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To cite this article: Heidi Hein-Kircher & Tanja Vahtikari (2022) City museums in the emerging cities of Eastern Europe, 1880–1939: Introduction, Museum History Journal, 15:1, 1-11, DOI: [10.1080/19369816.2022.2042069](https://doi.org/10.1080/19369816.2022.2042069)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19369816.2022.2042069>



Published online: 14 Mar 2022.



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INTRODUCTION



## City museums in the emerging cities of Eastern Europe, 1880–1939: Introduction

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### ABSTRACT

In the late nineteenth century, cities from the Austro-Hungarian, Prussian and Russian Empires gained new importance and developed ambitions to become regional and/or national centres. City museums became key vehicles with which to advance this project. Before 1918, modern urbanism was tightly interwoven with projects of nation building. After the First World War, and within the context of newly independent states, this interdependence between urbanism and nationalism was further enhanced as cities served as national capitals and important representatives of the new state. Providing case studies of Warsaw, Prague, Zagreb, Gdańsk (Danzig), and Gdynia, this special issue examines the modernising role of city museums in multi-ethnic East Central Europe, from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s. It provides important insights into the interplay of modernisation, urbanism, and nationalism, as well as the negotiation of community and identity at various levels. Urban heritage is often regarded as a product of recent postmodern economic and societal changes. Exploring the history of these city museums shows that the uses of the urban past, and the relevance to urban history in the present, have longer historical trajectories. This issue aims to provide the incentive for further, synchronically and diachronically comparative and complementary research.

### KEYWORDS

East Central Europe; city museum; urban heritage; nationalism

In the late nineteenth century, cities from the Austro-Hungarian, Prussian and Russian Empires gained new importance and developed ambitions to become regional and/or national centres.<sup>1</sup> City museums, established in East Central Europe in an accelerated manner from the 1880s onward, became key vehicles with which to advance this new kind of urban visibility and identity-building. Before 1918, modern urbanism was tightly interwoven with projects of nation-building. After the First World War, and within the context of newly independent states, this interdependence between urbanism and nationalism was further enhanced as cities served as national capitals or in other ways as important representatives of the new state. Drawing on case studies of Warsaw, Prague, Zagreb, Gdańsk (Danzig), and Gdynia, this special issue examines the modernising role of city museums in multi-ethnic East Central Europe, from the late nineteenth century up until the 1930s. We argue that affording a closer look into

city museums in the region provides important insights into the interplay of modernisation, urbanism and nationalism, as well as the negotiation of community and identity at various levels. Urban heritage is often regarded as a product of recent postmodern economic and societal changes.<sup>2</sup> However, exploring the history of city museums in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shows that the uses of the urban past, and the according of relevance to urban history in the present, have longer historical trajectories.

While national museums, as institutions which legitimised nation-building through heritage, have been the focus of a burgeoning literature,<sup>3</sup> the history of city museums, a prevalent museum type in Europe and North America, has received much less scholarly attention, especially in the East Central European context.<sup>4</sup> Bringing into a conversation the city museums of Warsaw, Prague, Zagreb, Gdańsk (Danzig), and Gdynia, and comparing their strategies and practices of memory and image work, allows this special issue to shed light on the particularities of exhibiting cities in East Central Europe. Thus, it focuses on a very special 'genre' of museums and aims to give important impulses to further research. The special issue strives to explore the political, social and cultural contexts and circumstances which led to the establishment and initial blossoming period of city museums. We are particularly interested in the conceptualisation of the role of city museums, their exhibitions and possible audiences. We are also attentive to their conscious creation, as well as the reasons lying beyond their establishment. The format for a city museum existed on a global scale in cities embossed by European culture – its East Central European variants reflect the specific characteristics of cities, of national movements, and state building, as well as the legacies of imperial rule in the region.

## **1. East Central European urbanism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century**

Interpreting the emergence of city museums in East Central Europe as an integral part of the urbanisation, modernisation and nationalisation processes, we must provide a brief and focused look at the political and social situation of cities in the region, which in comparison to Western and Central Europe, was less urbanised.<sup>5</sup> This region was highly multi-ethnic in population structure, and the social divisions paralleled the ethnic and denominational ones. East Central European cities were part of continental empires<sup>6</sup> and became objects of efforts to reform these empires. Although the cities were multi-ethnic in population, often containing a high percentage of Jews and most often made up of three or more different ethnic groups, only one ethnic group dominated local politics. Thus, the ethnic structure of the cities altered from city to city and differed in most cases from their hinterlands too. In most cases, the political elites (and hence the national groups) changed during the period under investigation because of the enlarged possibilities for political participation engendered by reforms in urban law and social change from the mid-nineteenth century. Imperial elites gradually lost influence at the local level, whereas elites from dominating ethnic groups gained more power.

We can observe everywhere the first halting steps toward this process. For instance, the Habsburg Imperial Law on Local Government led to a reorganisation of local elites as early as the 1860s. A similar process started in the Russian borderlands at the Baltic Sea, for example in Tallinn/Reval or in Riga,<sup>7</sup> about four decades later. In other Russian Western borderlands, as in the case of Warsaw, discussed in this special issue,

the local government was in the hands of the Russian representatives, and the leading Polish elites were prevented from establishing their own educational and cultural institutions. When local elites were able to take over local government from the imperial administrations, they tried to strengthen their position and pursued nationalising and modernising policies in those areas in which they could decide, as the cases of Zagreb and Prague presented here make clear.<sup>8</sup> The assignment of local affairs to the respective local elites should not be interpreted as a general weakness of the empire even if this policy was initiated within the framework of different reforms, but as an attempt to impose more administrative order in the provinces and to introduce the borderlands to new administrative structures.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, the growing need to govern the city reflected the rapid urban growth during the period, which, nevertheless, began later in East Central Europe than in Western Europe and was not associated with large-scale industrialisation. During the last third of the nineteenth century, the city governments had to face the challenges of urban growth with regard to urban planning, public health, and, last but not least, culture and education. Combined with ethnic strife, which emerged between the different groups and led to (often violently) contested urban space, the East Central European cities developed very specific understandings of urban modernity, which were often nationally 'coloured'. Particularly after 1918, when the state building processes took place, the few bigger cities in East Central Europe engaged in a 'race to modernity'<sup>10</sup> in order to demonstrate progress and not appear backward.<sup>11</sup> As Martin Kohlrausch concludes, 'the political legitimacy [of the new states] depended increasingly on the modernisation of the urban space'.<sup>12</sup> The former provincial capitals and regional metropolises were part of multi-ethnic democracies, which underlaid the 'double transformation'<sup>13</sup> from monarchical empires to democracies and nationalising states (but with high percentages of ethnic minorities). In this situation, they had to re-narrate the given city's history to mesh with contemporary nationalising politics, as the case of Gdańsk museum exemplifies in our special issue. Cultural and educational institutions fitted well in this re-narration, because they made it possible to 'invent traditions'.<sup>14</sup>

## 2. Urbanism, nationalism, and city museums

Today city museums are intended to serve as (with other cities) competing showcases of the importance of urban history, to create positive local identity and to offer ways of public history and public participation that resonate with wider urban audiences.<sup>15</sup> The first objective of this special issue is to show that these functions of city museums are not only a recent phenomenon, but that perceiving the city and the city's history as a particular cultural capital was tightly interwoven with the urbanisation and modernisation processes of the nineteenth century. While generally the establishment of national and art museums as institutions of exhibition and education was part of the bourgeois way of life, such museums were often founded within cities without a specific urban agenda. In contrast, the early city museums focused on the cities' own histories and stressed the performances of the city dwellers.

What were the main characteristics of city museums during the period from the second half of the nineteenth century up until the Second World War? First and foremost, city museums were museums founded, run and financed by cities and their local

governments. They were established to educate visitors according to the visions of the financiers and their interpretation of the city's and/or region's history. At the same time, it is important to note the more diversified agency at play in relation to early city museums. Even if the respective local government often decided on the founding of a museum, leading cultural elites, associations and individual history and museum professionals played an important role, as will be shown in these case studies. Establishing a new museum meant acquiring objects to be put on display, but often cities converted already existing collections into a city museum, as, for example, in the Stettin/Szczecin's city museum, opened in 1913,<sup>16</sup> and in the Gdynia city museum, which is discussed in this special issue.

By the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, museums and exhibitions, including city museums, had become distinguishable markers of urbanisation and urban culture.<sup>17</sup> They became the 'most important cultural institution in European societies of the nineteenth century and, as such, played a prominent role in public life',<sup>18</sup> hence, it is possible to speak of a 'museum age'.<sup>19</sup> City museums were founded and intended to stand 'in the middle of society',<sup>20</sup> much as, for example, city theatres were supposed to be. Obviously, an important distinction of city museums is that they were and are about cities. In the midst of the rapid urban growth of the turn of the century, the objects that city museums put on display, and the narratives that they transmitted through these displays, were entangled with questions of urbanisation and modernisation.<sup>21</sup> In the process, city museums were understood to fulfil three interrelated roles. Firstly, they were to comment on urban growth and progress, either by showing an 'unchangeable urban past' or by documenting the more recent changes, in order to illustrate historical phases in urban development. These narratives joined the city in question to the wider societal narratives of linear progress.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, by displaying the urban past, city museums became vehicles for the newly established local governments to showcase how successful they were in governing the city and managing the present effects of modernisation. Thirdly, with a great number of newcomers moving to cities, city museums acted as arenas for the negotiation of their integration into the urban community. As with any heritage, the past was used for the purposes of the present and the future.<sup>23</sup>

City museums were part of the educational goals of local governments. In his seminal work concerning the nineteenth-century public museum, and drawing on Foucault and Gramsci, Tony Bennett depicted public museums as spaces of representation and knowledge which, together with other similar institutions of the period, were concerned with making the population governable. Museums were to 'to render power visible to the people, and, at the same time, to represent to them that power as their own'.<sup>24</sup> This was accomplished by means of monitoring public's behaviour, but also in more complex ways of organising the relations between space and vision. Those included, for example, the display of objects, rules concerning how to behave in museum space, or different spatial arrangements, including the control of visitors' routes.<sup>25</sup> However, it has been pointed out that Bennett's approach left the variety of subject positions of the museum visitors largely unexplored. The museum audience, after all, was not a homogeneous group, and there were several ways to experience a museum exhibition, not just one.<sup>26</sup> People did not simply consume the narratives presented in the city museum exhibitions passively. The level of people's participation and engagement

varied from unanimous or ambivalent to active and critical. For example, people took an active role and left their mark on the narrative of the city by donating objects to city museum collections. In addition, it should be pointed out that, as with many other elements of the nineteenth and twentieth century 'exhibitionary complex', the two objectives of education and entertainment were also often intertwined in city museums.<sup>27</sup>

When differentiating and defining city museums, we need to take a brief glance at the history of national museums. The national museum institution began to form in Europe from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century onwards, as royal and private collections became public and reflected a new kind of relationship between the state and its citizens. National museums were founded in both long-established as well as new nation-states, and they were formed in a complex relational relationship with other spatial regimes, including, in particular, the imperial and regional. National museums not only included archaeological, history and art museums, but presented a great variety, comprising ethnographic, imperial, military, technical, natural history and specialist museums.<sup>28</sup> In addition to national museums, local histories and memory institutions played an important part in localising national memory and identity and creating national unity. According to this idea, the various local projects of history and memory demonstrated the role of local communities as sub-narratives and building blocks of the nation. When viewed together, they constituted a national history.<sup>29</sup> The local and regional museums that have most often been associated with national projects are rural folk-history museums, such as Skansen in Sweden. These museums were commonly anti-urban by nature, as they showcased the agricultural peasant traditions of the nation, preferring these over the urban and industrial representations of the past.<sup>30</sup> City and city-regional museums are rarely discussed as local memory institutions working to localise the narratives and practices of the nation; however, as this special issue shows, they were firmly part of the equation, not least in East Central Europe. In a similar manner to that in European national museums during the long nineteenth century, 'the different spatial levels of identity-formation [were] all present' in city museums, 'with culture, history and national politics powerfully intersecting'.<sup>31</sup>

As it was not possible to create national museums within the imperial framework in East Central Europe, the only possibility to emphasise and show nationalist ambitions was through local institutions. The trait that makes city museums in East Central Europe particular is their proxy function before the First World War and their conceptualisation as representing only the dominating nation and not multi-ethnicity.<sup>32</sup> Hence, the second premise of the proposed special issue is that the emergence of city museums in East Central Europe was, in addition to being part of a modernising (bourgeois) way of life, closely interconnected with the rise of nationalism. City museums were assigned an important part of a nationalising strategy before and even after the First World War, since they were often designed to represent the nation's heritage in a particular way. The exhibitions and programmes of city museums drew significantly on the ambitions of the locally ruling nationalities and their interpretations of a local (but also a national) past. Presenting the city's history became a tool for the cities in East Central Europe to 'paraphrase' and foster the nation's history. Consequently, serving as substitutes for the non-existent national-history museums, city museums gained importance as representatives of the whole nation.

Since in multi-ethnic Eastern European cities the public space and educational institutions were highly contested among the different ethnic groups, the city museums should also be understood as part of this contestation: They were used to invent and showcase local traditions and a local narrative of history appropriate to the politically dominant ethnic group. Under these circumstances, as the articles included in this special issue show, the city museums' activities were often circumscribed by the general task that the leading ethnic groups imposed: the cities were seen as a replacement for the lacking nation-state, and their museums were hence understood to serve this purpose, despite the fact that the local elites had to express their loyalty towards the empire. After the states in the region gained independence, the city museums were often used to legitimize a new state. Hence, the region saw another wave of founding of city museums, for example in Ljubljana<sup>33</sup> in 1935 (as part of the Yugoslav state), where the newly excavated urnfield culture, Hallstatt- and Latène, and Roman relicts provided the incentive. Other incentives could be historical anniversaries, such as the one in Graz,<sup>34</sup> where the city museum was founded as result of the city's 800-year anniversary in 1928.

Drawing on the above considerations, the articles in the special issue examine the role collecting, exhibiting and narrating the urban past in the framework of city museums played in the modernisation, urbanisation and nation building in East Central Europe. As city museums were connected to contemporary urban issues, it is important to reflect on how the modern city of the late nineteenth century and of the interwar period was imagined in relation to the references and remains of its past. Since we assume that city museums formed an important part in a strategy of the local political elites and/or dominant ethnic groups to make 'their' city and its development visible to their own nation, and to reflect on how capable and modern the city (and hence the given nation) was, the special issue is also about the kind of historical narratives, and counter-narratives, that were at play, and how authenticity was produced in the process. In a discussion of the establishment and activity of city museums in Eastern Europe, it is therefore important to take into consideration the kinds of strategies and practices of image and heritage production that were applied in exhibiting East Central European cities. A final, but nonetheless important question for city museums is whether or not the newly created city museums resonated with their multi-ethnic urban audiences.

In light of the nation-building tasks, it seems quite understandable why the 'dream' of establishing a city museum in Warsaw, discussed by Aleksander Łupienko, was so important for the Poles and why it could not be fulfilled. As Warsaw was being Russified, Polish cultural representations were suppressed, and no institution was allowed to reminisce concerning the fact that Warsaw had served as the capital of the Polish Commonwealth until 1795. This suppression of Polish culture finally led to the concept of 'Organic Work',<sup>35</sup> the culturally educative and economic work aimed at fostering the Polish nation's roots, which ascribed cultural institutions like museums particular importance for the survival of the nation. For the Polish elites, and hence for the national movement, exhibiting the city's history had the major goal of improving historical consciousness. A first step was improving and restoring the Old Town—which was very neglected until the 1890s—in order to highlight Warsaw's history. Exhibiting 'Old Warsaw' was the next logical step, and could only be achieved temporally in the form of an exhibition. This

could take place only after Polish independence when a city museum could be created, envisioned by the Polish *Inteligencja* as a sanctuary of memory, as Łupienko concludes. Although other national movements in the region did not explicitly develop such a concept as Organic Work, they pursued quite similar aims and assigned cultural representations similar tasks.

The complex positioning of the city museum between the diverse allegiances and the overlapping scales and narratives of heritage becomes visible in Jaroslav Ira's article, which discusses the relationship between the Prague City Museum and the urban modernisation and nationalisation of Prague. During a period of fifty years from the 1880s onwards, Prague transformed itself from the provincial hub of Bohemia into a modern metropolis, into the head of the Czech nation, and into the capital of the new Czechoslovak state. Ira shows how, in the framework of the city museum, the history of Prague – through material objects, exhibitions, narratives and museum space – was conceptualised and materialised as an interplay between national and urban pasts. Ira makes a compelling case for the turn-of-the-twentieth-century city museums being connected to contemporary urban issues, as well as to audiences of the day. Ira also demonstrates the diversity and complexity of the messages conveyed by the curators working in the Prague City Museum and their reception by the publics. He accomplishes this despite the scarcity of the existing first-hand visitor narrations, showing that there are many ways to uncover the historical audience experience.

The Prague case points out that urban agendas also remained important for city museums within the context of the newly established nation states. Still, we may observe a certain change with regard to city museums in Central Eastern Europe after 1918, for the obvious reason that, after the establishment of national museums, they did not need to act as replacements for these institutions. By examining the example of Zagreb's city museum, Dragan Damjanović, Željka Miklošević, and Patricija Počanić discuss changing tenets in the instrumentalization of Zagreb's history by local authors, and a shift towards a stronger focus on urban modernity and the city's national importance before and after 1918. As the provincial government followed pro-Hungarian politics, the Zagreb City Government took upon itself to promote the Croatian national identity by launching and supporting cultural projects and initiatives as an anti-Hungarian expression. In line with these activities, the city council founded a city museum in 1907, where narratives of the history and culture of the city started to be shaped on cultural and historical evidence that also served to represent the Croatian nation and national identity formation. After the creation of Yugoslavia as a Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, not only the role of the city but also the role of Croats had to be re-defined as part of the 'Yugoslavian nation'. Therefore, the millennial anniversary of the Croatian kingdom in 1925 was specifically employed as an incentive to strengthen the national discourse and utilise the Zagreb city museum as a national institution. Because Croatia was de facto only a 'province' within Yugoslavia, the mission of Croatian national representation was thus limited to Zagreb's city museum.

In general, the city museums founded before 1918 had to adapt their mission to the new conditions after 1918. They needed to readjust the representation of the city's past within the framework of the newly independent nation state, to negotiate the narrative complexities between the local, regional and national identity building tasks, and to tell complementary narratives to the visitors. Any city museum founded after



1918, however, started within that setting. Thus, in Gdynia, the museum was only founded in a port city, developing from a village at the shoreline of the Baltic Sea to the only Polish port city since the second half of the 1920s, as a counter to the German-dominated Free City of Danzig / Gdańsk. As Marcin Szerle shows, there was nothing historically urban to exhibit in the Gdynia city museum. Hence the city museum's aims could be described as threefold: first, to show and legitimize the fact that the Kaschubian culture was Polish and hence the small territorial strip known in German revisionist propaganda as the 'corridor' belonged to the Polish Republic, second, to showcase the increasing importance of Gdynia as a port, and, third, to enhance the perception of Poland as a sea nation.

The fast growth of Gdynia into a port city was only possible because of the creation of the Free City of Gdansk, and its exclusion from the Polish territory and factual pro-German attitude. Despite the tradition of a port city run by the German bourgeoisie, the Free City had to define its existence and identify its territory which was greater than the city itself. Moreover, it was a construct that bore a heavy compromise character which had to be explained. To support that aim, the Free City established a museum, discussed by Adrian Mitter and Peter Oliver Loew, with a focus on its main founder and first director, the historian Erich Keyser. Since the Free City was considered to be a semi-autonomous state, it founded a State Regional Museum. The museum was somewhat exceptional, as it was a city museum located in a rural setting and included the city's surroundings. It was housed in a former bishop's palace, which was located outside of the city centre, but enabled the presentation of both urban and rural aspects of Danzig as a city-state. Thus, the Danzig museum serves as a case study for the analysis of the relationship between urban space and countryside in city museums, where a transfer of knowledge from the scientific community to the public took place. Although educating visitors about the region and its German past was the major task, German nationalist (right-wing) and anti-Polish interpretations of the city's past were also promulgated. On the one hand, the exhibitions were designed to underline the unity of Danzig with its historical surroundings now being part of the Free City, Poland, and Germany, while on the other hand, the museum had to create and stabilise the identity of the Free City of Danzig and its population within its new borders. Hence, the examples of city museums in Gdynia and the Free City Gdańsk belong perhaps to the most obvious example regarding the 'invention', politicisation and instrumentalization of cities' histories in Eastern European newly created states.

Since the body of research that deals with East Central European city museums is still relatively scarce, our special issue aims to provide the incentive for further, synchronically and diachronically comparative and complementary research, which should not only enhance museum history and heritage studies but urban history as well. In this special issue we have only been able to touch upon the issue of transnational connections between different city museums, which undoubtedly requires more research in the future. Equally so, public participation and the city museum audiences' experiences warrant further research, especially concerning what constitutes experience and how can it be researched historically.<sup>36</sup> In the contemporary situation, in which the societal role of the city museum is multifaceted, and presumably only becoming wider, we see it as highly important to continue to historicise the city museum as a complex phenomenon of modernity, in East Central Europe and beyond.

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This special issue is the result of a two-day conference, ‘Exhibiting cities – City museums in the emerging cities of East Central and Northern Europe, 1880–1939’, funded by the Leibniz research alliance Historical Authenticity and organised by the Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe, Marburg (Germany), Stadtmuseum Graz GmbH/Stadtarchiv (Austria) and the University of Tampere (Finland) and held on 15–16 October 2018. Our dear colleague and friend Eszter Gantner, who passed away in August 2019, was keen on advancing city museums as a particular form of knowledge transfer in cities and to put them on the research agenda for urban history in East Central Europe. Valuing highly her commitment, we want to dedicate this special issue to her.

## Notes

1. E. Gantner and H. Hein-Kircher, “‘Emerging Cities’ – Knowledge and Urbanization in Europe’s Borderlands 1880–1945 – Introduction,’ *Journal of Urban History*, 43 (2017), 575–86.
2. For further discussion, see D. C. Harvey, ‘Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies,’ *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7 (2001), 319–38.
3. See e.g., P. Aronsson and G. Elgenius, eds., *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe 1750–2010. Mobilization and legitimacy, continuity and change* (London: Routledge, 2015); T. Winter, ‘Heritage and Nationalism: An Unbreachable Couple,’ in *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, eds. by E. Waterton and S. Watson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 331–45.
4. For existing research, see, for example, E. Sandweiss, ‘History and Reality Have Become the Same Thing: City Museums and City Plans in London, 1912–2012,’ *Museum History Journal*, 7 (2014), 2–17; For East Central Europe, see, M. Rampley, M. Prokopyvych and N. Veszprémi, eds., *The Museum Age in Austria-Hungary. Art and Empire in the Long Nineteenth Century* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2021).
5. Although we are aware of the broad scholarly discussion about the definition and concept, we use “East Central Europe” in order to focus on the borderland regions connecting the European continental empires of Russia, Germany and the Habsburg monarchy and in which new states emerged after 1918. They were characterised by multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural societies and the cities in the region could be subsumed as variants of the European city. See the definition of H. Hein-Kircher and I. Misāns, ‘Städtegeschichte im Baltikum oder baltische Stadtgeschichte? Bestandsaufnahme und Versuch eines Impulses,’ in *Stadtgeschichte des Baltikums oder baltische Stadtgeschichte? Annäherungen an ein neues Forschungsfeld zur baltischen Geschichte*, ed. by ibid. (Marburg: Herder-Institute, 2016), pp. 7–8.
6. O. Batov and E. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzones of Empires. Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 2013); D. Staliunas, ed., *The Tsar, the Empire and The Nation. Dilemmas of Nationalization in Russia’s Western Borderlands, 1905–1915* (Budapest: Central European Univ. Press, 2021); A. V. Prusin, *The Lands Between. Conflict in the East European Borderlands 1870–1992* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2010), pp. 11–40.
7. K. Hallas-Murula, ‘Diffusion of European Modern City Planning around 1910: Transferring and Implementation of International Knowledge in Tallinn,’ *Journal of Urban History*, 43 (2017), 615–38; U. von Hirschhausen, *Die Grenzen der Gemeinsamkeit. Deutsche, Letten, Russen und Juden in Riga 1860–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

8. In reference to that H. Hein-Kircher, *Lembergs 'polnischen Charakter sichern'. Kommunalpolitik in einer multiethnischen Stadt der Habsburgermonarchie 1861/62–1914* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2020), p. 327 speaks of 'nationalising cities'.
9. J. Ganzenmüller and T. Tönsmeier, 'Einleitung: Vom Vorrücken des Staates in die Fläche. Ein europäisches Phänomen des langen 19. Jahrhunderts,' in *Vom Vorrücken des Staates in die Fläche. Ein europäisches Phänomen des langen 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by J. Ganzenmüller and T. Tönsmeier (Köln et al.: Böhlau, 2016), pp. 7–32; see also H. Hein-Kircher, 'Von Instrumenten der Durchstaatlichung zu Instrumenten des Nationalitätenkonflikts. Zur nationalitätenpolitischen Bedeutung von Städtestatuten am Beispiel des Lemberger Statuts,' *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Österreichs*, 8 (2018), 63–80.
10. J.C. Behrends and M. Kohlrausch, eds., *Races to Modernity. Metropolitan Aspirations in Eastern Europe 1890–1940* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014).
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12. M. Kohlrausch, 'Imperiales Erbe und Aufbruch in die Moderne. Neuere Literatur zur ostmitteleuropäischen Stadt,' *H-Soz-Kult*, November 16, 2015, <<https://www.hsozkult.de/literaturereview/page>>, [accessed 30.9.2021], p. 8.
13. H. Hein-Kircher and S. Kailitz, "Double transformations": Nation Formation and Democratization in Interwar East Central Europe,' *Nationalities Papers*, 46 (2018), 745–58.
14. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
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16. Szczecin Museums, <<https://muzeum.szczecin.pl/en/about/history.html>> [accessed 30.9.2021].
17. See, e.g., H. Meller, 'Imagining the Future of Cities through Exhibitions 1851–1914,' in *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, ed. by M. Amati and R. Freestone (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 19–34.
18. M. Rampley, 'Introduction. Museums and Cultural Politics in the Habsburg World,' in *The Museum Age in Austria-Hungary. Art and Empire in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by M. Rampley, M. Prokopvych, N. Veszprémi (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020), pp. 1–16.
19. See *The Museum Age in Austria-Hungary*.
20. With regard to urban theatres, see, P. Ther, *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft. Operntheater in Zentraleuropa 1815–1914* (Wien and München: Oldenbourg, 2006).
21. With the focus on Cracow see N. Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan. Urban Selfhood and the Making of Modern Cracow* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 2010).
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## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Funding

This work was supported by the Academy of Finland Centre of Excellence in the History of Experiences and by the Leibniz Research Alliance 'Value of the Past'.

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