importance première. Les ancêtres sont des entités vivantes qu'il convient d'honorer (McCarthy, 2011, p. 217). Tous ces départs des musées où se trouvaient ces *toi moko* ainsi que leur retour à la terre des ancêtres donnent lieu à des cérémonies importantes (Gagné, 2012) qui démontrent combien pour les Māori les ancêtres sont sacrés. Il fallait les sortir des musées où ils étaient exposés pour leur redonner leur âme.

L'exposition itinérante *E Tū Ake : Standing Strong* (Māori debout) *Māori : leurs trésors ont une âme*, est organisée au Musée du quai Branly en 2011-2012 (Crenn et al, 2015) et au Musée de la civilisation à Québec en 2012-2013 (Gagné, Roustan, 2014). La manipulation des objets, à tous les stades, a été soumise, *de manière contractuelle*, « aux normes adossées à la tradition māorie » (Gagné, Roustan, 85) : Prières, chants, rituels, cérémonies imposantes également à l'ouverture comme à la clôture de toutes ces expositions.

Janvier 2015, le cérémonial de la clôture de l'exposition sur le Traité de Waitangi comprend à nouveau des chants, prières, danses, au cours duquel nous avons d'ailleurs été introduite. Régulièrement, dans le *marae* du musée Te Papa, se déroulent des cérémonies, encore là par des prières et des chants. Nous avons assisté à quelques-unes.

---

1. Entretien avec Rhonda Paku, Senior Curator Mātauranga Māori & Deputy Kaihautū, le 29 janvier 2015, au musée Te Papa.

Les Premières Nations du Canada au Musée canadien de l'Histoire[1], la présence du sacré.

Le rapatriement des objets sacrés a transformé les relations entre les musées et les Premières nations (Conaty, 2004, p. 64) et l'attitude des musées à leur égard ; il est la clef de voûte pour en saisir le sens du sacré.

Quelques dates charnière :

- 1988, les Cris boycottent l'exposition, *L'esprit chante* au Musée Glenbow (Alberta). L'affaire amène un changement structurel radical entre les musées et les Premières Nations (Dubuc, 2002, p. 51; Conaty, 2015, p. 249; Phillips, 2011, pp 49-70).
- 1992: *Tourner la page : forger de nouveaux partenariats entre les musées et les Premières Nations*: une politique de rapatriement des objets sacrés et des restes humains contenus dans les collections muséales est initiée à travers le Canada.
- 1991, Le Musée canadien des civilisations (MCC) adopte une politique sur les restes humains.
- 1993, il établit un programme, *Sacred Materiels Programme*, qui se poursuit encore aujourd'hui. (Laforet, 2016, pp. 239-243).
- 2000, le traité sur l'autonomie gouvernementale des Nisga'a prévoit, à son chapitre 19, le retour d'objets sacrés jusqu'alors détenus par le MCC (Laforet, 2005, pp 261-264).
- 2001, le MCC adopte une Politique sur le rapatriement.

Les objets autochtones sacrés sont des objets de culture matérielle considérés comme sacrés en raison de leur utilisation dans certains rites ou certaines cérémonies. (Mose, 2015)

Ce sont notamment objets liés à la danse, à l'utilisation de tambours, aux cérémonies du calumet, à la quête de visions, au jeûne ou aux rituels de guérison traditionnels et à la cérémonie de la suerie. Pour le traité Nisga'a : (Laforet, 1999, 261-262).

Dans la culture autochtone d'origine, l'accès au objets sacrés et aux objets dotés de pouvoir est restreint en fonction de l'âge, du sexe, des réalisations ou d'une initiation préalable. Des rituels entourent leur accès.

Les Musées ont l'obligation de respecter ces coutumes et rituels pour tous les objets sacrés dont ils sont les fiduciaires ; des cérémonies se déroulent régulièrement, notamment, dans le cadre du *Sacred Materials Programme*.

1. Jusqu'en 2013, le musée était connu sous le nom de Musée canadien des civilisations (MCC).

Le caractère sacré des objets muséaux conduit-il à une nouvelle muséologie ?

Le concept de *mana taonga* pollinise l'ensemble des activités muséales au Musée Te Papa. McCarthy va plus loin (2016, p. 216):

> *If we are accustomed (...) to use Bourdieu, Foucault and Habermas to explain virtually any museum in the world, then we should not be surprised that Māori theories or styles of museology should have something to offer western academic thinking.*

Au Canada, la nécessaire prise en compte de la tradition et des coutumes des Premières Nations dans le traitement de l'objet sacré participe ainsi du musée comme zone de contact, passeur de mémoire, le musée du XXI[e] siècle.

Bibliographie

Clavir, M. (2002). *Preserving What Is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations*. UBC Press.

Clavir, M. (2015). Les collections d'objets sacrés ou culturellement sensibles in *Le soin des objets sacrés ou culturellement sensibles*, Gouvernement du Canada, Institut canadien de la conservation.

Conaty, G. (2004). Le rapatriement du matériel sacré des pieds noirs : deux approches, in Dubuc É., Turgeon L. (sous la direction de) *Musées et premières nations : la trace du passé, l'empreinte du futur*, Anthropologie et Sociétés, vol 28, no 2, 63-81.

Conaty, G. (2015). *We are coming home, Repatriation ant the restoration of Blackfoot Cultural Confidence*, Edmonton, AU Press, Arthabaska University.

Crenn, G., Davidson, L., Gagné, N., Roustan M. (2015). Māori debout » une exposition révélatrice, in Hatzfeld, H., (sous la direction de) *Regards décalés sur des patrimoines silencieux*, Paris, HD Atelier Henri Dougier, 89-96.

Dubuc, É. (2002). Entre l'art et l'autre, l'émergence du sujet in Gonseth, M.A., Hainard, J., Kaehr, R., (sous la direction de) *Le musée cannibale*, Neuchâtel, Musée d'ethnographie, 31-59.

Eidelman, J., sous la direction de (2017). *Inventer des musées pour demain Rapport de la Mission Musées XXI[e] siècle,* Paris, La documentation française.

Gagné M., Roustand, M. (2014). Accompagner les Taonga à travers le monde : une exposition māori à Paris et à Québec (note de recherche), *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, 38 (3), 79-93.

Gagné, N. (2012). Affirmation et décolonisation : la cérémonie de rapatriement par la France des toi moko à la Nouvelle-Zélande en perspective, *Le Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 134, 5-24.

Gagné, N. ---(2013). Musées et restes humains : Analyses comparées de cérémonies māori de rapatriement en sols québécois et français, *Journal de la Société des oc*éanistes, 2013/1-2 (n° 136-137), 77-88.

Hakiwai, A. et Schorch, P. (2014). Mana Taonga and the public sphere: A dialogue between indigenous practice and Western Theory, *International Journal of Cultural Studies,* 17 (2), 191-205.

Laforet, A. (1999). Concept of the object in the Nisga'a agreement and principle, *Musée et Politique*, (4e colloque de l'association internationale des Musées d'histoire), 256-264.

Laforet, A. (2005). Narratives of the Treaty Table: Cultural Property and the Negociation of Tradition, in Phillips, M.S., Schochet, G., (Ed), *Questions of Tradition,* University of Toronto Press, 33-55

Laforet, A. (2016). Good intentions and the Public Good: Intangible Cultural Heritage in a Canadian National Museum, in Patrimoine culturel immaterial/Intangible Cultural Heritage, *Ethnologies*, vol. 36, 1-2, 235-257.

McCarthy, C. (2007). *Exhibiting Maori, A History of Colonial Cultures of Display,* Oxford-New York, Berg.

McCarthy, C. (2011). *Museum and Maori, Heritage professionnals, indigenous collections, current practice*, Wellington, Nouvelle-Zélande, Te Papa Press.

McCarthy, C., Hakiwai, A., Schorch, P. (2016). Globalizing maori museology: Reconceptualizing Engagement, Knowledge, and Virtuality through Mana Taonga, *Museum Anthropology*, vol 29, no 1, 48-69., vol 29, no 1, 48-69.

Moses, J. (2015). Soins traditionnels des objets culturellement sensibles originaires des peuples autochtones du Canada in *Le soin des objets sacrés ou culturellement sensibles*, Gouvernement du Canada, Institut canadien de la conservation.

Musée du quai Branly (2011). *Māori, leurs trésors ont une âme*, Paris, Beaux-Arts/TTM Éditions.

Smith, H., (2011). *Māori, Leurs trésors ont une âme*, Paris, Musée du quai Branly et Somogi, éditions d'art.

Te Papa Tongarewa, (2018). *International repatriation Te whakahoki tūpuna mai i rāwāhi,* https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/international-repatriation (Page consultée le 12 mai 2018).

Le sens caché : Exposition de l'art chrétienne au musée

Maria Isabel Roque
Universidade Europeia – Lisbonne, Portugal

Introduction

La notion de sacré croise les études sur les musées, lorsque y sont exposées des nombreuses collections d'art venues des contextes liés aux culte et à la dévotion. L'exposition de l'objet au musée implique un processus de déplacement de leur contexte d'origine vers un lieu artificiel où il prend une fonction représentative ou emblématique de cette réalité perdue. En ce qui concerne l'objet religieux, l'étude de ce phénomène entraîne des considérations sur le concept du sacré (Durkeim, 2014; Eliade, 1965; Otto, 2015), en particulier dans le Christianisme (Église catholique 2003), évaluant les contraintes de leur exposition au musée. Cette présentation vise à comprendre les transformations du sens opérées au cours de la muséalisation, ainsi que l'« effet musée » (Alpers, 1991; Putnam, 2000; Smith, 2014) et la re-sacralisation de l'objet religieux au musée (Cameron, 1971; Duncan, 1995; Mairesse, 2002, 2011; Putnam, 2000; Roque, 2011, 2013). On se propose aussi d'examiner les modèles d'exposition de l'objet religieux et la façon dont les musées répondent aux défis de la sécularisation croissante de leurs publics.

Concepts du sacré

L'évidence du divin est un phénomène archaïque, ubiquitaire et transcendant, transversal à toutes les religions et, donc, dans toutes les cultures.

> *Quel que soit le contexte historique dans lequel il est plongé, l'*homo religiosus *croit toujours qu'il existe une réalité absolue, le* sacré*, qui transcende ce monde-ci, mais qui s'y manifeste et, de ce fait, le sanctifie et le rend réel (Eliade, 1965, pp. 171-172).*

Le sacré est une réalité extraordinaire séparée du commun profane ou ordinaire, (Durkeim, 2014) perçu par l'individu comme une force menaçante, même si elle est séduisante, c'est-à-dire, comme *mysterium tremendum* et *fascinans* (Otto, 2015, passim). Ce caractère d'interdiction détermine les précautions à prendre lors de la muséalisation des objets consacrés au culte religieux.

Dans l'Ancien Testament, Dieu confirme l'irréductible séparation entre le sacré et le profane ; cependant, dans le Nouveau Testament, la relation entre Dieu et son peuple prend une nouvelle perspective fondée sur le mystère salvifique de l'Eucharistie. Le *sacrum* chrétien est consubstantiel : Dieu seulement est saint dans un sens absolu. Donc, seulement le calice et la patène, par leur condition de récipients en contact direct avec le pain et le vin transsubstantiés, sont des objets de consécration et leur profanation prend la gravité du sacrilège (Église catholique 2003, can. 2120). Les autres objets du culte catholique sont bénis. En outre, l'Église détermine l'exécration lorsque les objets liturgiques sont expropriés ou endommagés. Par conséquent, les objets ayant perdu leur affectation au culte sont libérés pour prendre d'autres fonctions du domaine profane, y compris des fonctions muséologiques.

Muséalisation de l'objet religieux

Dans les premiers musées, apparus en Europe au XVIII^e siècle, il y avait beaucoup d'objets provenant des églises ou des collections ecclésiastiques, choisis par leur valeur patrimoniale et exposés en tant qu'objets d'art, ce qui a conduit à la perte de leurs connotations sacrées.

Le sens fonctionnel de ces objets, la sémantique de leur fonction d'usage, est remplacé par une nouvelle signification au domaine du patrimoine, de l´histoire ou de la culture matérielle" (Roque, 2013, pp. 26-27).

L'exposition cache le sens intrinsèque de ces objets et efface la plupart de leur entourage symbolique, quelle que soit la typologie du musée dans son rapport avec l'art religieux : musées et trésors sous tutelle ecclésiastique ; musées de religion sous tutelle laïque ; musées d'art avec des collections d'art religieux.

Dans leur contexte d'origine, ces objets étaient intégrés au sein d'un système riche de connections avec l'espace et l'ensemble des outils et parements liturgiques. Le transfert au musée est un processus de décontextualisation, très accentué dans le cas de l'objet religieux. Les représentations iconographiques snt dispersés parmi les collections de peinture ou de sculpture, pendant que les outils et les parements sont intègrés dans les collections d'orfèvrerie, de textiles ou de mobilier et arts décoratifs, tout en supprimant la logique de leurs connections originelles. En outre, le musée modifie l'appréhension visuelle de l'objet : on rapproche les objets de l'observateur, en les plaçant à hauteur de regard. Ainsi, le musée présente les aspects formels et souligne les données dénotatives des objets exposés, mais, en revanche, son discours tend à ignorer leurs connotations, ou la densité sémantique de leurs aspects théologiques, liturgiques et dévotionnels.

L'ensemble de ces transformations a été décrit comme « effet musée ». André Malraux a ainsi décrit « la métamorphose qu'impose à des images créées pour le tombeau, le sanctuaire ou la cathédrale, leur passage au musée » (1965, p. 216), où elles entrent dans un autre réseau de connections. Svetlana Alpers (1991) l'a reconnu comme un effet inhérent au musée, pendant que François Mairesse a défini la muséalisation comme

> *l'opération tendant à extraire physiquement et conceptuellement une chose de son milieu naturel ou culturel d'origine et à lui donner un statut muséal [...] (2011, p. 251).*

Associé à ce phénomène, on observe une sorte de re-sacralisation, par rapport à l'appropriation des concepts et rituels religieux dans l'organisation de l'espace et la conduite disciplinée qui est imposée aux visiteurs (Cameron, 1971; Duncan, 1995; Mairesse, 2002, 2014; Roque, 2011, 2013). La muséalisation crée des barrières, explicites ou implicites, entre l'objet et l'individu, lesquelles rappellent la séparation et l'interdiction de toucher les objets religieux :

> *the vitrine reinforces the notion of the unique, untouchable and unattainable and, perhaps significantly, has its roots in the medieval church reliquary (Putman, 2000, p. 36).*

Ainsi, la muséalisation, au-delà d'intervenir dans la manière dont l'individu voit et interprète l'objet dans une certaine perspective, additionne un nouveau rituel qui peut se confondre avec son sens religieux antérieur.

Le discours muséologique autour du sens religieux des objets du culte chrétien

Le déclin des églises judéo-chrétiennes dans le monde occidental et la décroissance du culte religieux, remplacé par des « religions séculières », avec d'autres vénérations et performances, a conduit à une laïcisation et, simultanément, à un nouveau sacré et à la ritualisation du quotidien et du cycle de vie individuelle (Segalen, 2012). Tout cela a contribué à oblitérer la connaissance commune de la religion chrétienne et a produit une méconnaissance croissante sur ces sujets. Ce phénomène est renforcé par l'impact du tourisme qui apporte au musée de nouveaux publics, avec des références culturelles très hétérogènes. La plupart des visiteurs ne reconnaissent pas les objets liturgiques et les figures et scènes religieuses, tandis que le musée fournit peu d'informations, tout en oubliant les aspects fonctionnels ou symboliques qui contribueraient à la compréhension de ce qu'y est exposé.

Conformément aux directives de l'Église Catholique (2001), les musées soumis à l'autorité ecclésiastique cherchent à inclure des dispositifs textuels et graphiques pour présenter le sens théologique, liturgique ou dévotionnel des objets, avec des objectifs catéchétiques. Parfois, ces musées intègrent les objets dans un modèle d'exposition scénographique et analogique qui reconstitue une fiction de leur contexte original. De ce fait, l'objet reprend les connexions avec les autres objets de l'ensemble et l'appréhension de leur signification fonctionnelle devient plus intuitive.

En assumant l'illettrisme religieux de la postmodernité, on peut justifier l'application de ces pratiques dans d'autres musées et expositions d'art sacré ou religieuse, quelle que soit leur tutelle ou leur typologie, à condition qu'on maintienne les conditions de rigueur dans la recherche et la diffusion de l'information.

Cependant, les musées d'art ancien et d'archéologie maintiennent, en général, des stratégies de médiation très modérées et limitées à des solutions analogiques conventionnelles. Les cartels fournissent l'information essentielle à l'identification des œuvres, restreinte à des aspects formels, même si on commence à s'apercevoir d'une tendance afin d'inclure des éléments interprétatifs comprenant des indications sur la fonction, l'usage ou la signification. Les informations plus approfondies sont rares. Par conséquent, le message transmis par l'objet reste très largement conditionné par les compétences, connaissances et mémoires, du visiteur-récepteur.

Dans ce cadre, on espère que les études sur les musées autour du phénomène religieux exploitent de nouvelles pistes autour de la représentation de l'intangibilité inhérente au patrimoine religieux, sans provoquer de « bruit » autour du message énoncé par les objets, ni créer de surplus qui étouffent l'espace expographiques. Les *digital humanities* (humanités numériques) apportent des avantages à la médiation culturelle. Cependant, la plupart des projets dans ce domaine concernent des bases de données liées à l'inventaire. Les projets plus complexes sont assez rares, surtout dans les thématiques d'art religieuse et de matrice chrétienne.

Notes conclusives

La muséalisation de l'objet religieux implique des procédures qui récupèrent leur contexte fonctionnel et symbolique d'origine et le rendent disponible au public, autant pour ce qui concerne les données dénotativess que connotatives. Les technologies d'information et de communication permettent d'incrémenter l'information textuelle, de créer des représentations et des manipulations des objets et de personnaliser la communication, favorisant la connaissance du patrimoine religieux au musée.

Bibliographie

Alpers, S. (1991). The museum as a way of seeing. In I. Karp et S. D. Lavine (Eds. Lit.), *Exhibiting cultures: The poetics and politics of museum display* (pp. 25–31). Washington; Londres: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Cameron, D. (1971). Museum, a temple or a forum. *Curator: The Museum Journal, 14*(1), 11-24.

Duncan, C. (1995). *Civilizing rituals: Inside public art museums*. London & New York: Routledge.

Durkeim, E. (2014). *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse: Le système totémique en Australie*. Paris : CNRS.

Église Catholique. (2003). *Catéchisme de l'Église catholique*. Accessible à http://www.vatican.va/archive/FRA0013/_INDEX.HTM

Église Catholique. Commission Pontificale pour les Biens Culturels de l'Église. (2001). *Lettre circulaire sur la fonction pastorale des musées ecclésiastiques*. Accessible à http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_commissions/pcchc/documents/rc_com_pcchc_20010815_funzione-musei_fr.html

Eliade, M. (1965). *Le sacré et le profane*. Paris: Gallimard.

Mairesse, F. (2002). *Le musée, temple spectaculaire. Une histoire du projet muséal*. Lyon : Presses Universitaires de Lyon.

Mairesse, F. (2011). Muséalisation. In A. Desvallées, & F. Mairesse, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de muséologie* (pp. 251-270). Paris: Armand Colin.

Mairesse, F. (2014). *Le culte des musées*. Bruxelles : Académie royale de Belgique.

Malraux, A. (1951). *Les voix du silence*. Paris : Gallimard.

Otto, R. (2015). *Le sacré : L'élément non rationnel dans l'idée du divin et sa relation avec le rationnel*. Paris: Payot.

Putnam, J. (2000). *Art and artifact: The museum as medium*. New York: Thames and Hudson.

Roque, M. I. R. (2011). *O sagrado no museu: Musealização de objectos do culto católico em contexto português*. Lisboa: Universidade Católica Editora.

Roque, M. I. R. (2013). Exposer croyances et cultes : Les singularités de la muséologie de religion. In V. Minucciani (Ed. lit.), *Religion and museums: Immaterial and material heritage* (pp. 24-36). Torino : Umberto Allemandi.

Segalen, M. (2012). *Rites et rituels contemporains* : *Domaines et approches*. Paris: A. Colin.

Smith, J. K. (2014). *The museum effect: How museums, libraries, and cultural institutions educate and civilize society*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hacia un devenir consciente: museología y sentido

Andrés Sansoni
Centro Alétheia – Misiones, Argentina

Nacemos, nos desarrollamos y morimos… hasta ahí una mirada fría y vacía del inexorable itinerario individual de todo ser humano… pero en realidad el camino de la vida suele ser más cálido y generoso ¿Qué pasa después de la muerte? este es ya un tema de interpretaciones muy diversas, pero es también muy cierto que lo que pensemos al respecto condiciona nuestro *modo de vivir*, personal y socialmente. Modo de vivir que depende primeramente de la cosmovisión del grupo cultural en el que nacemos y luego con el correr del tiempo va adquiriendo su propia forma y dinámica personal.

Una de las características más comunes de la cosmovisión de todo grupo humano es la de distinguir entre el mundo en el que vive ("este mundo", inmanente) y otro distinto (el "otro mundo", trascendente) ubicado más allá del primero y del cual cada persona necesariamente participa. El primero suele ser concebido como transitorio y contingente, mientras que el segundo, en contraposición al primero, como definitivo y eterno. Este último siempre se concibe de algún modo como *mejor*, porque está protagonizado por alguna forma de divinidad, que explica a su modo lo que ocurre en el mundo, da el sentido verdadero de las cosas y es destino final del ser humano.

Si bien ambos mundos se entrecruzan, el hombre debe reconocer y distinguir qué corresponde a cada uno, destinando desde antiguo dos conceptos generales que los designan, a saber: *profano* y *sagrado*, lo de este mundo y lo del otro, respectivamente. Lo *sagrado* señala aquello que participa o pertenece de algún modo al otro mundo, condición que lo posiciona en un grado mayor de importancia que lo *profano*. De modo que entre lo *sagrado* y lo *profano* hay una diferencia de grado, lo *sagrado* es cualitativamente más importante.

Las *religiones* tienen muy en claro estos conceptos, ya que son las grandes encargadas de gestionar la relación de esos dos mundos (los *religan*). Para ello cada religión o credo, cuenta con un *sistema* de preceptos, ritos y diversas mediaciones que dan al hombre elementos y respuestas necesarias para transcurrir por *este mundo* y dar finalmente el paso hacia el *otro*. Cuando esos *sistemas* están desarrollados y fundamentados teóricamente estamos en presencia de "teologías reveladas" propiamente dichas (islámica, católica, protestante, judía, hindú, entre otras). Los conceptos de *sagrado* y *profano*, en sentido estricto, están reservados a este ámbito de las religiones, que es el ámbito de la *fe*, y es usado tanto en las complejas reflexiones teológicas como en el lenguaje coloquial de cualquier creyente.

Pero existe también otro modo de plantear la relación del hombre con lo trascendente, que no depende de factores externos al propio hombre, es decir, no hay una revelación divina, no hay escritos sagrados que expliquen y digan cuál es el sentido de la realidad. Ese otro modo propone un camino en el que las inquietudes, búsquedas y hallazgos dependen sólo de las fuerzas o capacidades del hombre, nos referimos a la *filosofía*. En busca del sentido de la realidad y las causas profundas de la existencia, la *filosofía* también se ha preocupado por lo que las religiones señalan como el *otro mundo* o *trascendencia* (recibiendo distintos nombres a lo largo de la historia, *Filosofía Primera*, *Metafísica, Teodicea*, entre otras) y cuyas reflexiones conforman lo que llamamos "teologías naturales". En ellas, a diferencia de las *teologías reveladas*, el uso de los conceptos de *sagrado* y *profano* es metafórico o inexistente, aunque tienen sus propios modos de hacer *diferencias de grado* o de *importancia* dentro de la realidad.

Ahora bien, la riqueza de contenidos de las teologías *reveladas* y *naturales* es enorme, tanto en sí mismas como en las diversas formas en que podrían ser estudiadas; al mismo tiempo, desde un mismo ámbito, que en nuestro caso es la *museología*, también pueden ser abordadas de múltiples formas. Por ello, circunscribiendo el presente documento, proponemos reflexionar sobre el ámbito del "sentido", como ese lugar común y central al que todo *devenir* humano atiende y recurre. *Devenir* entendido como *llegar a ser* del hombre a través del tiempo, tanto en contextos religiosos como filosóficos, donde el *desarrollo* de la persona tiene una *dinámica propia* en íntima relación con su comunidad y también con el *devenir* propio de su comunidad, y en donde creemos que la museología tiene mucho que aportar.

Entremos ahora en el ámbito del *sentido*. Si atendemos a la base de todo esfuerzo por interpretar la realidad, ya sea desde los complejos sistemas de las *teologías reveladas*, ya sea desde las elaboradas reflexiones de las *teologías naturales*, o desde la simple dinámica de *creencia* o *reflexión* de un pequeño grupo humano, encontraremos siempre la profunda necesidad de hallar un "sentido" para vivir y morir, es decir, algo que justifique a modo de matriz referencial nuestro transcurrir a través del tiempo en *este mundo*, afrontar su final y eventualmente proyectar la existencia hacia el *más allá*.

Pero esa matriz referencial no basta. Por más que tengamos solucionado el sentido general de nuestra existencia, resta todavía otro desafío: encontrar el *sentido* de nuestro propio caminar, de nuestro propio proyecto de vida. Y es aquí donde la museología puede dar herramientas esenciales para que cada persona se entienda y dimensione como parte de un todo mayor a él (comunidad) que deviene en el tiempo y hallar allí y desde él su sentido, su lugar en el mundo, su modo de aportar y construir(se).

Entonces la importancia del *sentido* no sólo está en la base de los grandes y profundos temas que se plantea el hombre, sino también en la simple cotidianidad de nuestras vidas. Y esto de un modo *asombrosamente decisivo*, porque del *sentido* depende en última instancia el "valor" que personalmente otorgamos a todo (*elementos* en general: cosas, situaciones, recuerdos, relaciones) y en el ámbito propiamente museológico, a los "bienes" que categorizamos como *patrimoniales*.

Vemos que *sentido* y *valor* van íntimamente unidos, pero ¿cuál es primero? ¿algo es *valioso* porque tiene *sentido* o tiene *sentido* porque es *valioso*? No es un tema sencillo, debe reflexionarse y discutirse, pero no podemos alargarnos aquí en esto, simplemente daremos nuestro parecer al respecto: algo es valioso porque tiene *primero* sentido, es decir, el *sentido* es primero, sólo cuando le encontramos *sentido* a algo lo *valoramos*, incluso cuando no lo entendemos; y por el contrario, cuando no encontramos sentido a algo, tarde o temprano, consciente o inconscientemente, lo alejamos.

Podemos decir también que el *sentido* se experimenta como una especie de certeza subjetiva, es decir, como una *vivencia* en el interior del hombre, y aparece entonces otra pregunta ¿de dónde surge ese *sentido*? Esta es una pregunta más difícil que la anterior, debe discutirse, y también en este caso daremos simplemente nuestra opinión: el *sentido* que algo tiene para cada persona creemos que surge de su *personal interpretación*, que es *resultado*[1]de la *dialéctica* entre cuatro factores o elementos esenciales:[2]

- Nuestro *personal bagaje genético-cultural* (lo que somos, lo que hemos *devenido* o *llegado a ser* hasta el momento presente).
- Nuestro *contexto social* en cuanto sistema o red dinámica de elementos y significaciones (lo que es nuestra comunidad, lo que ha *devenido* o *llegado a ser* hasta el momento presente).
- Los *datos propios del elemento* en cuestión (toda la información que objetivamente porta hasta el momento presente).
- La concreta *vivencia personal* que tengamos de ese *elemento* en cuestión, tanto en el momento de experimentarlo originariamente, como en posteriores actualizaciones en nuestra consciencia (a través del recuerdo, la lectura, la imagen o cualquier otro medio).

Estos cuatro elementos que a nuestro juicio intervienen en nuestro proceso de *interpretación* (suscitación de sentido), están presentes en todo momento de nuestras vidas, de un modo dialéctico e inconsciente. Aquí la museología puede aportar de diversas maneras con el fin de hacer cada vez más *consciente* este proceso en las comunidades en las que trabaja: estudiando las características propias de la población concreta (elemento 1), investigando y detectando sus bienes patrimoniales (elemento 2), recurriendo a las correspondientes *disciplinas de base* de dichos bienes en busca de datos e información (elemento 3)

1. "Resultado" en cuanto que *emerge* y es *suscitado*, pero no voluntariamente.

2. Entendemos *dialéctica* no en un sentido dialógico (del lenguaje), tampoco lógico (del conocimiento), sino ontológico (del ser), es decir, como proceso en que diversos elementos confrontan en el nivel mismo constitutivo de la realidad, de nuestra realidad, que por fluir en el tiempo es cambiante, es *devenir*.

y articulando propuestas que faciliten la *apropiación crítica y personal* de los bienes patrimoniales en contexto (elemento 4).

Continuando con el tema general del *sentido* y su correspondiente *valor*, es importante entender que ambos no pueden "imponerse" a la persona desde el exterior, no dependen del arbitrio de otros, ni siquiera de la propia voluntad de uno mismo.[1] Por eso para ser parte de una religión debe existir en la persona un sincero y profundo acto de *fe*, así como para compartir una filosofía determinada es necesaria una sincera convicción *racional*. Pero lo que sí está en nuestras manos y depende de nuestra decisión es el *preparar y cuidar* las condiciones para estar *abiertos y atentos a la realidad* y sus *suscitaciones de sentido*.

Propiamente en nuestro ámbito museal, creemos que la misma dinámica de interpretación del sentido se da en aquellos bienes que consideramos *patrimoniales*. Su sentido y valoración debe ser *reconocido, des-cubierto, des-velado* por nosotros, no *dado* por nosotros (y sólo en cuanto *herederos*, ya que debe mediar el *tiempo* esencial para lo patrimonial).

Entonces cabría la siguiente analogía: los objetos *sagrados* son a la *teología*, lo que los objetos *patrimoniales* son a la *museología*, y así como un *objeto sagrado* es cualitativamente distinto que uno *profano*, así también un *bien patrimonial* lo es de cualquier otro *bien*. Pero con una importante diferencia: que algo sea *valorado patrimonialmente* no significa que debamos estar de acuerdo con el *sentido intrínseco* que porta, bien sabemos que la memoria de los dolores y errores del pasado también son necesarios para entendernos, proyectarnos y no repetirlos.

Estamos convencidos de que la museología es capaz de contribuir directamente en la toma de consciencia de ser *seres que devenimos* en el tiempo, situados espacial y temporalmente en coordenadas muy concretas, pero inexorablemente ligadas a otros espacios y otros tiempos, desarrollándonos en una constante relación entre pasado, presente y futuro, tanto personal como socialmente. Por eso creemos que ella debe reflexionar sobre esa *específica relación* que se da entre *Sujeto* (en cuanto proyecto abierto al futuro) y su *Patrimonio* (en cuanto elemento heredado del pasado), seguros de que *lo patrimonial* es fuente de sentido y guía del devenir personal y comunitario.

Atendiendo a la dimensión *epistemológica* de la museología, entendemos que a ella le corresponde investigar la *relación específica entre Hombre y Patrimonio*, de modo que esa *relación* es su *objeto material*, mientras que su *objeto formal* consiste en fundamentar un auténtico proceso de desarrollo cultural, donde toda persona y su comunidad, lejos de embalsamarse en posturas rígidas y conservadoras, o de alienarse en pseudas novedades sin memoria, vayan

1. A modo de aclaración: el sentido personal debe ser *respetado* pero también la persona debe *respetar*, por eso los grupos deciden por consenso *sentidos comunes* que permiten la convivencia, pero ese es otro aspecto del *sentido* que no es el que estamos tratando aquí.

manifestando de forma endógena, plena y cada vez más *consciente*, la riqueza de sus múltiples (e impredecibles) *modos de ser*.

Muséologie, Musée, Sacré et Profane: hiérophanies

Teresa Scheiner

Programa de Pós-Graduação em Museologia e Patrimônio – PPG-PMUS, UNIRIO/MAST – Rio de Janeiro, Brasil

Muséologie-sacré-théologie

Cet article est rédigé à partir d'une approche philosophique fondée sur les réflexions de Mircea Eliade sur le sacré et le profane en tant que façons d'Être dans le Monde – deux situations existentielles assumées par l'humanité tout au long de son histoire, afin d'analyser les relations entre l'idée de Sacré et l'idée de Musée. Le commentaire se fonde sur les différentes formes d'appropriation du Réel, depuis les sociétés archaïques, immergées au sein d'un Cosmos sacré, jusqu'à l'expérience récente d'un monde profane (le Cosmos totalement désacralisé), pour rappeler que les sociétés contemporaines cherchent à faire la synthèse entre sacré et profane en établissant une façon d'Être dans le Monde qui peut être comprise comme plurielle. Dans ce contexte, quelles dimensions et significations l'idée de muséalité peut-elle avoir ?

Dans un premier temps, on pourrait supposer que le sacré, comme le muséal, tend à offrir un témoignage ou une référence du Réel ; il serait peut-être possible de l'imaginer comme l'une des catégories de la muséalité, ou de comprendre la muséalité comme l'une des catégories du sacré (Mairesse, 2018).

Comme nous le savons, la tradition académique fondée durant la Modernité célèbre les musées comme des espaces sacrés de la mémoire et du patrimoine. En ce sens, il est possible d'établir des parallèles entre le musée et le temple, et d'associer les *musealia* aux *sacra* – les choses sacrées. De plus, des parallèles peuvent être établis entre les processus de muséalisation et de sacralisation, considérant que le fait de muséaliser consiste à retirer un registre ou une référence du « monde réel », en l'insérant dans une dimension spéciale, dans laquelle cet enregistrement ou référence acquiert un nouveau statut, celui « d'objet de musée ». Si nous considérons la muséalité comme une qualité de ce qui est déjà muséalisé, nous pouvons en déduire que le processus de muséalisation « confère » de la muséalité, tout comme le processus de consécration « confère » de la sacralité à un objet, à un enregistrement ou une référence. Ici, le Musée s'associerait au temple, en tant que lieu assurant la tutelle et la protection des choses sacrées – et aussi en tant qu'instance de promotion de la sacralité (muséalité), comme valeur acquise par des procédures de consécration.

Mais ce qui nous intéresse vraiment, encore une fois, c'est de partir du Musée comme idée – en tant que phénomène, événement ou résurgence. Dans ce sens, il sera directement associé à l'idée du sacré comme *ce qui advient* : comme ce qui se présentifie à l'esprit et aux sens.

Dans toutes les cultures et de tous temps, on prend conscience du sacré parce qu'il *se manifeste*, il se démarque du commun (Eliade, 1996) ; il est donc une manifestation de la différence. Et il peut se manifester sur un élément de la nature (une pierre, un arbre), un objet fabriqué par l'homme, ou sur l'homme lui-même, comme en témoignent les hiérophanies de la possession des esprits, les croyances en la réincarnation et le mythe suprême de la chrétienté – l'hiérophanie de l'incarnation de Dieu en Jesus Christ. Dans certains cas, il n'est pas nécessaire d'avoir une théophanie ou une hiérophanie : il suffit qu'un *signe* indique le caractère sacré de la personne, de l'objet ou du lieu. Ce signe peut être manifeste, ou être provoqué par un acte de révérence (sacrifice) ou un appel à la célébration (invocation).

Quand le sacré se manifeste, l'objet, individu ou lieu devient autre chose, tout en conservant sa propre identité : il devient un être paradoxal qui est en même temps une chose et en représente une autre, et peut donc être perçu par tous ceux qui reconnaissent son caractère sacré.

La manifestation du sacré fonde ontologiquement le monde, révélant un « centre », un point fixe autour duquel les autres choses acquièrent sens et substance – soit par opposition (ce qui est profane), soit par complémentation (agrégation de valeur). Ce « centre » peut être un espace physique (territoire, corps humain, lieu – quelque chose de l'ordre du matériel) ou un espace symbolique (instance – quelque chose de l'ordre de l'immatériel), perçu à partir d'une nouvelle perspective liée à la détection de ce qui, dans et à travers lui, s'est manifesté. Dans le *sistema mundi* des cultures traditionnelles, ce « centre » est souvent représenté comme un lieu, un lieu sacré, un point de rupture autour duquel tout se réalise, tout est distribué : c'est le centre de tout, le nombril (l'*omphalos*) de la Terre.

C'est là que, au moyen d'une hiérophanie, les niveaux ont été bousculés et les portails d'accès au monde divin (plan supérieur) et au monde des morts (plan inférieur) ont été ouverts. Ce point de rupture est ce qui permet le passage : échelle, fil, montagne, colonne ou portail, ouverture à travers laquelle il devient possible de transiter entre les mondes, entre différentes dimensions. C'est dans cet espace de passage que la communication devient possible. Cet espace de communication, qui unit les trois niveaux cosmiques – Terre, Ciel, régions inférieures – si souvent représentés comme une colonne de soutien (*axis mundi*) ou un fil (comme le *fil-ciel* des indigènes Caiapó), « ne peut être situé que dans le centre de l'univers, car la totalité du monde habitable se répand autour d'elle » (Eliade, 1996, p. 38).

Ce n'est pas par hasard que les lieux de culte et les villes sacrées de toutes les cultures se trouvent, toujours, dans des lieux identifiés comme « centre du monde » ; c'est dans ces espaces que les aires et les temples, répliques du fil-ciel ou de la montagne cosmique, permettent la liaison entre les plans de signification. Tout a un seuil, une porte ou une frontière qui distingue les différents plans. Passé l'espace de passage, la communication entre les mondes devient possible. *Re-ligare* : quel autre terme pourrait mieux définir cette relation ?

La conception religieuse du monde perçoit l'espace comme non-homogène : il y a des espaces sacrés et des espaces non sacrés ; la vision profane, à son tour, maintient l'homogénéité relative de l'espace. La désacralisation du Cosmos, favorisée par la pensée scientifique, a privilégié l'usage utilitaire de l'espace pour l'habitation ou la production ; néanmoins, la tendance à reconstituer le monde en l'assimilant au Cosmos, à travers la projection des quatre horizons à partir d'un point central, ou à travers des rituels de construction, reste dans l'inconscient collectif. La célébration du Temps d'Origine, fondée sur la première apparition d'une réalité donnée, a aussi une signification particulière : le désir de retrouver ce temps est ce qui sous-tend l'idée du temps de fête, aussi bien que la structure des fêtes. Plonger dans le temps sacré « rend possible le temps ordinaire, la durée profane dans laquelle se déroule toute l'existence » (Eliade, 1996, p. 79). Il en va de même avec la célébration du mythe, où le sacré acquiert le statut de Réel par excellence.

Tous ces mouvements peuvent être analysés dans leur relation avec les musées – soit pour réitérer (ou réactualiser) l'idée du Musée comme espace sacralisé, seuil de la muséalité, soit pour chercher de nouvelles interprétations qui permettent de considérer la muséalité comme processus.

Le Musée a le pouvoir d'établir et de maintenir la pleine relation de l'humain avec les plans du sacré et du profane, et aussi de projeter l'expérience humaine vers la génération de nouvelles modalités d'*axis mundi* – celles qui, construites à partir d'une petite unité, matérielle (semence), comportementale (croyance) ou informationnelle (*bit*), se dévoileront sous la forme d'arbre, d'échelle, de montagne ou de nuage – portails où la pensée et l'émotion pourront se déplacer vers des nouveaux plans, jusqu'alors inaccessibles.

Cela devrait être l'un des tâches de la muséologie que de penser le musée à partir de son origine mythique, en tant qu'instance de manifestation des muses, ce qui permettrait de le comprendre dans son inépuisable pouvoir, comme *ce qui advient, se manifeste*, se détache de l'ordinaire. Il serait alors possible de percevoir que la genèse du musée est liée à l'essence profonde du sacré : non pas celle qui se révèle dans les choses sacrées (produit), mais celle qui palpite dans le mouvement continu et qui génère des hiérophanies (processus). Le Musée peut ainsi être perçu comme une manière très spéciale d'Être dans le Monde (… la relation spécifique ?), qui incorpore sacré et profane à partir de formes plurielles : différentes façons d'être de la manifestation.

Ainsi pensée, en pluralité, le musée peut se dévoiler au-delà de ce qui constitue l'expérience de vérité que nous connaissons – celle d'une objectivité contrôlée par un sujet (Sodré, 1994) ; par-delà le contrôle scientifique ou religieux organisé, il peut incorporer des dimensions et des expressions de l'ordre de l'indéterminé, en récupérant l'expérience pleine du Réel comme *ousia* – comme la vigueur de ce qui se manifeste dans le présent. Dans ce contexte, musée et muséalité se confondent, tout est émergence, mouvement, manifestation.

C'est ce qui nous intéresse : étudier le musée en tant que présence ou évidence, le musée qui se manifeste ou qui advient, acte de liaison entre les différents mondes vécus par l'homme – dans l'espace (proche ou lointain, en haut, en bas, à travers), dans le temps (passé, futur, présent – temps réel), dans les différents plans du réel. Cet exercice de la pensée nous fait réaliser qu'il y a, dans chaque musée, différentes couches de manifestation : l'une qui est de l'ordre du *logos*, et qui peut s'exprimer à travers l'organisation et la consécration d'espaces (territoires, lieux, bâtiments, corps humains, bases de données) et d'objets (patrimoines, collections) ; dans cette couche, la muséalité peut résulter de l'acte de muséalisation. Mais il existe une autre couche, qui traverse ces espaces comme des portails vers d'autres dimensions du Réel, permettant le contact du corps et de l'esprit avec d'autres niveaux de réalité : *re-ligare*. Ici, la muséalité pourrait se confondre avec le mouvement même de la manifestation, elle serait l'*anima* qui permet à l'esprit humain de développer le mouvement de passage, générant de nouvelles hiérophanies.

Plus que d'une théologie, ou d'une théophanie (ce qui alignerait le sentiment du sacrée au *logos*), il s'agit pourtant de comprendre la muséalité comme « mouvement de la *physis*, ou de l'esprit », qui intercède sur les relations pleines entre l'individu et sa perception du monde, de façons plurielles.

Bibliographie

Bergson, H. (1990). *L'énergie spirituelle*. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 3è. Édition.

D'Olne Campos, M. (2006). A Cosmologia dos Caiapós, *Etnoastronomia*. Scientific American (Brasil), No. 14, Mars 2006. P. 63-71.

Eliade, M. (1996). *O sagrado e o profano*. A essência das religiões. Trad. Rogério Fernandes. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.

Eliade, M. (1991). Symbolism of the Centre. In: *Images and Symbols*. Princeton, 1991. pp.48-51. Trad. Philip Mairet.

Mairesse, F. (2018). *La museología y lo sagrado*. Convocatoria para publicación y participación en el 41° simposio organizado por el ICOFOM. <http://network.icom.museum/icofom>, access Janvier 2018.

Sodré, M. (1994). *Jogos Extremos do Espírito*. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco.

Scheiner, T. (1998). *Apolo e Dioniso no Templo das Musas*. Museu: gênese, ideia e representações nos sistemas de pensamento da sociedade ocidental. Dissertação de Mestrado. Orientador Paulo Vaz. RJ: UFRJ/ ECO. 152 p. ll.

Scheiner, T. (2015). *Museu, Museologia e a 'Relação Específica'*: considerações sobre os fundamentos teóricos do campo museal. Ciência da Informação (Online), v.43, pp.25 - 32.

Vieregg, H. (Org.) (1999). Symposium *Museology and Philosophy*. Colloque Muséologie et Philosophie. Coloquio Museología y Filosofía. Munich, Germany: ICOFOM; Museums-Pädagogisches Zentrum. ICOFOM Study Series - ISS 31.

From Spiritual to Virtual Eternity: A Survey of the Concept of "Sacredness" in Transition. A Case Study of the Gebelein Man Mummy

Elham Sedaghat
Tehran University of Art – Tehran, Iran

Introduction

The presence of human remains in museum collections has been a very contentious issue with a range of pressing legal, moral and political issues. Egyptian mummies seemed exempt from such considerations until the last few decades when debates were raised on the issues of collecting and exhibiting human remains, which led to reconsideration in some museums, including the Manchester Museum[1] (Swaney, 2013, p.4). Reactions to similar materials can vary according to the context of their display or the discourses around them, and museum professionals play a key role here. I think tracing Egyptian mummies' trajectories as culturally sensitive materials with sacred[2] significance across their history can give insight into the nature of this complex issue. This brings remarkable advances for museum experts to identify the potential opportunities and threats mummies bring to museums and people and help them making more effective decisions on planning, organizing, interpreting and producing displays that effectively cultivate in visitors a sense of respect for them.

Through exploring the Gebelein Man mummy (nicknamed "Ginger"), I used the interdisciplinary knowledge of museology and sociology of religion and a descriptive-analytical method to research the concept of "sacredness" in transition. This traced "Ginger" from his burial in a shallow grave in Egypt (more than 5,500 years ago) to his relocation in the British Museum (in 1900 AD) and finally to his virtual representation in an interactive touch-table in one of the most visited areas of the museum's public space (Fletcher et al., 2014).

---

1. In 2008, the museum covered three of its unwrapped or partially unwrapped Egyptian mummies with white shrouds (Swaney, 2013, p.4).
2. The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* defines sacred as thus: "Consecrated to; esteemed especially dear or acceptable to a deity {...} set apart for or dedicated to some religious purpose; made holy by association with a god or other object of worship; Consecrated, hallowed."

Spiritual Eternity

"Ginger" represents an Egyptian of late Predynastic period (3300 BC). Since this period falls mostly before the introduction of any form of writing in Egypt, archaeologists dug up burials to learn more about the time ("Gleaning Information from," n.d.). In this period, because the Nile that flooded regularly, property lines and low-lying structures were washed away (Goldschmidt Jr, 2008). To protect their deceased, Egyptians used to bury them in the higher, dry deserts that flanked the Nile, ("Natural Mummies", n.d.), where the hot dry sand quickly absorbed the water and the body was preserved. The Ginger body was also naturally mummified by the arid environment and direct contact with the hot dry sand. He lies in a crouched, fetal position common to the burials at that time. "Ginger–A Predynastic Egyptian" (n.d.) states that this may have been an attempt to imitate the grave as the womb and he as a newborn about to enter heaven. An increasing number of objects (pots, food, flints, etc.) deposited with the body in rectangular graves indicates that special attention was paid to the afterlife and ensuring that their deceased would have a safe and easy passage. Ancient Egyptians believed that if a dead body decomposed, its owner would not be able to enjoy the afterlife. In this context of time and location, "sacredness" takes a spiritual value for them as the people who are faithful to a pantheon of gods and goddesses who they believed ensured their wellbeing in this life and after death. Their deep longing for life after death led them to invent artificial mummification and also to build pyramid-shaped structures as tombs for the Pharaohs and their consorts during the Old and Middle Kingdoms (Goldschmidt Jr, 2008, pp. 11, 16, 20).

Behind the Glass Coffin

Mummies have a long history of use and abuse. They were unwrapped in front of people and transformed into sub-human, commercial products like "Mummy Dust"[1], and represented in drawing, oil and watercolor paints, exotic souvenirs and, in past decades, as the element of horror, loathing, erotic, objects of laughter and derision, etc. (Swaney, 2013: pp. 14, 16, 17, 19, 32; Day, 2014, p.36). Despite the fact that their placement behind showcases of museum within a carefully controlled environment can protect them, at least physically, from deterioration, pollutants, thieves, and vandals (Henning, 2006, p.8), this relocation cannot necessarily dissuade people from making negative interpretations about them. "Current museum policies assert that all institutionalized human remains should be treated respectfully according to the interests and beliefs of the body's culture of origin" (Jenkins, 2011). What is considered respectful treatment, however, can be interpreted in different ways from museum to museum. Tracing mummies' movement through history can help museum

1. Mummies were imported from Egypt - either whole or already dismembered - ground into powder, and sold to ailing patients at a premium price (Swaney, 2013: p.14).

experts rethink issues to produce displays that effectively cultivate in visitors a sense of respect for ancient Egyptians.

In the Grimm brothers' version of the Snow White story, after she dies poisoned by an apple, the seven dwarves place her in a glass coffin. A passing prince tries to buy her from the dwarves, who refuse to sell her but eventually give her to him. As the coffin is carried away, it is jolted, the poisoned apple becomes dislodged from her throat, and she awakes. The glass cases used in museums have often been referred to as glass coffins. As the story suggests, this links the museum with death, and simultaneously with the possibility of awakening the dead (Henning, 2006, p.5). Museums have the potential to participate in the ancient rituals of remembrance that "allowed an individual to be reintegrated and sustained after death." (Meskell, 2002, p.59). Museums, as storehouses of knowledge, conduct research to add information to their holdings (Parry, 2010; Schweibenz, 1998). They tell us what the artifacts are made of, who made them, how, where and for what purpose; we learn from where natural objects originate, how and when they were formed, the material of which they are composed; how once-living organisms functioned, where and when they lived (Parry, 2010, p.33). When looking into cultures with no written record, untouched burials like the Gebelein Man can shed light on Predynastic Egyptians life (their beliefs, their culture, their food, body ornamentations, etc.). Museums actually keep them from being forgotten and equip visitors with the information necessary to understand the cultural, historical, and/or biological importance of the human remains displayed before them (Swaney, 2013, p.2). They serve society by providing the knowledge its members need to survive and progress (Sartori, 2015, p.432). It is here that "sacredness" takes on a new meaning as a source of knowledge. This does not disprove the earlier concept, but it gives us a larger reality.

Virtual Eternity

Institutions and organizations such as museums are much like the proverbial iceberg. Most of the substance lies below the surface, hidden from view (Dean, 1996, p.8). Developments in technology made it possible to turn that invisible part into the visible. It helps museums to achieve their full potential as institutions in the service of society and its development. One of the most stunning technologies available is CT scan which allows researchers to see interior structure of mummies, learn about diseases suffered by the Egyptians and their medical treatment, gain a better idea of their average height and life span, and learn their age at death, without destroying them (Swaney, 2013).

In 2012, the British Museum curators, in collaboration with scientists and medical experts, performed a CT scan of the Gebelein Man mummy to create detailed image from the scans' high resolution X-rays. The 3D image of the same mummy is shown on the surface of a large touch-table display next to him. As a visitor moves a virtual slider on the table, the muscles, organs, and skeleton reveal themselves as the skin is gradually peeled away. Another visitor turns the mummy around to explore the other side. Someone touches the information icon near the left shoulder blade to discover that the cut on his back, as well as the damaged underlying shoulder blade and fourth rib, are the result of a single penetrating wound. Hi-tech display breaks down physical barriers and presents a more rewarding experience with rich multimedia data about the context information of bodies and other museum objects. It allows visitors to become the explorers, in a manner similar to the way researchers would process and explore the real object and its digital representation (Ynnerman, et al., 2016, p.73, 80; Van den Akker & Legêne, 2012, p.9).

Museums provide mummies a place with protection from vandals and pollution, but unpredictable calamities, such as earthquakes, fires, floods, as well as man-made disasters, which occur in time of wars and conflicts, often put the museum's cultural artifacts under threat. Although these models, whether digital or physically replicated, will never be a replacement for an original, a digital surrogate of the museum artifacts can provide an additional guarantee for museums to safeguard and hand their treasure into future generation. "Just as priests relocated the royal mummies to cache tombs for their protection in an era of widespread looting, ancient Egyptians might now recognize our relocation of mummies to museums as the new path to immortality" (Day, 2014, p.34).

References

Day, J. (2014). 'Thinking makes it so': reflections on the ethics of displaying Egyptian mummies. *Papers on Anthropology*, *23*(1), 29.

Dean, David (1996). *Museum exhibition: theory and practice*. New York: Routledge.

Fletcher, A., Antonie, D., Hill, J. D., & British Museum, (2014). *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*, London: British Museum. Retrieved from: www.britishmuseum.org/PDF/Regarding-the-Dead_02102015.pdf

Gleaning Information from the Dead – The Gebelein Man, (n.d.). Retrieved from: http://anthropology.msu.edu/anp363-ss13/2013/02/06/gleaning-information-from-the-dead/

Goldschmidt Jr, A. (2008). *A brief history of Egypt*. Infobase Publishing.

Henning, Michelle. (2006). *Museums, Media and Cultural Theory*, Milton Keynes, United Kingdom: Open University Press.

Jenkins, Tiffany. (2011). *Contesting Human Remains in Museum Collections: The Crisis of Cultural Authority;* New York: Routledge.

Meskell, Lynn. (2002). *Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).

Parry, Ross (ed.). (2010). Museums in a Digital Age. Leicester Readers in Museum Studies (Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Sartori, Andrea. (2015). Towards an Intellectual History of Digitization: Myths, Dystopias, and Discursive Shifts in Museum Computing. *Literary and Linguistic Computing*. 31. 10.1093/llc/fqv006.

Schweibenz, Werner (1998), *The Virtual Museum: New Perspectives for Museums to Present Objects and Information Using the Internet as a Knowledge Base and Communication System*. In: Zimmermann, Harald H.; Schramm, Volker (Hg.): *Knowledge Management und Kommunikationssysteme, Workflow Management, Multimedia, Knowledge Transfer* (pp 185 – 200).

Swaney, Meg. (2013). *The Living Dead: Egyptian Mummies and the Ethics of Display*. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.1.2986.9689.

Van den Akker, C., & Legêne, S. (Eds.). (2016). *Museums in a Digital Culture: How Art and Heritage Became Meaningful*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1s475tm

Ynnerman, A., Rydell, T., Antoine, D., Hughes, D., Persson, A., & Ljung, P. (2016). *Interactive visualization of 3d scanned mummies at public venues*. Commun. ACM, 59, 72-81.

Museum or Sanctuary: The case of the Pavilion of Medieval Art, National History Museum, Tirana – Albania

Erilda Selaj
Art Historian, Tirana – Albania

In Albania, 1945 marked the beginning of the Marxist-Leninist dictatorship under Anver Hoxha, and religion, as a rival ideology, became the target for destruction; all places dedicated to cult were closed. This war on religion would know its peak in 1960s when Hoxha decided to create the "new man". In 1967 all churches and mosques were turned into warehouses and stables and others were forever destroyed (Jera, 2015). No one was allowed to practice any religion and no one was allowed to believe in God. Faith was a "drug" for society whose influence had to be fought in order to create a "new man". So people of all ages were asked to show their devotion to this new way of life with no gods, where the only thing sacred was the motherland, by helping to destroy and bring down everything that was sacred until the day before. In regions where the population refused to give up religion, temples were blown up[1] as a demonstration of the power of the state and of what would happen to them next if they did not obey. Religious leaders were executed or imprisoned.

Renowned historians, archaeologists, and scholars of that time managed to convince some of the regime leaders to preserve a part of the religious heritage as monuments, and a good part of religious objects in them for their values as works of art. In 1981, the National History Museum in Tirana was opened to disseminate and reinforce communist propaganda. It is located in the center of the capital in the typical architecture of the regime (Zarecor, 2014). Museum exhibitions were focused mainly on the period of antiquity, post WWII, and everything secular, leaving a big gap in the periods where the sacred shaped the history of the country. No artifact relating to the sacred in any religion was exhibited, denying in this way the role and importance of everything that was not secular, even if that meant a masterpiece of art. In 1990 the regime fell, and with it the ban on religion was lifted. Religious practice opened up once again. Works of art removed from sanctuaries remained in the storages of cultural institutions.

---

1. A sad case is the Vau Dejes Church, build in the 12th century: unique church in it's style, it was blown up in 1967. The explosion was filmed and broadcasted so everyone would see that secularism prevailed over religion.

In 1999, some of the best artworks in these storages were selected to create a permanent exhibition in National History Museum, the Pavilion of Medieval Art. The exhibition displays 70 objects of post byzantine art from 16th century to 19th century, mainly painted panels, beautiful doors, and an iconostasis. The selected artifacts are among finest examples of post-byzantine art in Albania, made by some the most prominent painters of the time. These art pieces during the dictatorial regime were displayed in travelling exhibitions throughout Europe as representative of Albanian art but were never displayed for the local audience in country. Visitors were eager to see and enjoy this “new kind” of art. The exhibition had a bigger success than what was anticipated, but one the day a member of the museum staff noticed an “odd” behavior among the visitors. A group of the audience visiting the exhibition would not only enjoy art or to study it but they were worshiping artworks as objects of cult. A good part of the audience was making the sign of the cross when they entered the exhibit, praying in front of the icons and altarpieces. Probably the most interesting behavior was giving donations to a piece of art that in its primary function would exhibit the visual representation or relics of the saint to whom the church is dedicated.[1] This response of the visitors surprised the staff, who were used to the usual behavior of the visitors, and had no idea how to deal with the new situation. The same visitors who had strictly respected the rule of not touching and not getting too close to the objects displayed throughout other permanent exhibition were praying and kissing the painted panels in this one.

It was, and still is, a challenge for the museum staff who are responsible for visitors. On the one hand, the museum had to deal with questions like: should the rule “Do not touch the objects” be changed? Is it acceptable to stop visitors from praying or touching their sacred objects? And on the other hand, how to best deal with the church, which was very pleased by the response of the audience but would like to have the artworks back, because the clergy was very eager to have this kind of “pilgrimage” and devotion in the church itself? They started to reclaim the artworks because they were made for the church, and sacred objects do not belong in museums. The artworks have to be preserved and secured, and physical interaction would pose danger to their safety and could at the same time be dangerous for the visitors, so the rule to not to touch the object was reinforced. But given the past of the country, it felt wrong to open old wounds by prohibiting people to pray, and thus the museum dropped the rule of not getting close to the object.

Many artworks were created to be sacred, but with time they became worshiped more for their artistic value than for their primary purpose. So their artistic value overruled their religious value, making them sacred beyond religion. As a medium, museums offer a setting for interactive encounters, allowing visitors to get much closer to the thing called religion (Plate, 2017). But, at the same time, museums are “accused” that they “desacralize” objects of worship, so why are these objects immune? Visitor surveys were conducted to understand vi-

1. The custom is to put donations in a particular object in the church called the Proskinitar.

sitor expectations, opinions, behavior, and feedback. The outcome was very interesting. The visitors who worshipped the artworks were only Albanians, but, interestingly, not limited to Christian Orthodox Albanians[1]. When asked why they put money in the Proskinitar, visitors would answer: donation to the saint. And when some of them would remember that they are not in church, they realized that their actions were almost instinctive, but might look weird to the rest. This revealed the true impact of the exhibition and how important these artworks were for them. They were sacred, a bridge that connects everything human to the divine - even if they were in a museum, which Minuciani (2013) recalls is a non-religious temple. Such response might be partly due to the design of the exhibition and the way in which it was set. The entry to the exhibition is on the west and the route leads to the east were the iconostasis is situated, following the flow the objects would have in a church. Unlike the cold and rational setup of the other permanent exhibitions that have not been changed since the museum opened its doors for the first time, the Pavilion of Medieval Art was designed to transmit the mysticism of the epoch. But the main reason is found more recently - when everything sacred to people was prohibited. Regardless of the propaganda people did not stop believing. Secretly, they prayed wherever they were and learned that sanctuaries and public rituals were not necessary to keep their faith. Thus, when entering the museum exhibition, the visitors were entering the temple they had never been allowed to enter and they were seeing and adoring the sacred objects they had not been allowed to see nor worship. In an unexpected way the museum gave this group of visitors more than a visual and intellectual pleasure. It gave hope and peace. The combination of artistic and cultural value, time, and the longing for a prohibited God made these artworks more sacred that they ever had been. By depriving people of religion, the regime unintentionally made everything relating to religion sacred.

References

Jera, E. (2015). An Overview on the Freedom of Religion in Albania. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences , 6*, 255-258.

Minucciani, V. (2013). Considerations in Relation to the Museography for Objects of a Religious Nature. Dans V. Minucciani (Ed.), *Religion and Museums, Immaterial and Material Heritage* (p. 11). Torino: Umberto Allemandi & C.

Plate, S. B. (2017, May 24). *Getting Religion in the Museum*. Retrived from https://sacredmattersmagazine.com/getting-religion-in-the-museum/

Zarecor, K. (2014). Architecture in Estern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. Dans E. G. Haddad (Eds.), *A Critical History of Contemporary Architesture, 1960-2010* (pp. 255-274). Farnham: Ashgate.

1. The artworks belong to post-byzantine period, thus Orthodox Church art.

The Museum as Consolation and Healing – Museological Methods for Curating the Sacred

Kerstin Smeds

Museology / Department of Media & Communication Sciences, Umeå University – Sweden

> *When our maintenance staff are cleaning off the kiss marks, it's clear that some of the relics attract more veneration than others…it's a new form of audience participation, one we've never experienced before.*
> Neil MacGregor[1]

Since the Enlightenment, there is a division between rational knowledge and faith. Museums see themselves as rational spaces with collections organized according to rational and scientific values, promoting "unbiased knowledge" and learning. This is the very *raison d'être* of the modern museum. Today, however, museums are expected to promote tolerance and acknowledge multi-cultural approaches and interpretations of cultural artefacts. Some are beginning to see themselves as sites for meaningful interfaith dialogue with their communities as well as with indigenous peoples (Clavir 2002; Gustafsson Reinius 2013; Minucciani 2013). At a time when people who identify themselves as Christian are a decreasing minority among museum visitors, the sector itself is increasingly interested in the issue of religion, Christian as well as other (Brooks 2015:13). However, many museum professionals feel uncomfortable in front of faith and sanctity (being practiced) in the museum and think it is not the mission of museums to explore or curate the experience of faith. Their professional training in the Enlightenment tradition, as well as modern conservation ethics and preservation, makes it difficult to take in and adopt entirely different views.

It is a question of attitudes and values. But we are not as deprived of belief, faith, and magic as we might think, as Bruno Latour noted:

> *A Modern is someone who believes that others believe…It all started on the west coast of Africa….with the Portuguese. Covered with amulets of the saints and the Virgin themselves, they accused the Gold Coast Blacks of worshiping fetishes (Latour 2011:43).*

Fetishes have, ever since, been linked to primitivism and naïveté, without realizing that Christians, and actually all of us, in our "magic" relationship with

1. Cit. in Brooks, p 19.

objects, are just as naïve. Christian amulets and divinities in material shape do, in fact, not differ from the divine paraphernalia of other religions. In museums, therefore, it is better to desacralize everything and see it as "art", but we tend to forget that this is to attribute the object with values it originally never had.

When in 2008 the Dutch Tropenmuseum opened an exhibition of Haitian Voodoo, it was called "Art and Mysticism from Haiti", 250 "art" exhibits were supposed to "conjure up a picture of the intriguing world of gods and spirits that make up Vodou" (de Jong 2011:30). The curator of the exhibition wanted to pay "respect" to the objects (material, design, craft etc.), but did not want to deny the existence of "another, spiritual dimension" (ibid).

Still, the museum staff was a bit taken aback when a Kenyan visitor, familiar with voodoo, complained that the labels were too generalized. She wanted more emphasis on safety and on the extreme danger of touching the objects, and she was very concerned about the exposure of sensitive children to the power of these objects. She also said that some needed a more secluded display:

> *Imagine what it would be like to be in the light all day as are some of these life sized dolls. They are as alive as us and must be extremely tired, extremely dried out under the exhibition lights (de Jong 2011:34).*

Problems may also arise when letting First Nations or other indigenous people confront the classification systems of the museum. Linda Lundberg, the director of collections at the National Museums of World Cultures in Sweden, told me that the old classification system causes a lot of labour. Where collections are organized according to material categories and climate needs, with entirely different "cultures" packed together, it is hard to find sacred objects of specific cultural contexts. They are not classified that way.[1] In the National Museum of Natural History (USA), collections management had to shift small Buddha statues from a lower shelf to the top shelf since a Buddha cannot be situated underneath anyone else, and an Indian buffalo skull had to be oriented east and also upside down to signify that it was not an "active" sacred object anymore, according to Cayenne traditions (Flynn & Hull-Walski 2001:32, 34).

One of the most challenging care issues is the leaving of offerings and ceremonial feeding of sacred objects – especially when offerings are placed directly onto objects or sprinkled over the object (e.g. grease) (Flynn & Hall-Walski 2001:36). This requires an "even more vigilant pest monitoring program and the assignment of conservation staff to clean the object". Therefore, the MNH request offerings to be placed in containers next to objects. A similar problem

---

1. Interview with the author on 18th of May 2018 on Skype. The National Museums of World Cultures embrace four big museums: the Ethnographic Museum, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (all three in Stockholm), and the Museum of World Cultures in Gothenburg.

is the ceremonial “smudging” of objects (burning the offering). At the MNH, a special space has been developed at the storages for such purpose.

In the Swedish Museum of World Cultures, smudging and burning of incense has been allowed in the storage, despite security problems; the fire alarm is simply disarmed. No special space is in the pipeline. The NMWC leans on the UN declaration of aboriginal peoples’ rights (article 12.1-12.2) which grants them access to their ceremonial objects in museums. Hence, official representatives of aboriginal peoples have the right to handle and touch “their” objects, as well as apply grease on some of them. They are also allowed to kiss or caress specific objects, and ceremonies and benedictions have been conducted. But this permission is given case by case, carefully scrutinized. This open-mindedness goes for all four Swedish MWC museums.

The touching and using practice is one of the most intriguing questions in museums today (Candlin 2010; Chatterjee 2008), and not only concerning indigenous peoples. On the one hand, there is much talk about accessibility to the “objects themselves”, an urge to accept more and more touch, and on the other, conservation and preservation standards are becoming more rigorous. Even First Nations museum professionals themselves experience this conflict, as Clavir has quoted:

> *...to allow leaders to bang drums or spread salt on votive bowls....is like wrenching our museological souls from our very beings (Clavir 2002:85).*

Surely, touch and use will shorten the object’s life cycle, but many argue that these ceremonial objects have never been meant to last forever. Deterioration is part of their life. The same, I would argue, goes for *all* objects in the collections. Most of them are “usables”; they were never meant to be preserved “forever” but used until they are worn out. We, who do not belong to any aboriginal people, might have many “sacred” objects musealized, we might have magical relationships with them, and would like to pick them up, feel their aura and hear them ”talk” to us. Immaterial values are so dependent of material things that it is hard to express anything without them (Gustafsson Reinius 2013:40; Miller 2005:28).

This carries over to Christian and other religious items in museum collections. Are we, if devoted believers, allowed to use sacred objects in museums – such as pulpits, chalices, chasubles, baptismal fonts et cetera? Yes and no. The Catholic Canon Law actually requires that sacred objects, set aside for divine worship, should be treated with reverence. Chalices should be melted down rather than sold. Vestments and altar linens worn beyond use should be burnt and the ashes buried in church grounds; what has been dedicated to God should be returned to God (Brooks 2015:17). Yet museums hold scores of such items, desacralized in their collections. Hence museums become alternative sacred spaces – though not blessed. Here we face a new problem: the sacred objects are not sacred, not buried, not in profane use (no touching here), but displayed as “art”.

The question above is answered (partly) affirmatively by the director of the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm, Katherine Hauptman.[1] The many medieval altarpieces on display are used “privately”; people make the sign of the cross, kneel in front of them, pray, et cetera. In the museum halls, private weddings and other ceremonies are arranged. Museum spaces may be used for almost anything as long as it does not disturb other visitors or restrict movements. The most valuable (sacred or other) objects are displayed in safe glass cases, others may be touched - which does not say that people usually do that. But there is no camera surveillance checking what people do, and the many medieval wooden Virgin Marys on display may be even kissed for all the staff knows. Whether or not the museum would allow more exuberant worshipping in its halls is another matter – say, if someone started preaching from the pulpits in the Baroque hall. “We decide case by case”, Hauptman says.

My initial questions are perhaps not answered in this short overview, but my further research found that many museums find themselves at a crossroads of conflicting values; the sacred /magic/ everyday experience of visitors versus the Enlightenment model. Critical museology can, by tackling the value systems, bridge the intellectual and normative gaps within these systems; how to handle and curate collections in the future to meet new demands.

References

Brooks, M. M (2015). Seeing the sacred conflicting priorities in defining, interpreting and conserving western sacred artifacts, *Material Religion, The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief*, volume 8: issue 1, 10-28. Accessed on internet 2018-02-14.

Candlin, F. (2010). *Art Museums and Touch*. Manchester:-New York:

Manchester University Press.

Chatterjee, H.J. (ed.) (2008). *Touch in Museums. Policy and Practice in Object Handling*. New York: Berg.

Clavir, M. (2002). *Preserving What is Valued. Museums, Conservation, and First Nations*. Toronto : UBC Press.

Flynn, G. A. and Hull-Walski, D. (2001). ‘Merging Traditional Indigenous Curation Methods with Modern Museum Standards of Care’. *Museum Anthropology* 25(1): 31-40.

Gustafsson Reinius, L. (2013). ‘Sacred Matter and (Post)secular Frames in a Swedish Museum’, *Religion and Museums, Immaterial and*

1. Interview with the author 19.5.2018.

Material Heritage, ed. Valeria Minucciani. Torino-London-New York: Allemandi & C.

de Jong, M. (2011). 'The museums as visitor experience: displaying sacred Haitian Vodou objects', *International Journal of Business and Globalization*, Vol 7, No 1, 29-39.

Latour, B. (2015). 'Fetish – factish'. *Material Religion, The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief*, vol. 8: issue 1, 42-49.

Miller, D. (ed.) (2005). *Introduction to Materiality*. Chicago-London: Duke University Press.

Minucciani, V. (2013). Considerations in Relation to the Museography for Objects of a Religious Nature. *Religion and Museums. Immaterial and Material Heritage*, ed. By Valeria Minucciani. Torino-London-New York: Allemandi & C.

Altars in the Archives: tracing the lives of altars in the Fowler Museum at UCLA

Caitlin Spangler-Bickell

Maastricht University – the Netherlands / Museo delle Culture – Milan, Italy

Introduction

Traditionally museums are sites where religious material is displayed outside of its worship context, but they have increasingly become sites of active devotion. Museums no longer only *present* the sacred, but often *construct* it in (inter)active altars.

A number of scholars have written about this museological phenomenon and its theoretical implications (Roberts, 1994, 2017) but little research has been done on practical management in constructing, documenting, and conserving altars. This paper addresses such concerns with a study of 3 'altars' installed for the Fowler Museum at UCLA's 2008 exhibition *Mami Wata: Arts for Water Spirits in Africa and Its Diasporas*. Two sets of documentation were produced by conservation and curatorial staff. Ethnographic research at the Fowler in 2017 allowed for a comparative analysis of those visual-textual archives, and consultation of the Fowler's 'ritual archives' – "the conglomeration of words as well as texts, ideas, symbols, shrines, images, performances, and indeed objects" (Falola, 2017, p. 703).

The Fowler centers on "global arts and cultures with an emphasis on works from Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Americas—past and present" (Fowler, 2018). For 20 years they have exhibited altar assemblages to illustrate the dynamic spiritual aesthetics of sacred traditions.

One such exhibit examined the figure of Mami Wata: a seductive and dangerous but also protective and generous spirit with roots in west and central Africa and incarnations in the Caribbean, Brazil, and the US. Her portrayals are shaped by African water spirits, European mermaids, Hindu goddesses, and Christian and Muslim Saints. The exhibition traced cultural flows and currents feeding into Mami's incarnations as half-woman half-fish or snake charmer. Three altars demonstrated her at work in people's lives today.

Three Altars

The Fowler's Curatorial and Research Associate (CRA) recounted their rich histories:

> *[The curator] wanted 3 altars. One was from Mamissi Pascaline, a Mami Wata practitioner in Benin. She had a specific altar and [he] wanted us to purchase it, bring it to the US and recreate it here in our gallery. The second altar was from the Dominican Republic, dedicated to Santa Marta la Dominadora* [an incarnation of Mami Wata who] *lifts up women deprived of their dignity and dreams for the future* [...] *And the third altar was by contemporary artist Eve Sandler. She created this very special altar/dedication in memory of her ancestors who came as slaves to North Carolina.*[1]

The Benin Altar. The CRA described the Benin altar installation as "quite simple, because all I had to do was follow images." Though most items were acquired directly from the practitioner, some were bought in Los Angeles – or scavenged, like the plate from the Fowler's staff kitchen.

Despite the disparate origins of its components, this altar represented Mamissi Pascaline's devotional practice. It was not meant to function as an altar, but to contextualise Mami's role in West African coastal communities. The CRA was to ensure its aesthetic accuracy. Her role in the Santa Marta altar was quite different.

The Santa Marta Altar. Santa Marta is syncretic, both a *Lwa* spirit of Dominican *vodú* and a folk Catholic Saint. The Fowler's altar was based on an active one in the Dominican Republic that could not be transferred to Los Angeles. Instead, the CRA created a whole new one.

She began reproducing photos sent by the curator's informant, but "got fascinated by this woman, this Saint who empowers women" and "got fully involved." She spent months arranging the altar in her workspace, seeking out items that please the Saint like perfume bottles, cigarettes and (plastic) fruit. Before the vernissage, she and the informant inspected the result:

> *[we] were looking at the altar, and then we looked at each other and said, "how about if we consecrate the altar?" Just like that, at the spur of the moment.*

They knelt and said the Lord's Prayer in Latin and Armenian respectively, "and at the end we were both crying … that's when it became real. That's when it accepted our prayers". This dedication recurred at subsequent exhibit venues, a new staff member in front of the altar with the CRA spontaneously consecrating it with a prayer; and "so it became live."

1. All quotes from the CRA, personal communication 2017-08-07

Visitors left offerings such as coins, candy and letters, which the CRA anticipated after the consecration. When tears fell, she told guards "if anyone wants to approach the altar and touch anything and place anything, don't refuse; absolutely, allow it to happen." She saw visitor offerings as a positive outcome adding to the "life" and "spirit of the altar." They can still be found, she said, in the Fowler 'Prop Storage' where non-collection materials are kept.

She saw the altar as imbued with significant immaterial properties, as a composite entity *encompassing* objects left by visitors, and as evolving over time. The third altar was another story entirely.

"Altar-installation" *Mami Wata Crossing*. Eve Sandler's artwork *Mami Wata Crossing* (*MWC*) includes an old desk "as both an altar and reliquary": a memorial to relatives who endured the Middle Passage and altar to her grandmother. The desk was crowned with a bowl and a live betta fish symbolising Mami's realm. Inside the desk's open drawer were relics of her grandmother – perfume bottle, thimbles, crucifix – strewn amongst items associated with Mami Wata like tobacco, shells and sand.

The CRA's responsibility for *MWC* was reduced in comparison to the other altars. The Director of Conservation (DoC) "handled" it instead, overseeing installation, packing, and shipping – except the betta fish, which was managed by the CRA.

This shift in professional roles is tied to its identity as an *artwork*. Worried that visitors might approach *MWC* after interacting with the Santa Marta altar and "in that hopeful feeling" leave or take things,

> *we made sure this was treated as art work by having a security guard in the same room, just watching and saying 'please do not touch this altar'*

While still called an "altar," its status as art prompted a transfer of handling duties to the conservator. Can these ideologies be seen in the archives?

Two Micro-Archives

Each work that enters a museum yields 'micro-archives' "constructed simultaneously, with each department maintaining its own appropriately focused record of specific aspects of the work" (Hölling, 2017, p. 143). I investigated two such archives to understand what is bared and what remains invisible.

Curation. The CRA created a binder of "Photographic Documentation of the Altars in the MAMI WATA Exhibition." For the Benin and Santa Marta altars, step-by-step images show the placement of each item labeled with a Roman numeral. Besides a packing list, the labels are the only written material for those altars.

This lack of text is a function of the documentation purpose - to efficiently guide the installation process - which was best achieved with photos. In fact, even the scant label text was nullified, as it became “more complicated than the actual installation following visual guidelines.” The numbering system was suspended for a more “easily attainable” visual guide allowing these “transient, ephemeral constructions” to evolve over time in contrast to “a work of art that should be preserved as it is.”

Eve Sandler’s installation, of course *was* a work of art, even as it was an “altar and reliquary.” The CRA’s documentation focuses on the fish, showing again how this archival source was shaped by its purpose: aiding reinstallation duties that fell to the CRA. Consequently, this documentation only paints a partial portrait of the altars’ lives. A wider – but still incomplete – view of their history is presented in the micro-archive created by the Fowler’s DoC.

Conservation. While the curatorial altar archive is concentrated in one binder, altar records are found in 3 of conservation’s 11 binders (1 exhibition overview, 1 just for altars, and 9 of condition reports for all works).

These are more detailed, reflecting a different professional role and aim, describing the minutiae of each work to account for physical change. This was a larger micro-archive, with documents evincing evolving opinion and practice; such as changing registration number subdivisions, revealing deliberations on how to categorise altar components.

Another window on the evolving conception of altars is in the documentation structure. The binder that originally read “Fowler Cons Dept MWata CR Binder for 3 ‘Altars’” had its 3 crossed out and replaced by a 2. The Benin and Santa Marta altars were inside, but Sandler’s work had been re-filed with the condition reports. The decisions behind such changes are not always explicitly recorded, leaving open questions; but even the smallest piece of information in the archive may provide answers.

Though an email shows the DoC referring to her “3 Mami Wata altars binder” just one day prior, a handwritten note made while speaking to the CRA reads:

> *Terminology*
> - *Eve Sandler’s* installation *(= artwork)*
> - *Benin* altar
> - *Domin. Repub.* altar

This small note is a clarification of the fundamental nature of these works, drawing a line between Sandler’s altar and the other two; and likely explains the DoC’s documentation restructuring.

Many such details were found in conservation binders, but not everything absent in the curatorial archive is included in that of conservation. When cross-referenced with the CRA’s oral account, we see how crucial *immaterial* elements of the altars' life cycles were recorded *only* in the experiential archives of institutional memory.

Neither set of documentation tells of altar consecrations, offerings left by visitors, or the source of each altar component. As non-collection pieces, there is no ethical obligation to record this information in collection management systems; but nor indeed do those systems accommodate such unconventional object biographies.

Conclusion

> *"Both the museum as an archive and the museum's archive [...] shape the identity of an artwork in the museum's custody by determining what is – and can be – known about it" (Hölling, 2017, p. 143).*

This text has illustrated 3 issues that shape museum archives: *what* the documenter thinks she is documenting – notions of the work's identity and status; *why* she thinks she is documenting it – the purpose and use of records; and *whether* immaterial knowledge gets translated into text- and image-based archives.

While a degree of fluidity is necessary for producing the Fowler's signature altar elements, it would be a disservice to their innovative work and the complexity of these assemblages if only *material* facets of these composite works remain in the archives. The devotional histories, consecrations and offerings that reveal the 'aliveness' of altars remain vibrant memories for those who experienced them; but if they are not documented in some way, they may one day be written out of the altars' biographies for good.

References

Falola, T. (2017). Ritual Archives. In A. Afolayan & T. Falola (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of African Philosophy* (pp. 703–728). Palgrave: Macmillan.

Fowler Museum at UCLA. (2018). Retrieved from https://www.fowler.ucla.edu/about-fowler. [Los Angeles, USA]

Hölling, H. (2017). *Paik's Virtual Archive: Time, Change, and Materiality in Media Art*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Roberts, M. N. (1994). Exhibition-ism: Museums and African Art. In M. N. Roberts, S. Vogel, & Chris Muller (Eds.), *Exhibition-ism: Museums and African Art* (pp. 22–35). New York: The Museum for African Art.

Roberts, M. N. (2017). Altar as Museum, Museum as Altar: Ethnography, Devotion, and Display. In G. Buggeln, C. Paine, & S. B. Plate (Eds.), *Religion in Museums: Global and Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (pp. 49–56). London/New York: Bloomsbury.

A museum object, sacred, yet fragile – a lesson of the Croatian museum transition

Helena Stublić

Department of Information and Communication Sciences, University of Zagreb – Croatia

Traditionally, museums have often been considered the temples of culture, places where objects and collections stored are of great importance for a particular community, society or people and even the whole of humanity. Museum institutions have been trying to distance themselves from this image for decades, moving the focus from the objects to the visitors. This transformation occurred as the awareness of the social role of museums began to change, by which museums are no longer the absolute authority and their task not merely that of the "divine" study of museum "dogmas", but rather they acquire a participatory role, making each individual a creator of meaning and values. This transition is perceived as a positive step in the development of museological thought and activity, but one that is also often criticized because it puts the position of museums and their experts and scientists in particular fields in a precarious position. Should museums allow their authority, considered to be based on scientific principles, to be questioned by visitors, that is, laypeople? In that regard, the position of museums can be viewed through the prism of the church and its respective position in society.

Despite this transition, museums understandably still base their mission on the collection, conservation, and presentation of objects and collections, that is, on the material testimonies to a time as the bearers of socially important messages and meanings. Much has been written on the importance of museum artifacts, but they became especially important after Z. Z. Stránský defined their essential characteristic – museality. "Museality is that side of realty which we can perceive only in the representation of the human relationship to reality" (Stransky, 1970). In the words of Ivo Maroević, museality is "the characteristic of an object to be a document of one reality in another reality, to be a document of the past in the present, to be a document of the real world in a museum, to be a document in space of a different spatial relationship" (Maroević, 1993). Yet is museality, as an abstract characteristic of an object, comparable to the sacredness of objects of a particular religion, and in what way? Is museality, like sacredness, that transcendental element that emits messages and meanings to an individual? Does museality transmit meanings from one world to another (or, as Maroević stated, from one reality to another), the way sacredness creates a link between the spiritual and the secular, the divine and the human? Of course, we could discuss this idea only if we assume that a sacred object in a church consists of the this-worldly material properties and the non-material qualities of the sacred; the holiness of the other-worldly.

A museum artifact consists of three components – its material, its shape and meaning (Maroević, 1993). It is precisely in the domain of meaning that the sacredness of an artifact is visible. The first two elements belong to the material world, while the meaning, which belongs to the spiritual realm, defines the museality and it is constructed by the one who interprets it, that is, an individual or a society. That these notions are comparable to the sacred and the spiritual is demonstrable from the fact that identities of a society or community are, through interpretation and attribution of meaning, most strongly legitimized and reflected in objects of heritage. Maroević states (1993):

> *Identity signifies complete agreement between the material and the spiritual on several levels of society, with the purpose of establishing a spiritual dimension of some of these levels by the material, thus making it the defining level for the range of identities, involving all the mutual influences of the three basic categories: time, space and society*.

Identities are the key characteristic of any society, that which makes them what they are, and can in that regard be viewed as the spiritual category, the sacredness of the secular.

Igor Kopytoff also wrote about the fact that the process of musealization of objects leads to changes in their meaning, because it also affects a change of their social role in his paper "The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as process" (Kopytoff, 1986), in which he introduced the notions of singularization and sacralization of an object. According to Kopytoff, objects in real life age, and with time lose their meaning, consequently losing their value. However, once they become rare or, alternatively, through the process of musealization they become marked and separated from their reality and transferred to the world of heritage, and undergo the process of singularization and sacralization.

One factor that represents the absolute difference between these notions – a museum and a temple, a museum artifact (or material heritage) and a sacral object, and identities and beliefs – is their *permanence*, or, conversely, their mutability through time. Therefore, while in many religions the divine and the sacred represent a fixed point and the immutable element of belief, in the world of heritage, museality, meaning, and identities are categories that are extremely mutable in space and time.

In addition, the musealization of objects is by no means unambiguous nor does it always lead in the same direction. Sometimes, through the process of musealization, an object gains a degree of "sacredness", while in other cases a sacred object might become de-sacralized through the same process. This phenomenon could be termed the *musealization paradox*. On the one hand, a work of art, such as the 1917 *Fountain*, by Marcel Duchamp, a porcelain urinal, which was signed "R. Mutt" and has gained status as a cult, paradigmatic object, one that forever changed our notion of what art, or a work of art, are – thus became a canonical piece in the history of art. On the other hand, numerous sacred objects, such as the Ghent Altarpiece (Adoration of the Mystic Lamb), completed in 1432 by Jan van Eyck and considered the first great oil painting of the Renaissance, have through the passage of time and the process of musealization become de-sacralized, reduced to their aesthetic and artistic component, without any real awareness of their former meaning and function. Is it possible, then, to regard musealization, much like Kopytoff's singularization, as the process of neutralization of sorts, that is, a reduction of the meaning of an object to the ones that fit in with a wider framework and context of a community? Interpreted this way, musealization is only partially comparable to the process of sacralization, however, in its essence and given the aforementioned musealization paradox, these two processes are in no way equivalent or analogous.

Museums of the Revolution and People's Liberation War (NOB) before and after the dissolution of Yugoslavia

In order to illustrate the musealization paradox even more clearly, and the importance of permanence in the very process of musealization of an object, we will present an aspect of Croatian heritage – museums of the Revolution and People's Liberation War (NOB) collections during the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia and their transformation into unwanted and often invisible heritage.

During World War II, the territory of modern-day Croatia consisted of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), a self-proclaimed puppet state of Nazi Germany, and parts were occupied by Fascist Italy. On June 22nd 1941, the 1st Sisak Partisan Detachment was established in the Žabno forest near the town of Sisak, which meant the beginning of guerilla-style resistance against occupational forces on the territory of Croatia. After the end of WWII, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was established, based on the principles of the antifascist struggle and socialism. Since the tragic events of the war left a permanent mark on the area and its people, in creating the new country and establishing the new socialist order, a great need was felt for maintaining the idea of antifascism and socialism and preserving the memory of Partisan divisions and the revolution. Throughout the country, numerous monuments were erected, while NOB collections and museums were founded almost in every larger town or at historically important locations.

In late 1986, the Museum Documentation Center in Zagreb finished an extensive report on the "state of museum and other institutions that safeguard and display the material thematically related to the period of the worker's movement, the People's Liberation War (NOB) and the postwar socialist construction work" (Kanižaj, 1989) on the territory of then socialist republic Croatia. The purpose of the report was to create a list and determine the number of existing collections and exhibitions and to describe their state and presentation. The report covered 150 exhibitions and collections that functioned either as independent specialized museums of the revolution or as museum collections within other independent complex museums, while others formed a part of primarily non-museum organizations and communities, such as open universities, cultural centers, community centers, archives, etc. The analysis demonstrated the problem of unresolved or inadequately resolved status of individual collections or institutions, which led to a poor level of conservation and poor or even erroneous presentation of material. The necessary improvements were never implemented and with the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the beginning of the Croatian War of Independence, this marked the beginning of a long transitional process during which almost all of existing antifascist and socialist heritage was collectively marked as undesirable.

The objects that had been kept and displayed in museums and NOB collections were real testimonies to events during World War II and in subsequent decades they became “sacred” objects of sorts, while the locations of great battles and conflicts, through numerous commemorations and events, became regarded as “sacred” places. Their purpose was not only to maintain the memory of the antifascist struggle alive, but also to reaffirm and maintain the new socialist society. In 1991 and onwards, with the establishment of the Republic of Croatia, all of this started to disappear. What really happened?

The ideology of the new society, built for decades, was deeply ingrained in the museums of the revolution, their collections and objects, and subsequently it was impossible to separate the heritage (and objects themselves) from a part of history that was not necessarily strictly linked to the antifascist struggle. The showdown with this unwanted heritage was brutal and ruthless. Numerous museums were abolished, while their collections were transformed. On many occasions, the objects were destroyed or transferred to newly-founded museums. Their position and meaning were instantly changed, while their fragments are kept in numerous museum depots throughout Croatia. Their presentation is minimal to nonexistent, and the conservation is often inadequate.

This example perfectly illustrates the musealization paradox. Objects that were once “sacred” suddenly became undesirable, almost anti-sacred and demonized. The object themselves have not changed significantly, they are the same as the moment when, in the process of musealization, they had been transferred to the new context of collections and museums, yet the context in which they reside has changed significantly, affecting a change of meaning inscribed in them. Finally, we can conclude that it is precisely this instability, which is the mutability through time and space that is the differentiating element, the one that makes all the difference between sacralization and musealization of heritage objects.

References

Kanižaj, Lj. (1989). *Analiza stanja muzejskih zbirki, muzejskih i stalnih izložbi, sadržajno vezanih uz radnički pokret, NOB i poslijeratnu socijalističku izgradnju na teritoriju SR Hrvatske*. Muzeologija 26. Zagreb: Muzejski dokumentacijski centar, pp. 5-17.

Kopytoff, I. (1986). The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as process In: Appadurai, A. (Ed.). *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.64-91.

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

Stránský, Z. Z. (1970). *Pojam muzeologije*. Muzeologija 8. Zagreb: Muzejski dokumentacijski centar, pp. 2-39.

Sanctuary, Palace, Museum; The History of Safeguarding Sacred Objects

Sadreddin Taheri[1]

Art Studies, Art University of Isfahan – Iran

Introduction:

This article, the result of research in the field of the sociology of culture, tries to examine the concept of the "sacred object", its position and value, and how it is moved from one place of safeguarding to another over time.

From ancient times, people all around the world have been interested in collecting beautiful, strange, old, different, or valuable objects. A rock that protects a nomad tent against evil spirits, a painted bowl on the niche of a castle, or a golden rython on a royal table, all are in the service of mankind's greatest need: the desire for beauty and the sublime.

This article presents historical research in the field of cultural sociology. The sociology of culture attempts to explain some specific cultural phenomena as a product of social processes (Griswold, 2012: p.14).

Sacred object

The word sacred is derived from Proto-Indo-European root Shkros, and the Latin root Sacer, meaning dedicated, consecrated or devoted (De Vaan, 2008: p.532). People have dedicated various kinds of sacred objects to different special places throughout human history. The sanctity of these objects may be due to dependence on a religion, ritual or tradition; to earn a special historic or scientific position; or to their ability to gain popularity.

We go further if we consider a sacred object as a moment in a cultural and historical process rather than as an allusive "thing in itself" (Grimes, 1992: p.419). But what is the essence of the sacred object from the viewpoint of sociology? Emil Durkheim saw religion as a system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred, set apart, and forbidden things (Durkheim, 1965: p.47), and Rudolf Otto wrote about a non-rational, non-sensory experience whose primary object is outside the self, and a person needs to perceive it, guided by consideration of the matter through the ways of his or her own mind (Otto, 1996: p.30).

---

1. E-mail: s.tahery@aui.ac.ir

Before we get to the typology of these selected objects and where they are kept, a key question has to be answered: What is the quality of sensation when someone confronts a sacred object? What is the essence of relationship between man and sacred objects? Kant's description of the beautiful and the sublime (1987: p.126), as two subjective universal judgments, can explain our aesthetic perception of a sacred object.

Weber's tripartite classification of authority

Max Weber was a German sociologist who enormously influenced social theory. Weber is often cited, with Émile Durkheim and Karl Marx, as among the three founders of sociology (Giddens, 1971: p.7).

In "Politics as a Vocation" (1919), his lecture for "Non-incorporated Students Union of Bavaria", Weber defined a classification for legitimate authority. He distinguished three ideal types of legitimate political leadership, domination and authority: charismatic authority, traditional authority, and rational-legal authority. Each of these types has their own unique complex societies (Weber, 1922: p.2).

Weber himself did not define a historical route for this classification, and even today these three types are still prevalent and there are political regimes that are comparable with each of these three forms; but a century after expressing the theory, maybe we can propose a social evolution process for them: ancient charismatic rule, historical rule based on succession, and the modern state. Based on this category, three locations can be identified as guarding places for sacred object: sanctuaries in the early religious societies, palaces or royal temples in historical societies, and museums in modern societies.

Sanctuaries in the early religious societies

A primary tribal community is usually run by a person who is braver, stronger, older or wealthier than others. He or she will hold the position of a Shaman (Eliade, 2004), if this person has the set of necessary political and religious abilities to lead his or her followers. Early leaders, prophets or kings are specific and different persons, who are usually chosen by gods. Their right to rule is rooted in their charisma.

Religious centers (sanctuaries, altars, shrines, etc.) will flourish in this form of rule, and many sacred objects will be donated to these places: objects religious symbols, pictures or statues of gods, ancestral memorials of a magical event, icons of holy ancestors or saints, ritual tools, or copies of sacred texts.

Gobekli tepe in southeastern Turkey is the oldest known sanctuary in the world by far. The third layer of this site is about 11,000 years old. T-shaped stone totems, decorated with abstract, enigmatic pictograms and carved animal reliefs, are among the most important surviving objects in this layer (Schmidt, 2000: p.47). Archaeologists also have found an extraordinary range of items in a 10,000 years old building in Sheikhi Abad, Western Iran that suggest the room may have been a ritual building. The deposit included four skulls of large wild goats placed in pairs behind each other, with massive horns attached, and red ochre applied to their jaw and upper teeth, as well as artifacts including abundant stone tools, worked bone points, a carved bone pendant, beads, clay tokens, and a small clay figurine. This building provides evidence for ritual activities associated with early goat management and domestication in the region (Matthews et al, 2010).

Besides these very old examples, sacred objects can be found in every rural sanctuary around the world. A bronze standard from Surkh Dum sanctuary in Luristan, Menorah candelabrum of a Jewish Synagogue, a Nataraja statue in a Shiva altar, Mehrabi carpets of a village mosque, crucified Jesus on the wall of a chapel, or Native totems of North America, all have found a sacred position for the believers of a certain religion.

Palaces or royal temples in historical societies

In many historical ruling dynasties, political authority was transmitted through inheritance. These governments have always built great majestic monuments as the residence of the royal family, as well as magnificent temples for them to worship their god or gods. An essential characteristic of these royal palaces or majestic temples is ownership of the collections of special and impressive objects, obtained from legacy, offer, tribute, loot or booty.

The first person who decided to collect these choice precious objects of other countries in a special place was probably the Elamite king Šutruk-Nakhunte in the 12th century BC, whose empire included most of Mesopotamia and western Iran. Archaeologists found his considerable booty collected during his victorious campaigns in a gallery beside the Susa temple (De Morgan, 1997: p.106). This included numerous kudurrus or boundary stones, stone tablets, stelae such as famous victory stele of Naram-Sin, the Law Code of Hammurabi, Kassite monuments and statues, stele from Anshan, etc. (Potts, 2015: p.227).

Among the well-known royal treasures from Troy, Zywieh, Wādī al Mulūk, Oxus, or Knossos, we can find religious or ritual objects and icons of the ancient deities, as well as images of hunting, battle, or court feasts.

Museums in modern societies

Under rational-legal authority, legitimacy is seen as coming from a legal order and the laws that have been enacted in it (Weber, 1958). Rational-legal authority is the foundation of modern democracies. Officials elected by voters, rules that are in the constitution, or policies that are written in a formal document are examples of this type of authority.

In the modern period, museums have inherited the position of sanctuaries and palaces as the most substantial institutions to preserve and protect the selected/sacred objects.

As Benjamin Gilman said a century ago, a museum of art is in essence a temple (Gilman, 1918: p.81). The word museum itself is derived from Mouseion, a temple to praise the Muses, nine sisters who support and inspire art, literature and knowledge in Greek mythology (Cook, 1914: p.104).

Museums have made a remarkable progress from the cabinets of curiosities to their modern structures; therefore, museums have fundamental discrepancies with sanctuaries or palaces. Current museums are responsible for collecting, preserving, displaying and interpreting items of cultural, artistic or scientific significance for public education end enjoyment.

Museums turn a thing into a museum object in a process of museality, as a specific documentary value (Stránský, 1970: p.174), involving selection, separation, and setting into a framework. An important trait of a museum object is the context where it has been assigned. The context includes principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation, composed of tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters (Gitlin, 1980, p.6). A routine thing (like a used dress, a meteorite falling on desert soil, an old industrial tool, a ready-made piece of art, or a forgotten idol) may earn sanctity in the process of museality. On the other hand, a ritual/religious object (like a statue of a Sumerian priest, an Egyptian Wadjet, or a rosary left from a saint) may lose its virtue in this process, because it is unlikely that visitors seek healing or blessing from them.

Unlike sanctuaries, museums do not provide a similar space for all of their visitors. To communicate with the sacred object in a museum (for instance: Vincent van Gogh's Café Terrace at Night, a Tesla coil, or the fossil of an Archaeopteryx) is a non-obligatory, optional, internal and subjective experience, which depends on each visitor's background, age, interest, and knowledge.

References

Cook, A. B. (1914). *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, Vol. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Morgan, J. (1997). *Mémoires de Jacques de Morgan 1857-1924*. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan.

De Vaan, M. (2008). *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages* (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series; 7). Leiden: Brill.

Durkheim, E. (1965). *The elementary forms of the religious life*. Transl. by Joseph Swain, New York: The Free Press.

Eliade, M. (2004). *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Giddens, A. (1971). *Capitalism and modern social theory: an analysis of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gilman, B.I. (1918). *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method*. Boston: Order of the trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts at the Riverside Press.

Gitlin, T.(1980). *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Grimes, R. L. (1992). Sacred objects in museum spaces. *Studies in Religioun*, 21, 4, 419-430.

Griswold, W. (2012). *Cultures and Societies in a Changing World*, Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Kant, I. (1987). *Critique of Judgment*. Transl. by: Werner S. Pluhar. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing.

Matthews, R., Y. Mohammadifar, W.Matthews & A. Motarjem (2010). Investigating the Early Neolithic of western Iran: the Central Zagros Archaeological Project (CZAP). *Antiquity*, 84.

Potts, D. T. (2015). *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Schmidt, K. (2000). Göbekli Tepe, Southeastern Turkey, A preliminary Report on the 1995-1999 Excavations. *Palèorient*, 26, 1, 45-54.

Stránský, Z. Z. (1970). Múzejnictvo v relácii teórie a praxe. *Múzeum*, XV, 3. 173-183.

Otto, R. (1996). *Autobiographical and Social Essays,* Alles, Gregory D. (Ed.). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Weber, M. (1919). Politik als beruf. *Gesammelte Politische Schriften* (herausgegeben von Johannes Winckelmann), 5. Aufl., Tübingen: Mohr Verlag, 1988. 505-560.

Weber, M.(1922). Die drei reinen typen der legitimen herrschaft. *Preussische Jahrbücher,* 187, 1-2.

Weber, M.(1958). The three types of legitimate rule. Transl. by Hans Gerth, *Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions*, 4, 1, 1-11.

The Doha Museum of Islamic Art and the Museum-Temple-Religion Triad

Ana Cristina Valentino and Bruno Passos Alonso
Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro – Brazil

Museum, temple, religion. Three terms, three concepts, a starting point. In a first analysis it is possible to connect this triad with the idea of the museum in its traditional orthodox form in the 19th century. The museum as a temple of art, history or science, with the aura of the sacred, resembling a religious temple, where the reverential act of the visitor places him as a believer. In that period, the museum institution, assuming a disciplinary role and intending to act as a complement to formal education, had acquired a coercive and regulating character. These regulatory mechanisms that modulate the behavior of the visitors turned the museum into a place of worship, silent, contained and with introspective observation, approaching the idea of sacred. Museums inherited the format and the prerogatives of both palace and temple, which conferred prestige and acclaim for their collections, placing them on a higher level, separated from everyday life[1]. According to Roque (2010, p. 55) "The museum, as a 'place of sanctification of objects'[2], adopted the fundamental mission of the temple and its respective competences and purposes, although conceived in a secular universe".

However, in a second analysis, the museum-temple-religion triad, linked to the Museum of Islamic Art, acquires new formats and possibilities. MIA was built on an artificial island with 260,000 square meters in Doha, Qatar, an Arab country that figures among one of the richest in the world, officially known as an emirate of the Middle East. It borders Saudi Arabia to the south, and the Persian Gulf surrounds the remaining area of the country. A strait separates it from the neighboring island nation, Bahrain. Approximately 70% of the population is made up of Sunni Muslims, one of the two major branches of Islam[3].

The building was designed by the renowned Chinese-American architect Ieoh Ming Pei - world famous for the design of the Pyramid of the Louvre - specifically to house the museum. From its form to the exhibition spaces, atten-

1. Roque, 2010, p. 54.
2. As cited in Roque, 2010, p. 55.
3. Wikipedia contributors. (2018, June 1). Qatar. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved 14:18, June 1, 2018, from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Qatar&oldid=843912851.

tion is paid to museological discourse, despite the inseparable connection of Islamic art with the religious aspects of Islam and its precepts. The collection contains about 400 pieces from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, and holds masterpieces of ancient Islamic art, including works in metal, wood and glass, ceramics, jewelry, textiles, and coins, as well as manuscripts and paintings[1], which have rarely or never been exhibited. Many objects were part of the Al Thani family collection, the rulers of Qatar. The museography highlights the importance of each piece, fragments that tell the history of Islamic art from its beginnings, showing the influence it exerted over other peoples and about their artistic and cultural expressions over time.

Before starting the project, Pei traveled for more than six months through countries of the Islamic world researching their architecture. He found inspiration in the form of the ablutions[2] fountain of the Mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun in Cairo, Egypt. In the austerity and simplicity of the fountain, the architect says that he found "a severe architecture, coming to life through the sun with its shadows and shades of color." The fountain, according to Pei, "offers an almost cubist expression of geometric progression, which provokes an abstract view of the main design elements of Islamic architecture".[3]

The idea of the design inspired by an architectural element of an Islamic temple connects MIA with the religious aspects that permeate it and provokes the direct association with the idea of a temple, a concept that has always been linked to the museum since its origin. Te *Mouseion*, the temple of the Muses, acts in its history as the starting point of the museum concept. Temple, from the Latin *templum*, means "sacred place," and is, by definition, an architectural structure dedicated to religious service.[4] Used in a figurative way, the temple is the reflection of the divine, a place apart, far from the mundane. The image of the museum as a temple permeates its existence, and in a certain sense makes sacred what it houses – its collection – in a separate existence from the world. The museum is re-signified through the process of musealizing its collections, acquiring a distinct, separate aspect of its original context and place where it was given a utility nature or social framework.

The temple, from this perspective, is related to religion. The word religion, from Latin *religio,* means "praise and reverence to the gods" (Etymological Dictionary, 2008). There is a discussion in the field of etymology about its ac-

---

1. *Collections at MIA*. Museum of Islamic Art – MIA. Retrieved from http://www.mia.org.qa/en/collections.
2. Ablution - Ritual of purification by cleaning the body with water. (2018). *Michaelis online*. Retrieved from http://michaelis.uol.com.br/busca?id=BPV.
3. Museum of Islamic Art - Qatar. (2008, December 6). *Swiss – Architectural Grammar*. Retrieved from http://architecturalgrammar.blogspot.com.br/2008/12/museu-de-arte-islmica-qatar.html.
4. Wikipedia contributors. (2018, June 1). Temple. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved 14:28, June 1, 2018, from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Temple&oldid=843916731.

tual origin. A more accepted hypothesis among scholars is that it comes from the verb *relegere*, which means “to reread” or “to revisit”, which was associated with habit of constant rereading and interpretation of the sacred texts.[1] There is in this hypothesis a point of contact between religion and museum. Rereading and revisiting are two of the museum’s own acts. From the museological point of view, when an object is musealized, it goes through a re-reading, a re-signification: “[...] as if the life prior to musealization had ceased to exist so that the object of the museum could ‘reborn’ into a new universe of meanings” (Brulon-Soares, 2015, p. 26). The collections are constantly revisited and researched by the various specializations that analyze them. The museum itself as an institution and as a social organization is under constant review.

Re-reading is also one of the terms to describe the conception of MIA linked to the concept of temple which is present in its architectural form. Passing through its doors, the visitor faces a vision that reinterprets this concept: its large atrium with a monumental architecture impresses its modernity; its great staircase with sculptural forms is a work of art by itself; the environment is bright and full of light. Its interior is only distinguished from the museums of other countries by an important detail: the symbolism of Islamic culture is everywhere, be it the great chandelier or in the form of the eight-pointed star of the fountain located in the ground floor café. A large glazing that frames the Doha skyline[2] holds the spirit of Islamic architecture. With a similar shape of a *mihrab*, which is a niche on the wall found in mosques, used to mark the direction of Mecca, although this large glazing does not have the same function nor is it oriented to Mecca[3], but it connects the museum with the image of modernity that the city wants to project to the world.

In the three upper floors of the museum – where the main exhibitions are found – reached by the staircase from the atrium, visitors can see doors that open to the entrances of the galleries where the collections are displayed. There, visitors are greeted by guards of the collection wearing Arab robes. The atmosphere becomes different: the light is hazy and focused on the objects; the collections are organized in showcases that are spread through the halls with walls that are darker and more sober than those of the exterior. Each object is given its own special importance. Throughout the visit, however, it is possible to see how all of the objects are connected to build a narrative that tells the story of Islamic culture and its influence, which spreads across the globe and brings closer the West and the East, in a relevant way. The point of view is not religious, although it is closely linked to religion. The dialogue is open, founded

---

1. Origin of the word religion. In: *Online Etymological Dictionary - Origin and Etymology of words*. Retrieved from https://www.dicionarioetimologico.com.br/religiao/.
2. A silhouette where elements such as large towers, monuments, buildings and natural shapes of relief are evidenced as specific aspects of each city. Skyline [Blog post]. *Alexandre Picciano*. Retrieved from http://www.hp3d.com.br/blog/skyline/.
3. Ferwati, M. Salim. (2013).

.

on history, and provides reflections without imposing any kind of thinking. The texts on the walls are short but informative, and the labels provide data for the construction of each individual narrative. At this point, the MIA demonstrates its mission as a museum, beyond the temple and religion: to share the knowledge of a culture through a museographic, museological, and architectural proposal that take the visitors, whether Eastern or Western, on a voyage of discovery not only of the other, but also of themselves. And vice versa.

References

Brulon-Soares, B. C. (2015). Museum objects, between classification and development. *Informação & Sociedade*, v. 25, no. 1, 25-37.

Desvallées, A. & Mairesse, F. (2013). *Conceitos-chave de Museologia*. São Paulo: Brazilian Committee of ICOM / Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo.

Ferwati, M. Salim. (2013). The Museum of Islamic Art: Form, perception, and environment. *The International Journal of the Inclusive Museum, vol. 6,* 55-71. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287345264_The_Museum_of_Islamic_Art_Form_perception_and_environment.

Hainard, J.; Kaehr, R. (1984). *Objets pretextes, objets manipules*. Neuchâtel: Musée d'etnographie.

I. M. Pei Biography. *The Pritzker Architecture Prize*. Retrieved from https://www. pritzkerprize.com/laureates/1983.

Museum of Islamic Art - Qatar. (2008, December 6). Swiss – *Architectural Grammar*. Retrieved from http://architecturalgrammar.blogspot.com.br/2008/12/museu-de-arte-islmica-qatar.html.

Origin of the word religion. *Online Etymological Dictionary - Origin and Etymology of words*. Retrieved from https://www.dicionarioetimologico.com.br/religiao/.

Poulot, D. (2013). *Museu e museologia*. Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Autêntica.

Roque, M. I. R. (2010). Comunicação no museu. In Benchetrit, S.; Zamorano, R. B.; Magalhães, A. M. Museu e Comunicação: exposição como objeto de estudo (pp. 47-68). Rio de Janeiro: Museu Histórico Nacional.

Wikipedia contributors. (2018, May 31). I. M. Pei. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=I._M._Pei&oldid=822106522.

Wikipedia contributors. (2018, June 1). Qatar. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Qatar&oldid=843912851.

Wikipedia contributors. (2018, June 1). Temple. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Temple&oldid=843916731.

Creating Museums to Sacralize the Profane: The *museo d'impresa* in Italy

Itala Vivan
Università degli Studi – Milano, Italy

> *The museum, sociologically, is much closer in function to the church than it is to the school.* (Cameron, 2012, p.53)

The museum was born in the Renaissance as a shrine to host and preserve objects of value and beauty collected by connoisseurs. In both its original forms – as art gallery or cabinet of curiosities – it was created for the private delight of the leisured upper classes, and only later opened to the general public whom it wanted to impress and educate through values established by the élites of society. This origin gave the museum an aura of sacrality and cultural prestige that can still be perceived in our time, in spite of the efforts to transform the museum-temple into a museum-forum for the community. This is all the more true in Italy, where the tradition of collecting works of art started in the aristocratic courts, and where a vast number of art museums exhibit international icons of beauty.

Yet it is in Italy that a comparatively new type of museum has proliferated in recent years, and has flourished in number and relevance at an astonishing pace. The *museo d'impresa,*[1] as it is called, has a short pedigree. It made its first appearance in 1884 with the Museo Ginori (chinaware, near Florence), followed by the Museo Pirelli (tires and rubber articles, Milan) in 1922, but its boom exploded in the 1990s with the emergence of a specifically Italian line of industrial design which brought fame to 'Made in Italy' and transformed it into a cult brand and icon of prestige (Bulegato, 2008; Negri, 2016). Although "the phenomenon is particularly relevant in Italy, where it has developed the largest number of CMs [corporate museums] that exist today" (Bonti, 2014, p.142), international awareness is poor, and literature in the field still at an embryonic stage.

It might therefore be both useful and pleasing to focus on this special kind of museum with some thoughts on museality and the sacred. The vast category of

---

1. The Italian definition is similar to the French *musée d'entreprise* (Cousserand, 2009), while it differs from the English 'corporate museum' or 'company museum' where the high-sounding term *impresa* is absent. On the other hand, the *museo d'impresa* differs radically from the industrial museum, since it is devoted to an individual firm or company, rather than to a sector of industrial production or to industrial production in general.

the sacred includes the numinous (Otto, 1984, pp.17-28), a quality of religious experience but also a sentiment of awe aroused by profane realities, of an aesthetic and/or marvellous nature. And, as the numinous is spread by the god(s) – the *numen* – so an aura of awesome sacrality radiates from the museum as such and reaches its users through a consecration of the artifacts it enshrines.

The *museo d'impresa*, however, derives its auratic quality also from yet another source, that is, the religion of consumption that characterizes late capitalism. If consumption used to be considered the opposite of the sacred, in the industrial age it has been made sacred with the development of capitalistic society. Durkheim identifies the sacred with the very society which becomes an object of worship (Durkheim, 1912), and the increasing importance given to consumption in our capitalistic society has allowed it to perform social functions which are equivalent to those traditionally performed by religion (Codeluppi, 2008). If ritual is one of the most important symbolic dimensions of any social order, in contemporary society the rituals of consumption have acquired a paramount relevance and taken on a quasi-religious role (Baudrillard, 1970).

The new *museo d'impresa* enshrines icons of consumption and aims to elicit more and more authority by presenting them within a prestigiously institutional frame. It is no coincidence that the English wording – 'corporate museum' – is replaced by *museo d'impresa*, which manifests the character of its mission with remarkable subtlety. The Italian word *impresa* is complex and polysemic, since it corresponds to the English 'enterprise', or 'firm', but could at the same time be used in its ancient Latin meaning, to indicate an element in heraldry which contributed to the emblem and coat-of-arms of aristocratic families. Thus the definition *museo d'impresa* resounds with elegant prestige and ancient nobility, and implies an adventurous narration of family history, while directly referring to the efficiency and modernity of industrial production.

The *museo d'impresa* is in fact a polymorphous and polyvalent machine (Vivan & Gualtieri, 2015). While exhibiting the cult products of Italian industry and design, in most cases it also retells the history of the family that founded the firm and created the brand's heritage (as is the case with the Museo Ferragamo in Florence, high fashion shoes and other items), and lends itself as a powerful, brand-marketing instrument. Moreover, such museums are becoming very visitor-attractive, thanks to the magic exerted by stylishly laid-out items (Ferrari racing cars, Vespa scooters, Armani high fashion, etc.), so that unprecedented waves of tourism are now flowing through them -- a sort of twenty-first century pilgrimage in quest of cult objects and success stories (Touring Club Italiano, 2008).

The *museo d'impresa* is always privately established and maintained, since it is seen as illustration and support for the production; and it often serves as a venue for public relations and marketing, and/or as a showroom. Italian archives and museums of this kind are partly included in the national association, Museimpresa, sponsored by the Assolombarda Confindustria (a branch of the Italian Entrepreneurial Association) and participate in the permanent conference of museum associations of ICOM. At present, Museimpresa lists 77 registered members, roughly three times the number of founding members in 2001. Although there are no precise data for all *musei d'impresa* existing in Italy, a rough estimate gives a total of ca. 250.[1]

It is important to observe that, like the traditional museum, the *museo d'impresa* also has a twofold origin, and is often rooted in the industrial archives of historical documents, which might be accompanied by a collection of prototypes and types of production, as in the case of the Archivio Storico Pirelli. Such archives represent precious sources for educational and training purposes, both in and outside the private area, as well as being treasures of Italy's cultural heritage where industrial relations and organizations are concerned. A good example of this can be found in the Archivio-museo Alessi near Omegna. The archive formula can be intertwined with the museum layout in original storytelling style, as shown in the Branca collection (liquor, distillery) in Milan.

If contemporary museums are often characterized by bold and imaginative architecture created by international archistars – from Frank Gehry to Daniel Libeskind and Renzo Piano – the Italian *museo d'impresa* is usually housed in former industrial buildings, often elegantly restructured so as to emphasize its continuous link with the site of production and thus confirm an inner sacrality enhanced by its new nobility. Typical examples are Alessi (household objects), MUMAC (coffee machines), SAME (tractors). Occasionally, however, a new building is designed especially for the purpose – as is the case with the Archivio Storico Campari by Mario Botta and the Kartellmuseo by Ignazio Gardella and Anna Castelli Ferrieri – or a venerable, time-honoured palace has been acquired and adapted to accommodate it (Museo Ferragamo).

The *museo d'impresa* is, however, always treated like a precious child by the manufacturer it represents. It is an essential part of the brand and a narrator of its history of innovation and excellence. Behind the brand in most cases is the founding family whose history is associated with it. Industrial ventures have constantly been linked with particular families, a circumstance which at first helped them to grow and stick together but often prevented them from expanding enough to face changing markets, while tending to generate dynasties. Museums and archives reflect this typically Italian phenomenon and basically aim to celebrate individual success stories, sacralized into a sort of hierophany. On the other hand, they do not include the history and struggles of the workers, and are seldom interested in the territory and its culture.

To illustrate this analysis it might be useful to take a brief look at two meaningful examples of Italian *museo d'impresa*: the Ferrari Gallery and Ferrari house museum in Modena, and the Kartellmuseo near Milan. The first narrates a

---

1. These data were kindly provided on May 18, 2018 by the Secretary of Museimpresa Giulia Polizzotti.

long history of industrial excellence and exhibits the Ferrari racing cars with its rampant-horse emblem, while the second was established in 1999 to preserve, study and exhibit specimens of a vast industrial production of objects in plastic materials which are well known for their innovative line of design and technical excellence.[1]

These two museums are important for their excellence and high functionality, but also because, despite their differences, they both exemplify the system of objects that for Jean Baudrillard (1968) enables consumption to take place thanks to the fact that objects have developed into signs and fulfil the formal logic of merchandise analyzed by Karl Marx. Categories of objects that tyrannically create corresponding categories of individual persons, in a system of organizational identity governed by the desire and logic of consumption (Stigliani & Ravasi, 2007), and culminate in radiant sacrality. The exhibited items are international marketing icons, and are associated with luxury and social status in order to create a new kind of hegemony linked to the consumer society of contemporary late capitalism.

References

Baudrillard, J. (1968). *Le système des objects*. Paris: Gallimard.

Baudrillard, J. (1970). *La société de consummation. Ses mythes, ses structures*. Paris: Denoël.

Bonti, M. (2014). The Corporate Museums and Their Social Function: Some Evidence from

Italy. *European Scientific Journal*, November, 1, 141-150.

Bulegato, F. (2008). *I musei d'impresa dalle arti industriali al design*. Rome: Carocci.

Cameron, D. F. (1971/2012). The Museum, a Temple or the Forum. In: Anderson G. (Ed.), *Reinventing the Museum* (pp.48-60). Lanham MD: Altamira.

Codeluppi, V. (2008). Il consumo come religione. Dusi N. & Marrone G.(Eds.). *Destini del sacro. Discorso religioso e semiotica della cultura* (pp.101-108). Rome: Meltemi.

Cousserand, I. (2009). Musées d'entreprise: un genre composite. *Communication et organisation*, 35, pp.192-213.

Durkheim, E. (1912). *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris: Alcan.

1. There is not enough space here for case studies, which could be treated during workshops and/or in later versions of this paper.

Negri, M. (2016). *La grande rivoluzione dei musei europei*. Venice: Marsilio.

Otto, R. (1984). *Il sacro. L'irrazionale nell'idea del divino e la sua relazione al razionale*. Milan: Feltrinelli. (1936).

Stigliani I. & Ravasi D. (2007). Organizational Artefacts and the Expression of Identity in Corporate Museums at Alfa-Romeo, Kartell, and Piaggio. Lerpold L., Ravasi D., van Rekom J. & Soenen G. (Eds), *Organizational Identity in Practice* (pp.197-214). London, UK & New York, US: Routledge.

Touring Club Italiano (2008). *Turismo industriale in Italia. Conservazione, innovazione e creatività nei luoghi della cultura d'impresa italiana*. Milan: Touring Editore.

Vivan, I. & Gualtieri, C. (2015). *I musei d'impresa raccontano Milano e la Lombardia*. Calvi, M. V. & Perassi, E. (Eds), Milano città delle culture (pp.495-506). Rome: Ed. storia e letteratura.

Religion in Museums: Euthanized Sacredness, in the Beholder's Eye, or a Multi-Tool for Shifting Needs?

Three suggested models to discuss how museums affect sacredness

Helena Wangefelt Ström
Umeå University - Sweden

What happens when religion in the shape of objects imbued with religious meaning is transformed into cultural heritage? The relation between religion and museums has been the topic of a number of recent publications from different parts of the world, focusing different religious traditions (for example Merleau-Ponty, 2017, Buggeln et al. 2017, Sullivan, 2015, Berg and Grinell, 2018, Capurro, 2013). Drawing on my ongoing PhD project ("Lighting candles before a headless Jesus. Enchanted heritage, disenchanted sacredness, and the journey in between", Umeå University), I suggest three models to discuss the processes of the *heritagisation* of religion and the factors involved.

Religion as heritage, religion in museums – and religious museums

To examine how museums and heritage identity affect religion, let us start by looking at the concepts. Heritage can be in a museum, and a museum can be part of a heritage, but they do not have to be; 'heritage' might be the zone where the museum world and the visitor world intersect (Dicks, 2003). Museums are undergoing major changes, in terms of uses of various new media including the internet, new expectations to be active parts in contemporary debates and to address issues at stake in our time, while simultaneously maintaining their more traditional role as knowledge producers and materialisers of culture (Macdonald and Fyfe, 1996). The museum in this sense is a multi-layered and complex concept far from the traditional temple for the cult of history (Davis et al., 2010). The traditional object-centred way of displaying in museums, where the object is supposed to more or less to speak for itself, can even be likened to a monstrance, the often elaborated framing of a consecrated *hostia* being displayed to the faithful in Catholic rite (Mairesse, 2014).

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) states that heritage is created through detachment, the creation of fragments, a process of exhibition, and with an agency of display. An aspect of heritagisation is its “rendering defunct” function, and how this necessarily presupposes death and oblivion.

> *All kinds of efforts at preservation, all reworking of history and all kinds of revival presuppose and are based on evanescence and death. To remember is a prelude to forgetting; in the case of the cultural heritage industry, it is not memory but oblivion which lies at its core, because it is out of forgotten and dead things that cultural heritage is fashioned […] Cultural heritage and museums evoke the idea of the living because they require and base their work on the left over, the discarded and the defunct (Ronström, 2008).*

Heritagisation transforms its objects by turning them into exhibits. It is a political process that establishes power over the past, the present and future (Ronström, 2008).

‘Musealisation’ refers to the process when something is transferred from the sphere where it was created and functioned, to the museum. Macdonald (1996) emphasises that ‘alive’ is a keyword in contemporary museum promotional literature; this operates in contrast to heritagisation as an act connected to death (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998).

Religion in museums can take on many shapes. Rita Capurro (2013) defines them as:

- *Religious museum*. Museums with particular reference to religion, including ecclesiastical museums, or those which through collections, mission, choice of narrative, refer to religion.
- *Museum of religions*. Museum aiming at presenting various religions of the world.
- *Museum for sacred art*. Occupied mostly with collections of sacred art, or with objects referring to a cult.
- *Ecclesiastical museum*. Museum directed and owned by an ecclesiastical entity, with collections that can span from sacred art to scientific collections.
- *Confessional museum*. Institution expressing a group or a religious confession. Auto-representative narratives mirroring the ideals and ideologies of the current confessions.

However, users of religious objects in museums sometimes tend to move between and across the designated categories by praying or placing flowers before a religious image in an art museum: a kind of visitors’ rebellion against normative categorising (Paine, 2013).

Religious, spiritual, holy, or sacred?

In the interface between heritage and religion in different fields, the terminology is anything but homogenous. The formulations used in UNESCO's *Initiative on Heritage of Religious Interest* (http://whc.unesco.org/en/religious-sacred-heritage/) display a somewhat ambiguous use of the terms 'religious', 'spiritual', and 'sacred':

- The term "Religious property", as used in the ICOMOS study *Filling the Gaps - an Action Plan for the Future*, is defined as "any form of property with religious or spiritual associations: churches, monasteries, shrines, sanctuaries, mosques, synagogues, temples, sacred landscapes, sacred groves, and other landscape features, etc."
- The term "Sacred site" embraces areas of special spiritual significance to peoples and communities; and the term of "Sacred natural site" corresponds to the areas of land or water having special spiritual significance to peoples and communities, as proposed by the UNESCO/IUCN Guidelines for the Conservation and Management of Sacred Natural Sites (2008).
- According to ICCROM, living religious heritage has characteristics that distinguish it from other forms of heritage. [...] Collectively, religious and sacred properties capture a range of cultural and natural diversity, and each can singularly demonstrate the spirit of a particular place.

Here, "religious" appears to be connected primarily to constructed sites, if landscaped areas are also included, while "sacred" is related to nature and natural sites. Sacred sites are also characterized by being protected since ancient times. "Religious" and "spiritual" are both used to indicate a cultural and traditional connection to the divine, but in many cases – as in the previous quote – the latter is used to define something outside of institutionalized and organized beliefs. As Crispin Paine describes the preconditions for his first book on religion in museums, *Godly Things* (in Paine, 2013):

> *Formal religion [my emphasis] was fast declining in much of Western Europe (though spirituality [my emphasis] wasn't), but in much of the rest of the world religion was becoming ever more powerful and so more political.*

"Sacred" indicates, according to historian Alphonse Dupront (1993), not just a definition but also a method to categorize items and phenomena in the religious sphere. Sacredness is the almost physical presence of God in human bodies, actions, and divine-human interactions.

Some places, objects, relics and saints can also be considered *holy*: this indicates that the divine qualities are inherent and given by divine power – contrary to the sacred, which is an identity created within a religious context, but by means of human decisions.

Religion and sacredness in museums: Three suggested models to discuss how museums affect sacredness.

Model 1: Euthanized sacredness. A frequently used scholarly model depicts the museum as a killing of previous identities, and the objects as provided with entirely new identities, and lives, as museum objects (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, O'Neill, 2015). This view affects sacred objects, how they are handled and narrated in the museum, and possibly also how they are viewed by the visitors. The use or not of labels identifying sacred objects in museums is another aspect of this issue. The musealisation effect on sacred matter here implies a one-way transformation, for example from touching to no touching, from interaction to information, from sensuality to respectful distance, and from sacred to heritage, material, and artistic identity.

This model in practice gives the museum curator freedom to re-contextualise the sacred and/or religious objects within a framework of, for example, art, history, decoration, crafts, or contemporary art. Since the objects are detached fragments, the possible sentiments of a religious beholder do not pose a problem.

Model 2: In the beholder's eye. The second model is the hybrid identity, where a museum object can be said to possess two authentic identities simultaneously, depending on the views and beliefs of the beholder: authentic sacredness, or authentic art object and evidence of history. This view responds well to the focus in our time on the individual. It does not force the museum to take a stand regarding any true identity of the object – however, it does require an informed policy for managing and displaying the objects in a way that is not offensive to the believer.

Model 3: A multi-tool for shifting needs. This model is based on the two previous ones, defined by shifting uses. The objects are allowed to be alive *and* dead (in the sense used above): a kind of museum "zombies". Musealised objects can, as in the cases of religious treasuries or of certain religious objects or images in museums, shift identity between the museum object, the object of devotion, a legitimization symbol, and, historically, as a monetary reserve to be sold if needed. These multiple identities attached to the sacred are nothing new (for example, Benjamin, 1982), but they do pose challenges and call for revised practices within heritage management. A distinction between cultual use and cultural use is crucial for this model.

Conclusions

The different approaches to sacred objects in museums outlined in this paper pose different museological challenges and possibilities, and ascribe different agencies to museum staff as well as to the visitors. The question of the identity of an object – sacred or not? – is crucial in order to handle, display, and narrate religious objects in museums. I outline three models to point out how, and by whom, the identities are created: by the people performing the musealisation, by the beholders, or by those who decide what uses define the object at certain times. These models challenge museums in terms of care and preservation, display and narratives, and restrictions for handling and physical interaction. However, in a time of increasingly multi-cultural societies, global tourism with heterogenous beholders, and a post-secular curiosity for religion and sacredness, museums need to take into account that the religious objects entrusted to their care might still be alive.

References

Benjamin, W. (1982). The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books.

Berg, M. and Grinell, K. (2018) *Musealt islam*. Stockholm: Molin & Sorgenfrei Akademiska.

Buggeln, G. et al. (2017) *Religion in museums: global and multidisciplinary perspectives*.

Capurro, R. (2013). *Musei e oggetti religiosi. Arte, sacro e cultura religiosa nel museo*. Milan: Vita e Pensiero.

Davis, A. et al. (2010). *What is a museum?* Munich: Muller-Straten.

Dicks, B. (2003). *Culture on display: the production of contemporary visitability, Issues in cultural and media studies*. London: Open University Press.

Dupront, A. (1993). *Il Sacro. Crociate e pellegrinaggi, Linguaggi e immagini*. Torino : Bollati Boringhieri.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Macdonald, S. and Fyfe, G. (1996). *Theorizing museums: representing identity and diversity in a changing world*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Mairesse, F. (2014). *Le culte des musées*. Bruxelles : Académie royale de Belgique.

Merleau-Ponty, C. (2017). *Du lieu de culte à la salle de musée - Muséologie des édifices religieux*. Paris : L’Harmattan.

O’Neill, M. (2015). Museums and mortality, *Material Religion. The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief*

Paine, C. (2000). *Godly things: museums, objects and religion*. London: Leicester University Press.

Paine, C. (2013). *Religious objects in museums: private lives and public duties*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Ronström, O. (2008). *Kulturarvspolitik. Visby: från sliten småstad till medeltidsikon*. 182, 196-197.

Sullivan, B. M. (ed.) (2015). *Sacred Objects in Secular Spaces: Exhibiting Asian Religions in Museums*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

UNESCO website: http://whc.unesco.org/en/religious-sacred-heritage/ (23/8/2017).

Sacred at the Museum: Gothic wooden shrines[1] wandering between church and museal space

Anna Żakiewicz
Warsaw, Poland

In an influential essay written in 1971, entitled *The Museum, a Temple or the Forum?* Duncan Cameron argued that museums were in the throes of an identity crisis, unable to figure out who or what they were, and that this identity crisis was leading to widespread confusion about the appropriate role of museums in society. Should they define their identity as "temples of the muses" focusing on the collection, preservation, interpretation, and display of artifacts and natural objects? Or should they move away from the traditional emphasis on things and instead become "museums of ideas" — forums for public debate around the pressing social, political, and moral issues of the day?

The debate is ongoing today and curators have to remember that each exhibition is not only a simple presentation of the objects but also creates a special artificial space detached from everyday life. In some cases, the space could even be seen as genuine sacred space – particularly if the objects exhibited are important reminders of national identity, history, or are connected with a religious cult.

If we think about sacred space we usually imagine a church, a mosque, a synagogue or another kind of temple. It also could be a cemetery or another place devoted to deceased people, mainly who perished in tragic circumstances like war or other catastrophes. Visiting these places often requires special behavior and perhaps appropriate clothing. As Mircea Eliade (1965) wrote, sacred space is always separated and divided from everyday reality, it is something "other" – as in the Latin word "sacer", which contains an idea of separation. For Rudolf Otto (1969), the experience of the sacred, including the fear of divine power, brings us to another reality, what for Eliade was "sacrum", appearing as "real *par excellence*".

---

1. These shrines were objects of sculpture or painting that were placed in areas along the church walls, representing saints or events, or special characteristics of Christ and the Virgin Mary, where the faithful could pray. The central altar of the church was for celebrating mass by the congregation, whereas individuals could pray at shrines at any time. [note of the editor]

Some temples are not only sacred places where we can pray and meet our Gods and saints; sometimes they are monuments and/or museums – examples of old architecture full of artworks – paintings, sculptures, stained glass, furniture, textiles, etc. – worth seeing not only for religious reasons but because of their art and/or history. Quite often the situation is reversed – sacred objects are kept and exhibited in museums. What is the reason for that?

Temples and museums create ceremonial spaces that are quite different from other kinds of spaces. Both have a different feeling of time, sometimes similar to feeling time in a theatre during a show. Carol Duncan (1995) wrote about the museum as a special kind of stage and compared a museum to a medieval cathedral with its particular organization of inner space. She also quoted Philip Rhys Adams (1954) who saw the display in art museums as theatre scenography, which organizes museum objects like actors entering a scene or leaving it in a strictly planned moment and place.

It is worth noticing that in the Middle Ages there were no museums at all – European artworks existed only in churches or in private collections, and were objects of cult. What is more, churches also hosted liturgical dramas – a kind of special performance strictly connected with a ritual of service. The best examples were liturgical dramas produced on the occasions of Christmas and Easter – the most important events in Christian religious life. The first is connected with the birth of Jesus Christ, and the second with his death by crucifixion at the age of 33. The life of Jesus was the main theme of medieval panel paintings and sculptures assembled together as altar *retabulae* placed in the interior space of medieval churches. People could pray in front of them, and they also served as an important part of the rituals of holy mass and in liturgical dramas. For instance, a wooden sculpture of a sitting or standing Saint Mary with Child "played" a main role in *Ordo Stellae*, a liturgical drama produced in churches since the 12th century, on January 6th during the celebration of Epiphany when three clerics playing the roles of three Mages met in the center of a church and went together to an altar to donate their gifts to the Virgin and Her Newborn Son, announcing Him as God (Żakiewicz, 1991). This experience was very similar to theatre. Another similarity to the stage in museums is when objects play their roles in narratives created by curators who mount permanent or temporary exhibitions.

Many gothic wooden shrines, pieces with sculptures in their center and painted panels as their wings, which primarily belonged to Polish Catholic churches were relocated to museums in 1945-1946, and shortly afterwards, in postwar Poland went mainly to the National Museum in Warsaw. Its director, Professor Stanisław Lorentz (1899-1991), had extensive experience in protecting artworks – during WWII he successfully saved many of them from destruction or theft. After the war the situation of artworks connected with religious cult became even worse. The new Communist order in Poland after 1948 forbade religion, and so the artworks were in real danger again. Gothic shrines with figures of saints and painted panels telling all the stories from the lives of Christ, Saint Mary, and other saints could be seen as church and religious propaganda and risked destruction by Communistic authorities. But the shrines were also valuable medieval artworks, so Professor Lorentz decided to remove many of them from churches to the National Museum in Warsaw – the biggest and the most important state cultural institution in Poland. This action guaranteed safety and also a professional care – especially with regard to conservation.

Before WWII the medieval collection at the National Museum in Warsaw counted 28 items only – bought or donated legally. In 1945 it was enriched by 23 objects and in 1946 by 71. Between 1948 and 1963 the last 7 items entered the museum (Dobrzeniecki, 1972; Kochanowska-Reiche, 2003). All of them originated from the Northern and Western areas of Poland, called Pommerania and Silesia – lands that had belonged to Germany before the war and were transferred to Poland as a result of conferences of the so-called Great Three (Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt) in Yalta (Crimean Peninsula, February 1945) and Potsdam (Germany, July-August 1945). An earlier conference in Tehran (November-December 1943) with the same participants had moved the German-Polish border to the Oder and Neisse rivers. So the action of bringing all the artworks to central Poland was the result of political decisions. Another aspect was the fact that West Germany (BRD) accepted the western border of Poland created by Great Three in 1945 only in December 1970 (ultimately confirmed by Bundestag, the German Parliament, in January 1992) – and before that, nobody was sure if the areas in Pomerania and Silesia and all their "content" were safe from reclamation.

But for many people the shrines at the museum were still religious objects, so they came to the museum to pray in front of them.

And what about people who do not need to pray? Or even are not faithful Catholics at all? Who know nothing about Jesus and His Mother? They certainly need some more information. But – among others – Ann Chinnery (2012) believes that learning the facts about the object — categorizing it, determining its cultural context and historical time period — is important, but all that can come later, after we have let the objects "begin to work their power" on us in whatever way that might be (Chinnery, 2012, p. 275). Could we agree that medieval wooden shrines exhibited at the museum have enough power to attract people?

After regime changes in Poland in 1989 – the dismantling of the communist government – the Polish Catholic Church returned to a strong position and churches demanded to get back all the sacred alters and objects from the museum. The directors and curators obviously wanted to keep the shrines so they devoted the Gallery of Medieval Art to the great personality of Polish Church – Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński (1901-1981). He was Primate of Poland from 1948, widely seen as a hero fighting for religious freedom during the communist era, imprisoned by the government during 1953-1956, and was a close friend and supporter of Pope John Paul II. Naming Cardinal Wyszyński patron of the gallery was accepted by church authorities, and the gallery was consecrated by the Primate of Poland, Józef Glemp, in 1990. Thus the shrines became sacred, not only by their primary function in the Middle Ages as important elements of worship in churches, but also by the additional act of *stricte* religious sanctification of the whole museum gallery – the place where they were exhibited. But it did not help, and during 1990s nine shrines were returned to their former sites in the church of Saint Mary in Gdańsk (Pomerania – Northern Poland). Other shrines are still in the museum. Are they sacred where they are? Where should they be in the near future?

As Jason Farago (2015) pointed out, churches and cathedrals were at the top of the architectural hierarchy in centuries past, and even today they are an interesting challenge for architects. But recently museums have become the form of building that every serious architect dreams of designing. To mention only a few of famous examples, the spiral of the Guggenheim Museum designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in New York City in 1959, and the Guggenheim in Bilbao designed by Frank O. Gehry in 1997, the New Museum at the Bowery (NYC, Manhattan) designed by Kazuyo Sejima and Ryue Nishizava in 2010 – these and other museums are today the pinnacle of architectural eminence. And even the building of the National Museum in Warsaw, completed in 1938, is a great monument of modernistic architecture designed by Stanisław Tołwiński (1887-1951).

The great donors of the 21st century do not give much money to religious institutions – but a new museum can attract the sort of budget that would once have been reserved for a cathedral. Regarding architectural ambition, art museums could be seen as the new churches. The art museum has supplanted the church as the pinnacle of architectural ambition, but a more curious ecclesiastical shift may be taking place inside the museum's walls. These days we frequently use religious language when talking about art. We make "pilgrimages" to museums to see in person famous objects or interesting exhibitions. We experience "transcendence" before major paintings or installations. Especially important works – Mona Lisa at the Louvre – are often displayed in their own niches rather than in historical presentations, all the better for genuflection. What is the busiest day of the week for most contemporary art museums? That would be Sunday: the day we used to reserve for another house of worship.

The situation described above raises many more questions. But the most important seems to be: what is the basic difference between gothic shrines displayed in a museum or in a church? And – according to the idea of a new museology with its postulate of a critical museum as a forum – we can accept museums without objects, but what about temples without God?

References

Adams, P.R. (1954). Towards a strategy of presentation. *Museum,* 1, 4.

Cameron, D. (1971). Museum, a temple or a forum. *Curator*, 14, March, 11-24.

Chinnery, A. (2012). Temple or forum? On new museology and education for social change. In C. Ruitenberg (Ed.), *Philosophy of Education 2012* (pp. 269–276). Urbana-Champaign, IL: Philosophy of Education Society.

Dobrzeniecki, T. (1972). *Malarstwo tablicowe*. [Panel Paintings]. Warszawa: Muzeum Narodowe.

Duncan, C. (1995). *Art Museum as Ritual*. In *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums,* (pp. 7-20). London, New York: Routlege.

Eliade, M. (1965). *Le sacré et le profane*, Paris: Gallimard.

Farago, J. (2015, July 16). *Why museums are the new churches?* Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20150716-why-museums-are-the-new-churches

Kochanowska-Reiche, M. (2003). *Mistyczne Średniowiecze* [The Mistical Middle Ages]. Olszanica: BoSz.

Otto, R. (1969). *Le sacré*, Paris: Payot.

Żakiewicz, A. (1991). Gotyckie retabula baldachimowe [Gothic canopy altars]. *Ikonotheka*, 4, 49-82.

The Sacred: a Museum or a Temple

Zhang Wenli

Research Center for Chinese Frontier Archaeology of Jilin University – Changchun, China

The purpose of this symposium is to discuss the links between museology and the sacred, especially through what unites and what differentiates the museum from the temple. I am more interested in the relationship among the sacred, museums and temples.

The term "temple" is not unusual in museological literature, as we have seen in the writings of some scholars, including Gilman (1923), Weil (1995), Cameron (1971), etc., nor is the term "sacred" uncommon. The works of some other scholars, such as Ripley (1969), Côté (2003), and Liao (2013) are also very good examples. In this sense, there seems to be a certain number of links between the temple and the museum because of the sacred. However, in many cases, the temple is only a metaphor. For example, the National Museum of China is referred to as the ancestral temple for the Chinese nation. It does not mean that the museum itself is a genuine temple; it just means that it is a treasury/sanctuary of cultural heritage or the spiritual home of Chinese culture. Here, I do not intend to discuss the temple in the sense of a metaphor, but to investigate the temple in reality and its relationship with the museum and the sacred.

The sacred: its meanings and properties

According to the Oxford definition, the sacred belongs to the consecrated and the religious; to dedicated objects or purposes; and objects or persons affiliated with a deity/god or venerated as holy (McGowan, 2008, p.55).

If this definition is accepted, it is obvious that the sacred is a special quality, and exists in a variety of formats in many things outside the religious, and is not exclusive to the latter.

However, in my own opinions, the sacred is not an intrinsic attribute of things, and not attached to some definite objects. It is merely one specific kind of emotion which arises from the subject under given conditions. There is no universality of the sacred. An object is sacred in some people's beliefs, and on the contrary, not necessarily sacred in others'. Many things, also including human beings, are likely to arouse the emotion of the sacred in somebody. The perception of the sacred is one among powerful emotions. Given suitable conditions, the sacred will appear in any space, regardless of a museum or a temple.

As a kind of emotion, the sacred means worship, veneration, and inviolability. It is the emotion which both unites and differentiates a museum from a temple.

The sacred: the links between a museum and a temple

The sacred is a common bond that unites the museum and the temple. A close relationship exists in both of them. Many scholars have discussed the relationship and expressed their own views on it. As Shaya (2005) states: “It is commonplace among art historians of antiquity, archaeologists, and historians to describe a Greek temple as a ‘museum’”. (Shaya, 2005, p.423).

In his paper, Robson makes some comments on the perceptions that several scholars have gained in examining the problem of the museum/temple relationship. Robson (2010) writes,

> *The art historian Carol Duncan laid the foundation for this line of inquiry and went the farthest in detailing the intimate connections (in terms of the physical structure, practice, and narrative description of experience) between religious sites and museums (Robson, 2010, p.122).*

Besides, Robson has further pointed out,

> *In drawing an explicit correlation between a museum and a church or temple, Goethe asserted that objects in museums should be approached with the same reverence afforded to icons in churches (Robson, 2010, p.125).*

These opinions are undoubtedly conducive to understanding a link between museums and temples. However, the links cannot be wholly revealed by these opinions. The transformation of the use of sacred objects is an important link between museums and temples.

There are two ways of transforming the use between two kinds of space, namely a museum and a temple. The first one is to make a temple into a museum directly. Another one is to develop some activities in a temple currently in use.

Many museums with which we are familiar today were initially temples. In China, there are a number of examples of converting a temple into a museum. One of the most famous is the Wu Hou Shrine of Chengdu (“Introduction to Wu Hou Shrine of Chengdu”, 2018), Sichuan Province, in southwest China, devoted to Liu Bei and Zhuge Liang. They were respectively the Emperor and the Prime Minister of the Shu state in the Three Kingdoms Period (220-280 AD). In 1984, the temple was transformed into a museum, namely the Wu Hou Shrine of Chengdu. Another example is the Jin Temple Museum of Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, in northern China that was developed from the Jinci temple

("Review on Jinci Temple", 2018), which initially was founded to commemorate the Duke Tang Shuyu of the Western Zhou Dynasty (ca.1100-771 B.C.). These temples are mostly dedicated to famous people in Chinese history. They offer an excellent introduction to the secularization of ancient places of worship that have been converted into museums. The above examples were on holy lands when first built. Even after becoming museums they still inspire the emotion of the sacred in their visitors.

Of course, there are a few of exceptions. It is to be noted that changing the function of buildings maybe not lead to the sacred, even if the building was originally used for religious purposes, and then to the loss of the sacred. For instance, the Simeonstift Monastery which later became the City Art Museum is a very good example (Ahrens, 1986). Under many circumstances, we do not feel the sacred. It is pointed out that the key reason is the lack of a high standing. Based on this, it is wrong to simply consider the museum as another form of temple.

Another way is to develop some activities in a temple that is currently in use.

> *Many of current shrines, still frequented by pilgrims, were also listed as World Heritage sites and have developed a specific museum activity, either in the form of museums or in the form of interpretation centers (ICOFOM, 2018).*

In China, a famous example is the Temple of Confucius of Qufu (*Introduction to the Temple*, 2018), Shandong province, in the eastern China. It is dedicated to the memory of Confucius, a great Chinese thinker and social philosopher of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.), and UNESCO accepted it as a World Heritage site in 1993. It has now become a world-famous tourist attraction. A large number of people visit the temple every year. There are some activities inside the Temple, such as exhibitions, and so on. In fact, it has become a museum-like facility, not only a temple in a general sense. Robson remarked on this, and suggested: "Contemporary temples or monasteries in China that are open to outside visitors tend to be more akin to museums than to living religious sites" (Robson, 2010, p.126).

Meanwhile, there is another trend to making a museum religious. Among some of the newborn museums, the great temple-like building is more popular. These museum buildings form a beautiful, urban landscape. Visiting museums becomes more and more an activity like a pilgrimage. The phenomenon is not unique to China. Robson (2010) examined "how museums in Asia function in religious ways and how religious sites, for example, temples, have come to function as museums" (Robson, 2010, p.121).

As a result, Robson has pointed out that a confluence appeared in museums and religious sites (such as temples, etc.) in Asia. He predicts,

> *Modern museums do not function in exclusively religious ways, and religious sites have not all become like museums, but each kind of ins-*

> *titution has been able to adopt the other's role with little alteration in infrastructure or content (Robson, 2010, pp.127-128).*

This is an interesting phenomenon; it deserves our attention.

The sacred: the differences between a museum and a temple

The sacred exists not only in museums, but also in temples. Nevertheless, it is not exactly the same in both institutions.

As Duncan has pointed out, museums are in some aspects similar to churches. However, Carrier (2009) obviously does not agree with Duncan. According to Carrier, man must obey the religious ceremony in a church, but in museums the visitor is free to select or not some kind of activity. We can deduct from this that museums are different from traditional sacred places such as churches, temples, etc. This is the reason why the atmosphere of sanctity is much weaker in museums.

Moreover, the basis of the museum's existence is different from that of the temple. The temple depends upon faith, and the museum is based on rationality and knowledge. Because of this, we grasp the sacred in museums in a different way. In other words, they represent two different kinds of the sacred. Therefore, I do not consider the advent of the museum as another form of the religious, though they are both associated with the sacred.

Conclusion

To sum up, in this paper I explore the relationships between the museum and the temple from the perspective of the sacred. My own opinions are as follows:

1) The sacred is not an inherent property of things, and not attached to some given objects or spaces. It is merely one kind of emotion which may be provoked by the object or space under specific circumstances.

2) In terms of the sacred, the museum links with the temple because of the sacred, and for the same reason, they separate from each other. Although there are some similarities between a museum and a temple, they are in essence totally different. In fact, even today they develop in parallel with each other.

3) Meanwhile, the confluence of museums and temples is becoming increasingly clear. The impact of this confluence is worthy of discussion in the future.

References

Ahrens, D. (1986). The transformation of a romanesque monastery into a public museum. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 29(3), 173-182.

Cameron, D. F. (1971), The Museum, a Temple or a Forum. *Curator: The Museum Journal,* 14, 11-24.

Carrier. D. (2009). *Museum Skepticism: A History of the Display of Art in Public Galleries (Chinese version),* Nanjing: Yilin Press.

Côté, M. (2003). From masterpiece to artefact: The sacred and the profane in museums. *Museum International,* 55(2), 32-37.

Gilman, B. I. (1923). *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method (2nd ed.).* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

ICOFOM. *Call for Contributions and Publications (Eng.).* (2018, February 1). Retrieved from http://network.icom.museum/icofom/meetings/next-conference/.

Liao, C. J. (2013). Sacredness and "Museamification". *Museology Quarterly,* 20(2), 67-79.

McGowan, D. (2008). Materialising the sacred. (pp. 55) ANU E Press.

Ripley, S. D. (1969). *The Sacred Grove: Essays on Museums*. New York, the United States: Simon and Schuster.

Robson, J. (2010). Faith in museums: On the confluence of museums and religious sites in Asia. Pmla, 125(1), 121-128.

Shaya, J. (2005). The Greek temple as museum: The case of the legendary treasure of Athena from lindos. *American Journal of Archaeology, 109(3), 423-442*.

Weil, S. E. (1995). A Cabinet of Curiosities. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

成都武侯祠简介 *(Introduction to Wu Hou Shrine of Chengdu)*. (2018, March 8). *Chengdu Wu Hou Shrine*. Retrieved from http://www.wuhouci.net.cn/about.html.

晋祠简介 *(Review on Jinci Temple)*. (2018, March 8). *Jinci Temple*. Retrieved from www.chinajinci.com/

曲阜三孔：孔庙 *(Introduction to Temple of Confucius of Qufu)*. (2018, March 8). *Qufu Bureau of Culture Relics*. Retrieved from http://www.qfwbw.cn/a/wbzy/jd/20160324/2924.html.

The very notion of the sacred seems surprisingly close to some central themes in museology. The sacred, like intangible cultural heritage, is manifested as "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith" (Unesco, 2003). Many museums are dedicated to the manifestations of the sacred, either because of their collections originating from sacred spaces (burials, temples and so on), or because they are directly related to the religious cult (paintings and religious works, objects of the cult). The museum world itself has been regularly represented visually through its relationship with the sacred: through architectural form, interior spaces, or activities. This publication brings together the papers submitted for the 41th symposium organized by ICOFOM under the general theme Museology and the Sacred, in Tehran (Iran), 15–19 October 2018.

About the editor

François Mairesse is a museologist, Professor of Museology and Cultural Economics at Sorbonne nouvelle - Paris 3 and at the Ecole du Louvre (CERLIS, Labex ICCA). He is President of the International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM).

ICOM international council of museums