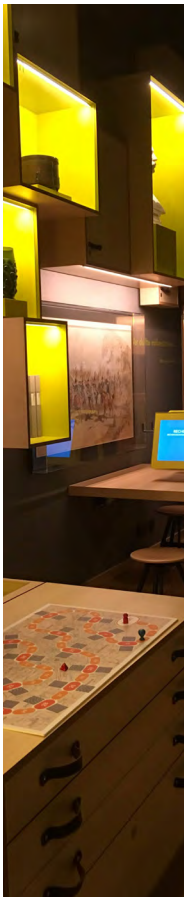
Book
in progress

European city museums

Tim Marshall and Joan Roca, ed.



MUHBA MUSEU D'HISTÒRIA DE BARCELONA

Ajuntament de Barcelona

Texts included in black

Part 1:
European city history and city museums now

Part 2:
Major transformation projects in six city museums

Part 3:
City museum themes

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Summary text for webpages

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These webpages present the work-in-progress chapters of a publication on European city museums. Even before the whole book is completed and published, readers will be able to benefit from the varied illuminations contained in these pages.

The purpose of the final publication is to provide a book on the development of European city museums, their current transformation and their potential as a response to urban and continental changes and disruptions.

The book surveys the alterations of city museums underway in Europe, presents discussion of central themes raised by the current phases of museum transformations, and disseminates city museum experience.

This experience is primarily that of the Barcelona based City History Museums and Research Network of Europe. This Network was set up in 2010 by the city museums of Barcelona and Amsterdam. By means of regular meetings of its 20 members it has debated current challenges faced by this type of museum, in an informal and small scale setting, as a complement to the formal meetings and networks in the ICOM institutional frameworks. The network published in 2013 The Barcelona Declaration on European City Museums, later published also by ICOM/CAMOC [https://cityhistorymuseums.wordpress.com/].

Current members of the network come from the following cities (the membership changes over time, with a few previously involved not now active, and others joining recently): Amsterdam, Antwerp, Barcelona, Berlin, Bordeaux, Budapest, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Helsinki, Krakow, Lisbon, Ljubljana, London, Luxembourg, Lyon, Madrid, Rome, Rotterdam, Stockholm, Turin, Vienna.

Specifically the book will have the following sections

Introduction

Introducing the topic: the need for an urban approach to Europe in a fast changing world, focusing on the role of city museums in explaining the city; why this is important and current, the origins of the book in the Barcelona based network of European city museums, the arrangement of the book.

Part 1: the european city museum phenomenon

This Part provides the foundation for understanding how and why city museums came into being in the late 19th century, and gives some idea of their historical development across a range of varied European contexts. It also introduces the normative discussions around the purposes of these museums in the

creation of a new dimension in public space and in the public domain, with a social and participatory dimension, as seen by the Barcelona city history museum director. This Part has four chapters.

Part 2: big city museum projects
This Part consists of a set of case study chapters of some recent and current transformative projects. These are selected for their interest and variety, as well as because they have been active in the Network: Barcelona, Berlin, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Lisbon and London. These are city museums with large projects either completed, under way, or in the planning stages. This Part has six chapters.

Part 3: city museum themes
This Part is thematic. In the meetings of the European Network since 2010, a wide range of topics has been debated, partly coinciding with the discussion underway in many forums (especially in CAMOC) on the core purposes of city museums, and how these can be achieved in the wide range of real world circumstances around Europe. This Part has seven chapters.

Conclusion
The concluding chapter will recap some of the most critical issues for the future of city museums in the construction of Europe, and in the construction of each city. In particular, how can the current city museums investment offensive be valorised (taken full advantage of), to meet the challenges across Europe in the coming decades?

The new Museum of Copenhagen

Vivi Lena Andersen and Jakob Ingemann Parby

The inauguration

In February 2020 the new Museum of Copenhagen opened in a central location of Copenhagen. The opening took place after a shutdown period of four and a half years during which the municipality and the museum collaborated with architects, engineers and other specialists in the restoration and transformation of the existing building, consisting of municipal offices and dating to 1894, to a venue that suited the needs and facilities of a modern city museum.

Simultaneously, the museum staff developed and curated the new exhibitions, redefined the vision and mission of the museum and even carried out a major move of its collections to a newly built storage facility in the suburbs of Copenhagen finished in 2017.

More than 3000 people attended the opening event including Her Majesty the Queen of Denmark, the Lord Mayor, but also huge crowds of Copenhageners of all kinds and ages that wanted to be part of the inauguration and be among the first to see the results of the long creation process. The response to the new museum and the public interest in attending the reopening in the new location was a testimony to the significant role of city museums in the 21st century and clearly demonstrated the longing and sensation of an almost existential void that the close down had created among the audience.

For the museum staff and the vast number of external contributors the opening marked both a climax and an exhilaration of relief following a process that has taken almost 10 years from the first ideas about the need for new premises for the galleries and storage spaces of the museum . To experience the joy, dialogue and conviviality among the visitors. To glance at the queue of visitors and guests lining up 800 meters down the road. To hear the sound of the music played from the balcony over the entrance reverberating through the building, the exhortations of admiration, the buzz of the conversations and laughter, and the thoughtful words of invited speakers. To feel the bodies of visitors thronging together in the central staircase, the galleries, the museum café and the historical garden in the courtyard with the words of the first positive reviews in national and local media still spinning in our minds.

It was an amazing moment for both the curators and the rest of staff at the museum, just as it seemed to be for our visitors, but we were well aware that the celebrations only initiated the next phase in the history of the museum as a kind of rite of passage into the long haul of operating the museum in its new neighborhood and adjusting our organization to cater for an altered and more

numerous public. Little did we know that a month later COVID-19 would arrive in Denmark and change our personal as well as institutional life. Before COVID-19 the museum was well on its way to a new level of visitor numbers with a projection of 150.000 visitors a year. As elsewhere the pandemic has seriously crippled this projection, but even after the lock down the museum has had higher numbers than before the move.

An open-ended democratic space

This article explores the context and history of the creation of the new Museum of Copenhagen as an example of the broader trends among European city museums. In recent decades city museums have taken long strides to transform themselves from their origins as a kind of local version of the traditional national museums of cultural history, into what Duncan Grewcock has described as "an open-ended [...] democratic space, that can be physically experienced as a quarter of the city, but also used as a site for debate, discussion and experimentation on urban issues within the context of a city's past, present and future". He also envisions the city museum as "a networked, distributed conversation rather than an inward-looking institution".[1] This means, among other things, that the exhibitions, collections and research projects of the museum should include both immaterial and material heritage, involve and engage different group of citizens and advance a concept of urban history that emphasizes the ongoing production and rewriting of history, a polyphonic concept of urban and neighborhood identity, a methodological generosity and the nurturing of cross-disciplinary collaboration.

Since 2008 the Museum of Copenhagen has attempted to rethink itself along such lines of thinking. Changing its profile from a more traditional, static museum with permanent chronological galleries to a more contemporary institution, it has developed its visitor profile through a comprehensive program of outreach projects, exhibitions on contemporary topics, and experiments with online and urban space dissemination. Simultaneously, the huge archaeological excavations carried out preceding the completion of the Metro City Ring in 2019 along with many other important excavations in recent decades, have increased our knowledge of both the earliest and the later phases of Copenhagen's urban development and everyday life. And this has led to an increase in research on various topics related to migration and cultural diversity, urbanity, consumption, health and identity among other topics. All of the above prepared the ground for the move.

1. Duncan Grewcock, "Museums of Cities and Urban Futures" in Museum International 58, 3, p. 32-42, 2006); see also Joan Roca: "At the Crossroads of Cultural and Urban Policies. Rethinking the City and the City Museum" in Jelena Savic, ed.: The Future of City Museums, Camoc, 2018, pp. 14-25.

The layout and exhibitions of the new museum merged the concept of networked conversation with new tendencies in the museum sector centering on sustainable exhibition practices, accessibility and new forms of cultural tourism. Among other things this meant creating anew a permanent exhibition presenting the history of Copenhagen for locals, visitors and newcomers to the city, while incorporating knowledge and experiences from user-involving curatorial processes of recent years. It has also meant focusing on creating a diverse event program and special exhibition program to accommodate the ambition to maintain and extend the museum as a site for all the users and citizens of the Danish capital. After the outbreak of the COVID 19-pandemic some of this target points have of course changed dramatically and the focus on tourism has been partly supplanted by the notion of more balanced urban economies that rely less heavily on mass tourism.[2] But this was not the case when we started the project in 2015. Before we move on it feels necessary to offer a brief presentation of the history of the museum.

A brief historical overview

The museum's history began in 1901 at the newly built City Hall, which was officially inaugurated in 1905, but from 1901 had a functioning clock tower and from 1903 housed the meetings of the Copenhagen's City Council and municipal administration. The City Hall intendant, Ernst Nyrop-Larsen, a cousin of the City Hall's architect, Martin Nyrop, began collecting paintings, photographs and remnants of torn down buildings for an exhibition in the loft of the City Hall. From 1916 the collections were opened to the public. Since then the management and further development of the collections were professionalized by the employment of a curator from the National Museum and the museum were gradually expanded. In 1956 the loft of the city hall had become both impractical and inconvenient for the purposes of a museum and the museum found a new venue in the Royal Shooting Society's 18th century palais at Vesterbrogade, which had been vacated some years earlier.

The museum remained in this location until the autumn of 2015 and the 60 years saw the museum transform from a traditional cultural history museum with a more traditional exhibition practice including tableaus, interiors and lots of objects on display to more thematic exhibitions related to contemporary issues. In 1996, when Copenhagen was the cultural capital of Europe, new permanent galleries were developed and a rise in visitor numbers ensued, only to drop again in the new millennium, until a number of special exhibitions,

2. For more perspectives on the future of city museums, see: Savic, The Future of...; Focus on sustainable tourism, see: Jan Van Der Borg and Antonio Paulo Russo, "Towards Sustainable Tourism in Venice" in Sustainable Venice: Suggestions for the Future, 2001, pp. 159-193.

The original museum galleries in the loft of the City Hall. The museum at the time was hardly a museum, but more an open collection organized topographically.

new research projects and an extensive event program between 2010 and 2014 formed the latest peak in the museum's popularity and public impact.

However, between 1995 and 2015 visitor numbers never exceeded 60.000 a year and this eventually led to a push to move. Both the museum's management and the municipality gradually came to the conclusion that the new Cultural District, which integrated well known cultural institutions and tourist hubs like Tivoli, City Hall, the National Museum, Glyptoteket, the Royal Library with new ones like the new BLOX/Danish Architectural Centre built between 2014 and 2018, had the potential to increase the museum's visitor numbers and create a synergy similar to the effects that could be observed in areas like Museumsinsel in Berlin, Quartier des Spectacles in Montreal and the MuseumsQuartier in Vienna. Since 2016 the neighborhood has been branded as the Copenhagen Cultural District.[3]

The decision was made to move the museum to this area. And the building selected to house the museum was Stormgade 18; an architectural

3. See https://kulturkvarteret.dk/en/

Illustration 2: The new museum building. Photo: Adam Mørk.

gem now again made accessible to the public. The new museum building —originally built to house the Public Trustee in 1893-94— is a historicist complex modelled after the Italian villa and containing a rich and varied architectural expression and ornamentation related to the Public Trustees role as caretaker of the funds and properties of minors and other legally incapacitated persons.

As part of the transition from municipal offices to public museum, a concerted effort was made to restore and highlight the architectural qualities and the cultural history of the site as an integral and important part of the museum experience, while simultaneously creating an exhibition design that clearly signified the vision of the city museum in the 21st century.

The mission of the new museum of Copenhagen is to be the collective memory of Copenhagen and to reflect the history of the city and its people. It should be easily accessible and the obvious choice for everyone curious to know more about the city and its histories, connectivities and contrasts. The museum should be a place of identification and pride and a place that Copenhageners of all ages, origins, beliefs and occupations recurrently visit and use as a starting point for dialogues about the city's past, present and future.

Curating and designing the museum experience

The permanent galleries

The new permanent galleries in the museum are an integral and central part of the new museum. Their conceptualization emerged from the notion that, rather than specific objects in the collection, the city is in fact the museum's main object. The overall conceptual idea behind the design and curation of the new galleries was to "bring the city into the museum" as well as "taking the museum to the streets" as we had earlier done very successfully with The WALL —an award-winning digital and user-involving dissemination project consisting of a 10 meter long touchscreen containing small exhibitions and an interactive cityscape. This installation toured the city from 2010-2016 alongside the archaeological excavations carried out by the museum's archaeological department prior to the establishment of the Metro City Ring— the third phase of Copenhagen's underground railroad-system.[4] It was taken out of use because of new copyright regulation in Denmark that made it complicated to keep the uploaded material of users accessible online. In 2017 we created a new mobile museum The Past Exposed that built on our experiences with The WALL and functioned as a kind of pop-up museum while the new museum was in the making.[5] New forms of dissemination in the city space continue to be a part of the museum's strategy for the future, although we also still use more traditional forms of dissemination like city walks, open archaeological excavations and pop-up photo exhibitions on site.[6]

The city in the museum

To bring the city into the museum we structured our design and curation of the galleries around a reinterpretation of Mikhael Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope. In literary theory the chronotope is a notion describing how configurations of time and space are represented in language and discourse. And Bakhtin himself particularly used the concept to explore how different literary genres operated with different configurations of time and space, which gave each genre its particular narrative character.[7] In the curation of the galleries we applied the

4. Jette Sandahl, et al.: "Taking the Museum to the Streets", in J. Trant and D. Bearman (eds). Museums and the Web 2011: Proceedings. Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics. Published March 31, 2011. Consulted September 10, 2020. http://conference.archimuse.com/mw2011/papers/taking_the_museum_to_the_streets

5. See www.fortidenfremkaldt.dk

6. See f.i: https://kulturhavn365.dk/havnen-foer-og-nu/

7. Mikhail M. Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics", in Mikhail M. Bakhtin, The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. 1981. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990d. 84-258. We thank Mikkel Thelle, head of the Danish Centre for Urban History, for suggesting the perspective of the chronotope in the initial stages of the curatorial process.

Graphic presentation of the concept for the permanent galleries. From the prospectus in 2017.
Nanna Arnfred/Elias Levinsky [note this figure should be adapted to the layout of the book if used]

concept to create a very direct connection between a specific time period in the history of Copenhagen and a specific site in the contemporary city. From this starting point we unfolded different themes of particular relevance for the age in question. For instance, the theme of city planning is presented in the gallery relating to the renaissance of Copenhagen in the 17th century, the building of the Bourse and the first attempts at large scale city planning inspired by Dutch influences during the reign of Christian IV. Whereas the interpretation of modern Copenhagen around 1900 uses the new square in front of the City Hall to unfold the impact of new technologies in the transformation of the city and its inhabitants. Other galleries relate to poverty and crime, literature and communication, social hierarchies and neighborhood identities. Every gallery is named after a locality in the city and thus, for the visitors, a walk through the history of the city also becomes a walk through its geography. The museum experience to some extent emulates that of the city map —in a way that is similar to the psycho-geographical maps of the Situationists and Guy Debord— focusing on the personal and playful exploration of the urban.[8]

8. See f.i.: Tom McDonough, ed. Guy Debord and the Situationist International: Texts and Documents, Boston, October Press, 2004; Guy Debord: "Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography" in Les Lèvres Nues, 6, 1955. http://library.nothingness.org/articles/SI/en/display/2

Example of cast: foot from the sculpture of Johan Ludvig Holberg in front of the Royal Theatre at Kongens Nytorv. JAC studios/Museum of Copenhagen 2020.

The galleries were developed in a close collaboration between designers from JAC studios and curators at the museum. In the design and composition of the galleries we highlighted the presence of the past in the contemporary city by naming the galleries after specific neighborhoods or locations in the city and supplementing those with casts of elements from the area at full scale.

This way visitors can for example get close to and touch parts of sculptures and buildings related to the location, time period and topics in each gallery. The curatorial approach is intended to offer visitors a physical connection with the city outside the museum's walls and a very clear sense of the interconnectivities between the past and the present.

The designers from JAC studios added to this experience by creating cases in each room related to the architecture and urban development of the historical age they described, and the themes explored in each gallery. Thus, the cases in the gallery related to the metropolitanization and electrification of Copenhagen around 1900 was done with white glass emulating the glass of the first electric street lamps in the city from 1892, whereas the gallery dealing with the social hierarchies and ethnic diversity of 17th and 18th century Copenhagen were inspired by baroque pavilions and the intensive use of mirrors in the banquet halls of the epoque.

Elsewhere, in the gallery Brokvartererne/The Bridge Districts we use an open grid design to give a sense of the activity and construction in the period of modern urbanization and industrialization. The design emulates the scaffolding used by construction workers to raise the multilevel apartment buildings in the second half of the 19th century, built to house the huge influx of rural migrants seeking job opportunities in the new factories and shops of the growing metropolis and fleeing from the growing poverty of the countryside. The scaffolding was fitted with screens showing images of present-day inhabitants in the Bridge Districts as a comment on the gallery's focus on the historical processes that have shaped the identity and layout of each neighborhood and their populations.

The cases in all the galleries are made in white colours in order to make a clear contrast to the colourful original decorations in the historical architecture of the new building. This was done to create a clear distinction between the restored architecture and the history of the building itself vis-a-vis the insertions and interpretations of the modern museum.

The interplay between darkness and light was another way to distinguish the original architecture from the interpretative layers in the exhibition. A case in point was the gallery Slotsholmen/The Creation dealing with the foundation of the city in the 11th and 12th century. The central case was designed as an oval structure around a marble beam that was part of the original architecture of the room. The case was designed with a dark bottom and with finds hovering above the darkness in an epic lighting emulating the archaeological excavation and symbolizing the knowledge about the early history of Copenhagen hovering over the abyss of lost or still undiscovered information on early life in the city.

The gallery Slotsholmen/The Creation. Photo by: Adam Mørk.

The Gallery Amalienborg with the mirrored cabinet-case. Photo by: Adam Mørk.

Look inside/through the mirrored cabinet. An interactive installation shows the visitor at Amalienborg Slotsplads witnessing an encounter of persons of rank as an introduction to the social hierarchies and cultures of greeting in 18th century Copenhagen. Photo by: Adam Mørk.

The gallery The Bridge Districts with the white scaffolding. Photo by: Adam Mørk.

Curatorial principles

The space of this article will not allow us to go into detail about the narratives and objects selected for all the galleries. Instead we will highlight three curatorial principles and offer some examples of how we have unfolded them in our selection of items to be displayed.

Urban Planning

One of our primary ambitions was to give visitors an understanding of the processes of urban generation and regeneration as well as some of the structuring principles and events in the making of Copenhagen. This was done throughout the exhibition with an extensive use of maps and figures demonstrating the transformation of the city through time from the earliest signs of human settlements in the area to the expanding city of the 21st century. Many galleries also used specific objects to explore the shifting definitions of the urban and the urban plan. In most cases the perspective was on the city and its inhabitants rather than national and political history.

In the section dealing with the medieval city, a large display of wooden posts from the 13th century that were used to keep the soil of the medieval ramparts in place were placed alongside items related to the specialization of production and trade in the medieval city. In this way visitors gained insight into archaeological definitions of urbanity ranging from the establishment of defence systems and churches to the development of craft and commerce. The room exploring the development of the Renaissance city in the 16th and 17th century was designed following the model of the ideal city envisioned by Renaissance architects and urban planners using a pillar from Sankt Annæ Rotunda as the focal point of attention. Sankt Annæ Rotunda was part of the New Copenhagen neighborhood laid out by King Christian IV and was planned as a magnificent dome church with inspiration from St Peter's in Rome. The king, however, had to give up the project because of his wartime expenditure and the dome was left as a 16-meter-high unfinished structure later to be destroyed, while the building materials were used in other building projects of the 17th century. The pillars were recovered from restoration projects in the 20th century and preserved in the museum collections.

In another gallery, Nørreport or The Northern Gate, visitors can explore the structure of the city gates as an important boundary between urban and rural identities as well as a toll gate. An archway of the new museum building is used to create a sense of the scale and soundscape of passing through the city gates and stimulate the imagination of visitors. The gallery unfolded the importance of the gate as both a part of the defence of the city, but more importantly as a physical, juridical and mental border between urban and rural, foreign and native, privileged and unprivileged.

Gallery on the Renaissance city with the column from Sankt Annæ Rotunde.

A final example to highlight is the gallery on the development of the city after WW2 where modern city planners, politicians and grassroot groups negotiated and fought over the right to the city. In this room a movie gives voice to citizens that took part in different waves of peaceful and more violent squatting of condemned buildings and tried to form alternative ways of life in the city against a backdrop of protest and resistance from authorities as well as other local citizens. Some were successful, as was the case of the Freetown Christiania, whilst others ultimately failed, but in some cases still imprinted a lasting memory on the city for better or worse. The movie as well as the exhibited items have proved effective in starting dialogues among visitor groups about current protest and grass root movements as well as the broader issue of the right to the city as formulated by Henri Lefevbre and David Harvey.[9]

9. The movie was produced for the museum by Christine Hybschmann and Adam Rieper, but for copyright reasons is only available in the museum. Regarding the concept Right to the City, see: Henri Lefevbre: Le Droit à la Ville, 1968 and David Harvey: "The Right to the City" in NLR, II, 53, 2008, pp. 23-40. https://newleftreview.org/issues/II53/articles/david-harvey-the-right-to-the-city

The potential in disasters

Exploring the interplay between disasters like fires and epidemics and the ensuing transformation of the urban space as well as measures to improve hygiene, hospitals and supply systems are another topic in the permanent exhibition. Like most cities, Copenhagen has experienced its share of disasters like fires, epidemics and war. In other city museums such disasters are often presented as dramatic or even fateful moments in time and the interpretation focuses on the human lives and cultural heritage lost. This narrative was also integrated in our galleries focusing on the plague in 1711, the cholera of 1853, the fires in 1728 and 1795 as well as the British bombardment of the city in 1807. But alongside the focus on living through disastrous events we also highlighted the potential for change that is inherent in such events and unfolded how each disaster had given rise to new practices within urban planning, burial customs and health care while in some cases also introducing new architectural styles and new regimes of hygiene, poor relief, water supply and sewage. The themes explored in the room has only increased their relevance during the current global health crisis.

The intimacy of everyday life

In the central case of the initial room one encounters the remains of early Copenhageners alongside documents and items documenting our latest knowledge of the city's foundation which can now be dated to the middle of the 11th century or more than a 100 years before the hitherto official dating. This introduces our use of the presence of the past and the intimacy of everyday life as curatorial principle. Throughout the galleries we have integrated items and narratives that illuminate the personal lives of past Copenhageners and make use of their life stories to introduce broader themes and interconnectivities. Thus, the story of the philosopher Søren Kierkegaard, of whom the museum has a unique collection of personal items, is integrated in a broader narrative about the importance of Copenhagen for the development of the Danish book market and the birth of the modern writer. But items like his silver dip pen, a lock of hair taken from his deathbed and the finger ring that he first gave to his fiancée, Regine Olsen, and later got back, refitted and wore the rest of his life after breaking the engagement, brings us very close to the everyday life of perhaps the most world famous Copenhagener. Similarly, a medieval children's boot, an ear cleaner in 24 carat gold, an 18th century sedan chair and the camera from the last of the 20th century street photographers on City Hall Square along with a movie of his work offers visitors an intimate connection with past lives and routines. So does a jacket belonging to one of the first squatters in Copenhagen in the 1960s and a uniform from one of the poorhouses for boys from the 18th century dotted with ink stains from the pen of a scribe, when the boys were involved with drawing the winning numbers for one of the first state

lottery. The income from the lottery funded the poorhouse, but the lottery itself also led people to gambling problems and new poverty.

Another intimacy is created through an extensive use of voice recordings giving visitors access to life stories and eye-witness accounts. We use listening stations and in some cases actors reading original sources to bring the past and present experiences of Copenhageners to live —for instance eyewitnesses to the plague in 1711 and the cholera in 1853.

Remains of a plague victim 1711. The woman died from the plague at approximately 25 years of age.

A lock of hair from Søren Kierkegaard.

Camera from the street photographer Jens Nielsen, who worked at the City Hall Square from 1929-1973.

Sedan chair from the 18th century used in Copenhagen.

Woollen coat used by one of the early members of the squatter movement in Copenhagen during the peaceful occupation of the condemned property Sofiegaarden 1965-1969.

Uniform worn by a boy from the royal orphanage. The uniform has ink stains on the right shoulder. They stem from the boys' function during the drawing of the winning numbers for the state lottery. The income from the lottery ticket sale funded the orphanage.

Copenhagen Panorama – a place in time
The visit culminates with an interactive model displaying the layout of the contemporary city and using laser technology, soundscapes, light, a data wall and a movie to add multiple layers of interpretation of the model and to visualize the boundaries of the city in the past.

Copenhagen has been shaped by thousands of years of history. The model of the city and the panorama with the Copenhagen skyline show how the city has come into being. The model is a 1:750 cast of Copenhagen today, from the lakes around the center of Copenhagen to Amager and from the northern port to the south harbour. Here you can see the places and buildings you can discover as 1:1 fragments in the other rooms of the exhibition. Each fragment has its place in the story, and each place has its own history, and together they form a city and become our gateways to its past and future. Here time and place meet and fragments coalesce to create a city.

Here you can experience 24 hours in 24 minutes, but you can also experience a time lapse from the Ice Age to today. Lasers and lights reflect the tempo and pulse of the city, sometimes pinpointing a place in the past when the scope and borders of the city were very different. This is a place to immerse yourself in a sensory experience of Copenhagen, where the visitor can look, sense, feel and listen to the dynamic and ever-changing city. But it is also a place to explore facts on the data wall. How big is Copenhagen? How many people live here —now and in the past? How old are Copenhagen's buildings? How much do Copenhageners cycle? And what do they die from?

From there you can then go from facts to feelings in the small cinema and watch the film Copenhagen —which is a poetic impression of the past with people of the present and the city as their stage telling the stories of how Copenhagen changed and always will change.

The aim is for the visitor to get inspired to head out into the real city and experience Copenhagen anew. With fresh eyes that see the big picture in even the smallest detail and see the traces of history all around.

Facilities, Activities and Future Plans
Special exhibitions and events:
Alongside the permanent galleries the museum works with an extensive program of special exhibitions and events including talks, city walks, pop-up exhibitions, debates on contemporary issues and hands-on experiences of the work carried out behind the scenes. The first special exhibition at the new museum took a new look at the painter Paul Fischer and his extensive production of paintings, postcards and illustrations of Copenhagen around 1900. The plan for the years to come includes an exhibition on urban planning called The City on the Drawing Board; an exhibition on Local Characters (in Danish "originaler")

City model and detail of model with horizon and laser light indicating the layout of the ramparts and the fortification between 1680 and 1870.

and Eccentricity and last but not least an exhibition on soundscapes, languages and oral cultures in the city past and present related to the research project The Sound of the Capital running from 2019-2023.

Behind the scenes and outreach strategy
A particular focus in this regard is the archaeological work of the museum. To this end we have in recent years developed both a mobile museum, an archeological workshop and an historical garden that all share the principle of giving citizens a chance to take part in and gain insight into the processes involved in gaining new knowledge about the city's origin and material culture of the past.

Café, museum shop and other public facilities
We aim at making our guests feel welcome and to make the museum space a safe environment in which to share ideas and be together with friends and family. The museum café, the shop, the historical garden and the rooms reserved for school groups all play an important role in fulfilling this. As does the access for people with disabilities. An important task within the restoration of the new museum building has been achieving public facilities that sustains this experience, while still respecting the historical architecture. In order to increase the number and diversity of visitors we have extended our opening hours. Every day of the week the museum is open from 9-18 and 9-21 on Thursdays.

Method of Financing
The museum is fundamentally a public, non-profit organization. All income from ticket sales and the museum shop covers staff and other projects in the museum's portfolio. The financing of the restoration of the building and the production of exhibitions and other inventories connected to the establishment of the new museum has been funded partly by the Municipality of Copenhagen and partly by donations from private foundations.

Future plans
In the years to come the museum's primary focus is to establish the brand of the museum in the new location and to build on the massive public interest in the new museum and its exhibitions following the opening.

Other strategic goals for the upcoming years include research and outreach projects revolving around the collaboration between archaeology and the natural sciences as well as research and exhibitions on the cultural history of sound, language and listening in the city (see f.i. https://lydenafhovedstaden.ku.dk/ + www.fortidenfremkaldt.dk) along with the development of a varied program of special exhibitions and events aimed at different target groups and involving citizens in the creative process of gathering knowledge and making the exhibitions.

Behind the scenes the museum is completing the move of its collections to the new storage facility, improving the preservation and registration of the collection as well as its future usability for research and dissemination purposes alike. Parts of the collection have been available online through the platform https://kbhbilleder.dk/ and more images are on their way, including selections from the vast collection of paintings and drawings in the museum collection as well as an online selection of objects for the benefit of students and researchers and the general public.

The accessibility project I Feel Copenhagen

We will continue to strive for being even more inclusive. Being a museum for all is not only about the content, the stories that are communicated, but also about being accessible for all. The accessibility project —I Feel Copenhagen— is a project taking shape right know dealing with making the museum both more physically accessible and securing that the content in the exhibitions is being presented in accessible ways. We wish to become a museum that is both welcoming and relevant to the young and old, the tall and short, for those who move on wobbly legs or on wheels. For those who can´t speak and those who can´t hear or see or for those who are visually impaired. All of us are different from how we are born, and as time shapes us, also creating different and changing basic needs through life, yet we want to put everyone in the same position so to speak, and through many different types of communication.

This will be done through: chromatic differences to mark obstacles, tactile maps, audio guides based on visual interpretation, tactile reconstructions of exhibited objects, guided tours in sign language, create meetings between generations and people with different (dis)abilities and much more.

We do not pretend to know it all, so the users and experts from the different societies are an integral part of this project from the very start. Developing and revising the solutions together as we go along through meetings, workshops and extensive user tests. Through outreach, participation and ownership we believe that we can create welcoming, inclusive and functional spaces —making not only the museum space more accessible, but also communicating the history of Copenhagen to more and becoming a shared space, that truly will belong to everyone.

Collecting contemporary cities[1]

Jette Sandahl

The 21st century poses immense challenges for museums and opens equally vast new opportunities and obligations. The year 2020 seems to pointedly epitomize these challenges and expose some of the fault-lines in our relationships to our societies and communities.

Snapshots from 2020

For Europe, 2020 set yet another record as the hottest year in recorded history, forest fires have devastated huge territories of land, and yet more species have been lost and the biodiversity further decreased.

Close to two million people across the globe died from the Covid 19 pandemic, millions of people around the world lost their jobs or were struggling to get by on government schemes, while the wealth of global billionaires rocketed.

Millions of people are displaced from their homes, and the richer countries of the Global North, desensitized to the suffering of others, tighten our borders, retain refugees in camps under atrocious conditions and sit back and allow them to drown at sea.

Continued calls for acknowledgement of the violence beneath the surface of our collections are ignored, denied and marginalized, and demands for reparation, restitution and repatriation are met with the same passive-aggressive retort from the trenches of museum leadership as twenty years ago.

Current and former staff and core stakeholders take museums to task for the continued systemic racism, sexism, supremacy as well as the personal exclusion, discrimination and exploitation practiced with staff and partners. Monuments and trustees, directors, curators fall from their pedestals.

These are times that call for long overdue societal contextualization of museums and for a genuine personal and institutional self-reflection and self-critique for those of us who are or have been in positions of institutional power in museums.

1. My personal frame of reference and relationship with city museums is rooted in my period as director of the Museum of Copenhagen, which remains the lens through which I see city museums. As this publication is generated with the so-called Barcelona city museum network, it recounts examples of what some of these European city museums have communicated to me as their most radical new collecting, in terms of themes and content, and/or in terms of methods employed in the collecting. I have been interested here in new collecting on the borders or boundaries rather than in the overall collections policies of city museum. Focusing on a European museum context, without fully exploring and situating it in its larger global setting, is, obviously, a quagmire these days, as the differences between Europe as a waning (neo)colonial power and other parts of the world are —maybe increasingly— pronounced.

Revitalizing collections and democratizing collecting

Increasingly aware that failing to address major global and local concerns will jeopardize their continued relevance, museums are showing a new commitment to address social issues. This shift is often initiated in the areas of public programs, education, exhibitions and events, with collections and collecting the last area in which changing objectives, principles and methodologies take a real hold.

Over recent decades new collecting has become minimal in many city museums. Decades of prolific collecting led to lack of space and resources, huge back-logs of documentation and a subsequent lack of overview and reluctance to deaccession.[2] In some case new collecting becomes almost solely digital.

But if new collecting ceases to be a continuous and defining live stream in the whole of the museum, the museum will gradually become static, relying on frozen history and stale narratives of times gone by, of a past no longer questioned and reinterpreted through fresh objects. The museum will not, from its own core, be compelled to reflect its live and breathing environment or communicate the meanings of life in a dynamic, contemporary sense for its constituents.

Urban life is chaotic and complex, and fundamentally interconnected. Its scale is enormous. It resists order and defies linearity. It is too unruly to fit the categories of the museum registration guides. Its qualities cry out in protest against the divisions into museum disciplines and specializations. City museums struggle to create a coherent and cohesive understanding of their city's history which is at the same time both continuous and ruptured,[3] and new collecting is often also halted by a sense of bewilderment, of what to collect, in the infinite mass of objects of a contemporary city.

In 2011 Barcelona History Museum involved the public, partners, and contemporary communities in identifying and locating absent or missing objects to fill in gaps in its historic collection and thereby also gaps in a coherent narrative of the trajectory of Barcelona as a modern European metropolis and as the capital of Catalonia. A research based 'non-exhibition', as it was called, was used as a collecting tool.[4] A big exhibition room was set up as an historical overview exhibition, but among the rich display of objects empty frames, empty podiums and pedestals punctuated and marked the holes in the story line.

2. The UK Museum Association offers a series of recommendations towards different paradigms to short-circuit this paralysis, see Empowering Collections - Museums Association, accessed 15.01.21.

3. Few city museums manage to unify archaeological finds with historic and contemporary objects. Even when, in terms of periods, these objects overlap, they tend to be assigned different systems of documentation, categorization and interpretation. In this chapter I am leaving out the whole area of archaeological excavations and collecting which tends to follow different logics of their own.

4. Josep Bracons Clapes, "Buits que s'omplen, nous objectes per a la història de la ciutat", muhba Butlletí 27, 2012, and muhba exhibition brochure, and personal communication, Edgar Straehle Porras, email 17.09.20.

MUHBA Lab, Barcelona History Museum. Photo: MUHBA.

> You enter a workspace destined to build relationships between the museum, citizens, agencies, companies and institutions with the aim of collecting the city, especially that of contemporary times. The collection of new objects, together with the construction of stories based on historical research, should make it possible to improve knowledge of Barcelona and make the museum a mirror of the city.
> Why do you think [a particular object] should be part of the collection? Would you like to propose it to us, the museum asked of its visitors?

Collecting is evolving into an active, participatory and public process that includes the constituents and communities of the museum. Democratizing collecting implies expanding both how new collecting is done and what is collected. In city museums, often originating literally or metaphorically in the attics of city hall, it has meant going beyond the focus on public history and powerful founding fathers and collecting and integrating the biographical, personal everyday life of, in principle, all of its residents.

Pillowcase made by a widow from pajamas belonging to her deceased husband, Museum of Copenhagen. Photo: Allan Smith.

Drawing on its experiences from collecting in an interactive digital environment, the Museum of Copenhagen sought to revitalize and renew the relevance of its important, but dormant collection of the few objects left from philosopher Søren Kierkegaard through new collecting, structured and defined through core themes of his intensely personal writing on the different aspects of love.

> An on-line app was developed, which leads a donor seamlessly through a standard object registration process, complete with photos and full provenance. This information and narrative followed the objects into the exhibition, where the newly collected objects and the Kierkegaard objects 'mirrored' each other through their shared focus on one of the specific themes from Kierkegaard's philosophy —such as friendship, motherlove, erotic or romantic love.

The use of the expertise and authority of the donors in documenting their own objects empowered them and saved museum documentation resources. The process exemplified the growing permeability of the boundaries of the museum as an institution.

Registering conflicted objects from their own personal biographies, the registration app was also used by museum staff —and subsequently in other museum training contexts— as a tool for strengthening their empathy skills and

Curating London —creating a display of Dub music. Photo: Giulia Delprato. Museum of London.

confidence in dealing with psychological encounters, emotionally charged objects and narratives, and for heightening their awareness of how one's biases and projections, values and world views enter the collecting and documentation process.

Diverse cities and a plurality of lived experiences

Cities often predate their nations, at times they also outlive them. They are growing in importance, independence and confidence. Their densely populated demographics, patterns of life and profiles of opinions are continuously changing. They are diverse and dynamic and tend to share more core traits across borders than they do with their own nations or rural or suburban surroundings.

'The Peopling of London' project at the Museum of London in the 1990s gave a new frame of reference for the plural history and diverse populations of a capital, uncovering and unfolding an interpretation of cities as porous and open to new people and new influences. It punctured the myths of the homogeneous, monocultural, walled off metropolis, and influenced a dynamic way of thinking about cities and city identities as continuously evolving processes, as was later underscored in, for instance, 'Becoming a Copenhagener' at the Museum of Copenhagen. The Museum of London continues to collect to supplement and strengthen its collection of the lived experience of Londoners from prehistoric to modern times.

> 'Cities are important social laboratories and London is one of the world's greatest. For centuries they have been at the centre of global networks attracting all sorts of knowledge and cultures.
> Curating London will enrich the existing collection by taking up the challenge of collecting 21st century London to capture the superdiverse nature of contemporary London by working collaboratively with the communities and individuals who call London home.
> Museum collections are shaped by particular hierarchies of knowledge which have marginalised and often excluded certain worldviews. The knowledge coming from people's lived experience has been traditionally overlooked and deemed unworthy of museum collections.'[5]

Relationship building as a framework for collecting and museum re-constructions

Reflecting the diversity and heterogeneity of their city has become a core effort for city museums, not least when trying to build a new museum and create a contemporary profile in tune with a wider, more diverse public. Collecting and curating are increasingly the intermediate results of continual, long term relationship building in museums. New —or re-constructed— city museums from this century, like the Museum of Liverpool and the Museum of Helsinki, shaped their approach and their priorities, their displays and tone of voice, their themes of content through extensive and systematic consultations with their surrounding communities. Getting up close to people's everyday lives through objects and displays, museums begin to actually meet the demographics of their cities and overcome the persistent barriers of class and education that continue to haunt museums.

In documenting the past and the present time, museums are also forecasting what the future needs to know, and they become part of shaping these futures. In wide-reaching partnership with other museums, libraries, archives, the university, the municipality, media, as well as diverse urban communities, neighbourhood organizations and artists, the Amsterdam Museum has initiated a multifaceted five-year collecting process, which will be driving and shaping the renewed Amsterdam Museum due to open in 2025 as a self-portrait and mirror for the city of Amsterdam as it celebrates its 750th anniversary.

5. Domenico Sergi, Curating a new Museum of London | Museum of London, and https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/collections/about-our-collections/enhancing-our-collections/curating-london, accessed 15.01.21.

6. Personal communication, email, Maren Siebert, Collecting the City | Amsterdam Museum, 9.09.20.

Collecting the City of Amsterdam. Photo: Jette Sandahl.

'In 'Collecting the City' the museum asks what does Amsterdam mean to you? What does the city look like in 2025? Which objects, places and collective, polyphonic stories should be preserved or imagined to 'unlock' the city of 2025 for present and future generations? These memories will sometimes be beautiful and loving, but also sad and hurtful. They make friction visible, put important issues on the agenda and establish connections.

An open invitation, 'in-take events', assignments for artists, a mobile studio, an educational program and storytelling workshops will support the broadest possible participation. 'Collecting the city' will provide material for an interdisciplinary overview exhibition in 2025 with programming throughout the city and publication of the 750 most special, meaningful stories and objects, curated by a diverse committee of Amsterdammers. In the museum, the process is expected to generate a more inclusive idea of heritage, consisting of material, immaterial and imaginary heritage, and an acquisition policy changed accordingly.'[6]

Part of the narrative of a territory and part of the infrastructure of a city[7]

European city museums are as diverse, amorphous and unevenly outlined as their cities. They sit at the intersection of multifarious lines and hold multifaceted functions and responsibilities – from the deep past of prehistory into contemporary times, from arts and culture into involvement with urban preservation and future planning and development. Many of them are part of or close to municipal authorities and administrations, and work hard to be counted on as an active partner with valued contributions to the discussions, citizen dialogues and solutions of major current issues on the municipal agenda.

Immigration has been one such issue for city museums.[8] Sustainability is emerging as another. Both the Museum of London and the Museum of Copenhagen have focused on themes of waste and trash, as an obvious area of interest for museums with long archaeological traditions and expertise, and over the last decade city museums have begun to research, collect and exhibit the theme of urban nature. Prompted by an acute need to address the destructive consequences to city infrastructures of changing climates, such as for instance floods, current thinking is moving away from the dichotomies between nature and culture, between rural and urban posited in previous centuries. Contemporary urban planning begins to re-conceptualize urban environments as large living landscapes and ecosystems, which need to be shaped in respect and understanding for the laws and balances of nature. The annual European 'Green Capital' provided a framework for the Museum of Copenhagen's extensive focus on Urban Nature in 2014, creating new, fertile gardens on its grounds and thematic exhibitions in all its galleries. In 2020, as Lisbon holds the title of 'Green Capital', the museum of Lisboa is likewise opening this as a new sphere of interest and commitment.

> 'As part of a 3-year research and exhibition project on vegetable gardens in Lisbon, the museum of Lisboa is collecting a series of new objects: two models of urban gardens; a set of seed bombs; eight videos of interviews with eight gardeners currently working in community urban vegetable gardens across the city. It will be the first time the museum is incorporating objects which are totally out of the usual sphere of historic documents, visual and decorative arts, archaeology or industrial heritage. A thematic exhibition showcases the theme for a year from the fall of 2020.'[9]

7. These terms of how city museums are —ideally— situated and grounded have been powerfully phrased by Joan Roca i Albert, Barcelona History Museums, in a number of different contexts.

8. Migration and City Museums has been a focus for CAMOC, the ICOM committee for museums of the city. See for instance, https://museumsandmigration.files.wordpress.com/2016/12/camoc_review_nr4_jan2017.pdf, accessed 15.01.21.

9. Personal communication, Joana Sousa Monteiro, email, 15.09.20.

Model of a permaculture vegetable garden. Photo: José Frade. Museu de Lisboa.

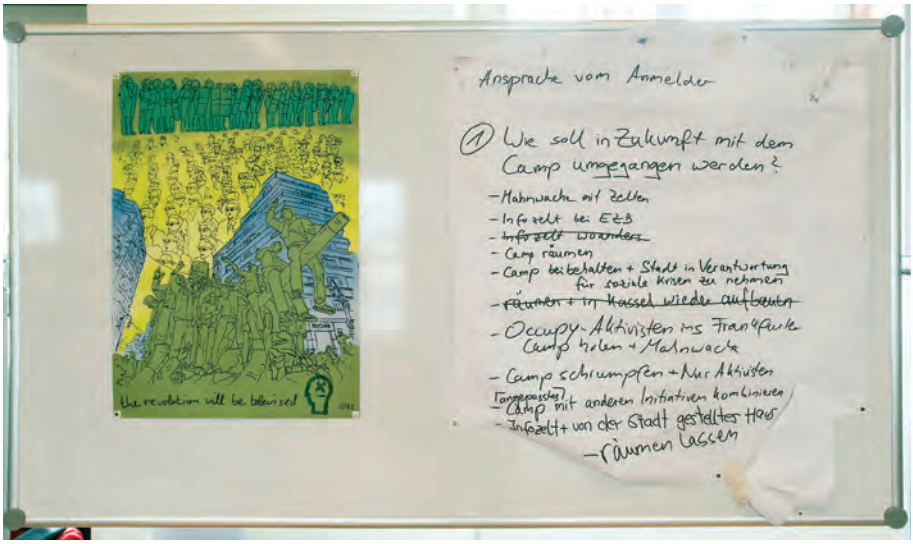
Rapid response to urgent crises

When the corona pandemic hit cities in 2020 as a major crisis in infrastructures, health and welfare, city museums in London, Frankfurt and Helsinki moved to collect objects, documents, recordings that for the residents signified the situation in a meaningful way, in what after the collecting done by the Museum of the City of New York and the New York Historical Society after September 11, 2001 has become known as a rapid response collecting.

Boy on a swing. One of the challenges of distance work was to relax between work and school. Photo: Yehia Eweis. Helsinki City Museum.

'For the Helsinki City Museum community work and participatory strategies are core as they are for the city of Helsinki as such. With a continued focus on the organization of the City of Helsinki, not least as a key provider of the welfare services for the residents, under the corona crisis the museum collected the stories of city officials and staff about the exceptional spring with a focus on distance work —a process which became in itself an almost therapeutic experience for the participants.
New collecting at the Helsinki City Museum is mainly digital. A further Covid 19 project was a documentation of Helsinki residents' Moods in Corona Time, collected via Instagram. This was integrated as an intervention in an existing exhibition of the war period 1939-45, with the current moods almost confusingly similar to those from the wartime, and the current crisis serving to lend new topicality and meaning to the memories of the war.'[10]

10. Personal communication, Minna Sarantola-Weiss, email, 7.09.20.



OCCUPY. Historisches Museum Frankfurt. Photo: P. Welzel.

Collecting conflicts, opposition and resistance

Cities are places where space is continuously negotiated and conflicts need to be continuously solved for a functioning, everyday coexistence. Collecting the contested and conflictual areas of urban life is a balancing act for city museums. As neutrality looks increasingly like a happy self-deception from former times, museums need to be vigilant and reflect which interests they are, implicitly or explicitly, supporting, resisting or opposing.

Particularly when collecting from conflicts over 'the rights to the city', from confrontations over symbolic spaces in the city between urban authorities and squatters, youth groups and 'autonomous' groups, city museums can find their professional autonomy under political pressure and the personal ethics of the professionals challenged by authorities with whom they otherwise work constructively – with an underlying assumption that being on the side of protest is to be political and activist, while supporting the status quo is not.

In the past decade the Occupy movement has represented such a contested socio-political movement which both the Museum of London and Historical Museum of Frankfurt have found it relevant to collect.

> 'From its contemporary collecting the Historical Museum of Frankfurt has experienced the deep relationship which people can develop to the museum when donating their stories or objects and which may in turn lead to a stronger sense of belonging to the city as such.

> The Frankfurt Occupy Camp was torn down by the police in the summer of 2012. In late summer a series of contemporary objects were collected by the museum in collaboration with the camp's activists. Political movements and protests are ephemeral events, and protest objects are often made for the moment. Camp activists identified important objects which symbolized the different aspects, purposes and daily life in the camp, and curators and activists discussed the perspectives of 'musealizing' contemporary protest. Through the meetings the teams got to trust each other, the activists developing faith in the museum as a communal institution, a place for every citizen and a forum for different historical perspectives, which was important for the decision in the camp to actually make the donation.'[11]

Museological blind spots of power, wealth and privilege

The socio-economic maps published by many or most major cities present the unambiguous facts about urban inequality, in terms of access to education and jobs, income and a good place to live. They also show the distribution of these resources according to demographic variables as ethnicity or migrant origin and status. Intersecting topographic and demographic data are readily available on such indicators of inequality as life expectancy across the different districts or neighbourhoods of a city. As inequalities are, preposterously, accelerating in our period of time, grasping and collecting them in a broad and profound sense is a major challenge for city museums, which have often seemed more comfortable with a vaguer concept of plurality and diversity than with a more precise perspective of social justice.

Objects and collections are, almost by definition, documented, labelled and interpreted from the privileged frame of reference and points of view of the time of their collecting. Residents who fail to conform to the dominant, conventional norms or who consciously have confronted power and public institutions have had little place in museum collections. Museums are known to be trusted and respected institutions, but they are, on closer scrutiny, also clearly the domain of the white, well-educated upper and middle classes. When city museums, in the name of plurality, attempt to reach out to include and collect from un-, under- or misrepresented communities, as, for instance, recent immigrants or LGBT communities, they may discover, as did the Museum of Copenhagen, that donating the hopeful, shameful, joyful or angry objects from one's conflicted and complex daily life is an act of trust, which the museum may not have earned or does not, as of yet, deserve.

11. Personal communication, Jan Gerchow, email, 24.09.20 and Dorothee Linnemann, email 20.11.20.

In the formal or informal division of labour between museums, the systematic collecting of objects and narratives from the major protest or resistance movements against patriarchal capitalism, such as unions, workers' movements, tenants' movements, women's movements, have tended, if at all, to go to specialist or national museums.

The absence of 'ethnographic' collections in most European city museums has also meant an absence of the tangible reminders of the fraught and violent exchange between Europe and other continents. What colonialism and imperialism —or specific areas as, for instance, the transatlantic slave trade— have meant and continue to mean for the wealth and privilege of European cities and their residents has not been part of or constitutive for the predominant narrative of city museums.

The impetus for filling gaps in collections and setting new strategic directions for collecting and correcting a city's narrative complexity and inclusivity can only to a certain extent come from within the collections themselves. Some gaps are rooted in epistemological and museological traditions that serve as blind spots essential for maintaining a perspective skewed by power, privilege and wealth. In these cases, the impetus will have to come from a theoretical discourse and research, and from living communities demanding representation.

The deep affiliation and multiple allegiances with the past and the status quo

The examples cited in this chapter all bear witness to the willingness and efforts of museums to engage with and respond to the major societal issues of our time from within the core of their museum functions.

Some of these collecting initiatives are part of an already established practice of community involvement and participation, and some are even seen as drivers for new developments in the museum. But one needs to keep asking oneself to what extent this type of collecting is representative for how museums spend the bulk of their resources, and whether, on closer appraisal, the social commitments of museums might come out looking trivial and tokenistic? One needs to keep balancing on that knife's edge between, on one side, our celebration of the rich potentials of museums, and, on the other, a nagging doubt that these potentials will remain exactly that, potentials only. Never underestimating the deep affiliation and multiple allegiances of museums with the past and the status quo and remembering how easily new developments can be turned back, the question one should ask —and which has not been asked here— is how thoroughly this social focus and commitment is embedded in the museum's mission, principles, governance and among core staff to not evaporate or disappear under changing circumstances?

These are days of reckoning for museums, as has been repeated so often in 2020. These are times when museums cannot afford to overstate their societal value and make undocumented claims to societal importance.

The impact of digital formats on city museums: displaying, creating heritage anb mobilizing cities and citizens

Rosa Tamborrino

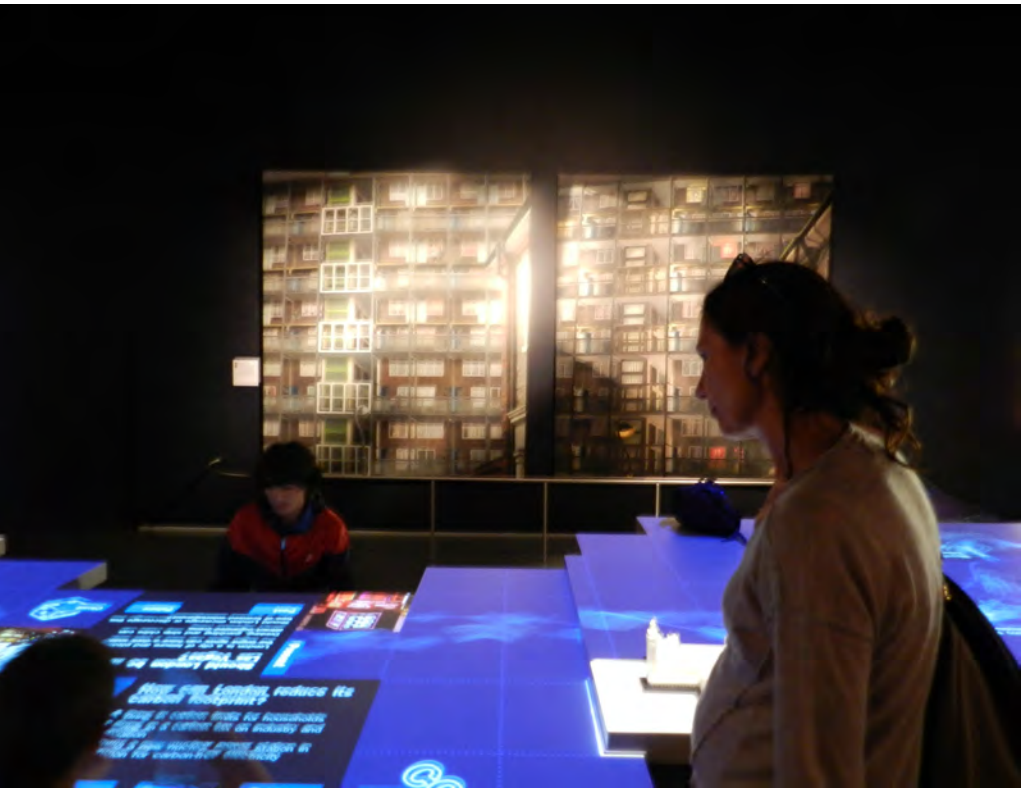
Recent changes in museums encompass the use of digital technology to display collections, create narratives and engage visitors. They also include ways of shaping new knowledge through innovative practices. Beyond preserving and exhibiting their collections, museums have become complex engines of culture that develop research, create new kinds of collections and promote social engagement and participation. The creation and implementation of digital formats involves deep transformation. Methods for sharing heritage are joined by societal challenges, such as democratisation and sustainability.

Novel formats can be especially disruptive in city museums, as narratives shape meanings across our living cities. While cities are embedded in the globalisation process, the methods with which city museums are using and focusing their collections concern the contemporary construction of the past and the diversity of urban identities. Questioning formats reveal how city museums are generating cultural strategies by managing their collections and shaping a response to societal and cultural developments.

The increase in audience and public engagement are key objectives to which digital approaches contribute for all kind of cultural institutions. However, curatorship, approaches, tools, and socio-cultural-economic impact account for specific challenges in the case of city museums. Strong relationships link these museums to their territory. Urban space and heritage as well as local developments and public wellbeing are crucial. Current museum formats range from integrating permanent collections and temporary exhibitions with virtual environments to online visitor engagement, from archives and digitally-created collections, to public events and webinars; from formats for training/educating/fun to formats for 'recovering'. The digital approach is a crosscutting perspective, embedded in the impact of museums on our digital society.

Making history in museums and creating heritage digitally

In recent decades, digital methods have increasingly infiltrated museum approaches and practices. At the most basic level, they are used to digitize heritage collections. Digital technologies have also given museums new ways of displaying and expanding, as well as creating new collections. They include public engagement formats and education programmes. In short, the digital approach



Visitors interact with digital outfitting at Museum of London. Photo: Rosa Tamborrino.[1]

is strongly changing museum practices in both exhibition and collection management. It is also affecting how objects coexist with data systems in databases, on websites and in museum galleries.

Digital formats have moved to city museums from other heritage fields (particularly archaeology) where first they were used to entertain visitors, improving the understanding of objects from ancient civilisations.[2] In city

1. Cf. Matthew Battles and Michael Maizels, 'Collections And/of Data: Art History and the Art Museum in the DH Mode', in Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein (eds) *Debates in the Digital Humanities* Minneapolis; London, University of Minnesota Press, 2016, pp 325-44. Accessed February 8, 2021. doi:10.5749/j.ctt1cn6thb.30.

2. Cf. Sebastian Hageneuer, Sophie C. Schmidt, 'Introduction' in Sebastian Hageneuer (ed) *Communicating the Past in the Digital Age: Proceedings of the International Conference on Digital Methods in Teaching and Learning in Archaeology (12th-13th October 2018)*, London, Ubiquity Press, 2020. Accessed February 8, 2021. See also Adolfo Muñoz, and Ana Martí, 'New Storytelling for Archaeological Museums Based on Augmented Reality Glasses' pp. 85-100.

museums, turning digital fosters a novel approach to making urban history and identifying urban heritage.[3] Favourite digital formats seem to be narrative and story-based approaches,[4] which allow them to collect urban memories, enlarging and integrating their original collection with digital born collections (which have no storage issues and can be easily re-used). By integrating exhibitions with digital formats and encouraging people to contribute their own evidence and stories, city museums aim to offer a plural historical perspective.

Digital methods are already in use across parallel academic fields of humanities and social sciences and have fostered new approaches to urban history. In classrooms and museums, digital formats display virtual reconstructions and push dynamic visions of cities. They emphasize past events and changes as a component of urban history.[5] The introduction of digital media also fosters another format, enabling the explicit link with sources and the simultaneous coexisting of different interpretations of historical and material data. They enable non-linear narratives.[6]

Digital transformation initiates a change beyond the museum's mission as a storyteller. It involves a 'shift in the positioning of audiences from cultural consumers to cultural producers.'[7] This shift not only concerns how digital formats display data but also how they enable other narratives and interactive behaviours.[8] It is especially relevant in city museums because of the immediate link of urban stories with our current civic life. Beside exhibiting the past, these formats play a role in collective memory-making across conflicts and

3. Cf. R. Tamborrino, 'The city on display: 'entering' urban history', Donatella Calabi (ed.) *Built city, designed city, virtual city. The museum of the city*, Rome, CROMA Università degli studi di Roma Tre, 2013, pp 35-55.

4. On the matter of digital storytelling see Joe Lambert, *Capturing Lives, Creating Community*, London, Routledge (2009) revised edition 2018. Together with Dana Atchley the author founded the Center of Digital Storytelling at Berkeley University and the digital storytelling movement, https://digitalstorytelling.coe.uh.edu/page.cfm?id=27&cid=27&sublinkid=31 Accessed March 8, 2021. See also some other developments at Story Center website, https://www.storycenter.org/

5. Cf. Sven Dupré, Anna Harris, Julia Kursell, Patricia Lulof, and Maartje Stols-Witlox (eds), *Reconstruction, Replication and Re-enactment in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2020. Accessed February 10, 2021.

6. Hageneuer (ed), *Communicating the Past...*

7. Rhiannon Bettivia and Elizabeth Stainforth, 'The Dynamics of Scale in Digital Heritage Cultures' in Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Thomas Suzie, and Zhu Yujie (eds) *Politics of Scale: New Directions in Critical Heritage Studies*, New York, Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2019, pp 50-62. Accessed February 8, 2021.

8. Ian Gwilt, Patrick Mcentaggart, Melanie Levick-Parkin, and Jonathan Wood, 'Enhancing Museum Visits through the Creation of Data Visualisation to Support the Recording and Sharing of Experiences,' in Simon Popple, Andrew Prescott, and Daniel H. Mutibwa, *Communities, Archives and New Collaborative Practices* (eds), Bristol, Bristol University Press, 2020, pp 123-38. Accessed February 7, 2021.

Digital terminal and "workstation" for visitors at Historische Museum Frankfurt.
Photo: Rosa Tamborrino

changes in cities and the lives of their people, affecting controversial memories and memory removal.[9]

Digital formats can be quite expensive for city museums, which rely heavily on municipal support. Are digital methods really changing the face of city museums? How do digital formats affect urban memory building? Do participatory processes, community, and "openness" really have an impact? These questions have taken our survey to European city museums and beyond. The survey has been conducted through a literature review, various visits just before

9. See the Red Location Museum of Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality devoted to apartheid in South Africa. Cf. Naomi Roux, 'Memorial Constructions: The Red Location Cultural Precinct' in *Remaking the Urban: Heritage and Transformation in Nelson Mandela Bay*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2021, pp 33-83. See also Moniek Driesse, 'Mapping traditions: a dynamic notion of urban heritage and the changing role of the city museum', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 30, 1, 2018, p. 87 accessed 3/14/2021.

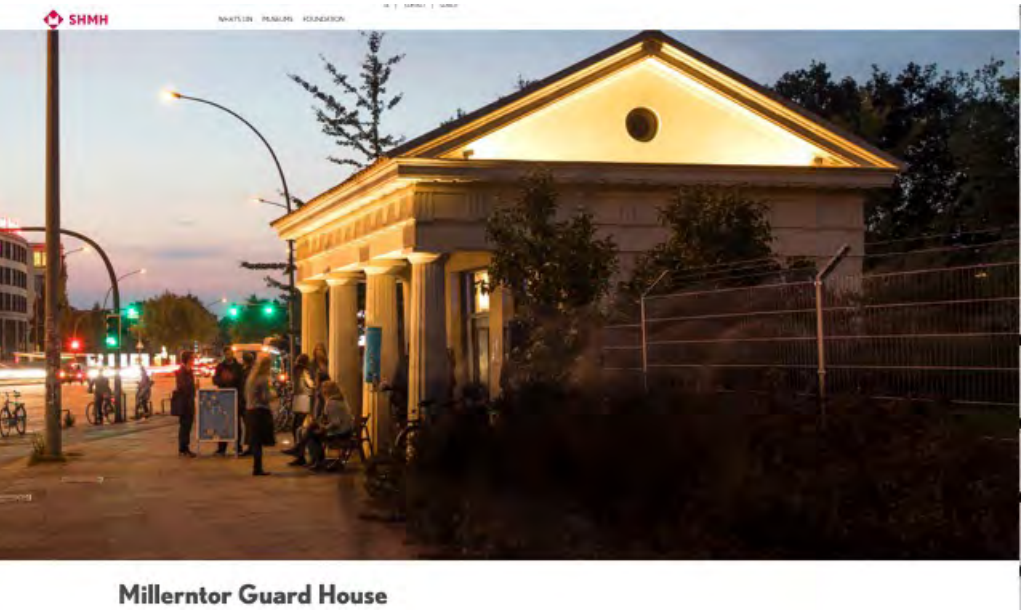
Video-cabine for collecting collective memories at Historische Museum Frankfurt.
Photo: Rosa Tamborrino

the pandemic, and museum websites. This analysis also benefits from research and meetings during recent collaboration with city museums.[10] Some data and reflection are provided below.

The recent new exhibition at the refurbished Historische Museum Frankfurt provides an updated good practice example of a general reconsideration of museum narratives which encompasses traditional and digital formats.

The permanent exhibition in situ is chronological and thematic, and pays attention to issues that emphasize the highlights of urban history and some problematic crossroads. It should be noted that a limited number of museum pieces are displayed to create a dense narrative. In parallel with the collection,

10. Several meetings organized by the Museum of Barcelona of the intersectoral group History City Museum and Research Network of Europe, and debates conducted by its director, Juan Roca, offered a chance to reflect through a comparative perspective.



Millerton Guard House Museum of Oral History from the website of Stiftung Historische Museen Hamburg Accessed April 1st 2021 https://shmh.de/en/millerntor-guard-house.

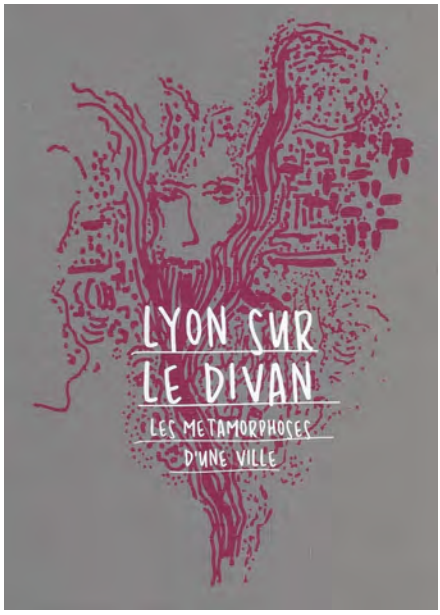
the museum has devoted extensive space (ca 600m² entitled *Frankfurt Now*) to new projects that create collaborative stories. New stories are clearly shown as ongoing curated projects of the *CityLab* format: they have specific focus and designated positions.

The *CityLab* in the museum is complemented by two other formats: a street-format (which triggered the others) taking curators outside the museums to meet people on the streets, and a *Digital CityLab* in the form of a digital platform where users can expand the collected and geolocated information. Invited users are expected to be the people of Frankfurt.[11] A department of expert staff is available for this purpose.[12]

Digital formats for crowdsourcing and/or participatory projects have been undertaken by several city museums in the last few years. Some museums foster online projects while others prefer to focus on real urban space,

11. This web page and the urban city map navigation contents are in German only. Cf. https://stadtlabor-digital.de/de/stadtlabor-digital?language=en accessed 8/3/2021. Historische Museum Frankfurt, Digital City lab.

12. I would like to thank the director, Jan Gerchow, for the visit and our discussion on the matter of the new setup, together with my colleague from Antwerpen University, Peter Stabel, in December 2019.



Detail of the book cover Lyon sur le divan (Gadagne Musées, Libel éditions, 2017) with an urban image portraying Lyon realised at the occasion of the campaign.

encouraging people to physically interact with the museum and the city. The Hamburg Museum represents a case of museums devoting a special urban site to engaging visitors in a project for the construction of a new oral history collection. Shown in the presentation on the museum website, the neoclassical Millerntorwache, is a guard house which was once part of the city walls, and this site is a component of this city museum-visitor interaction.

Visiting 'a piece' of living urban heritage establishes the first contact. Contributors can arrange appointments to deliver their private memories about urban past events that they have witnessed.[13] By moving from an historical reconstruction of the event to its perception ("How does it feel if you are caught up in a catastrophe in the middle of a cold night in February?"), these kinds of museum stories are also supporting a people-centered approach to disaster and social resilience. Moreover, people-centered projects encourage reflecting

13. The project is located in the neoclassical Millerntorwache, a guard house which was once part of the city walls. It identifies this "cosy place" to invite citizens "to share their personal memories and to listen to others". https://shmh.de/en/millerntor-guard-house accessed 7/2/2021 Stiftung Historische Museen Hamburg, Millerntor Guard House.

The online format "Making History" developed by Victoria Museums as it appears at museum website, https://museumsvictoria.com.au/learning/making-history/1-introduction-to-digital-history/ accessed 29/1/2021.

on changes of urban image perception. The campaign *Lyon sur le divan* in 2017 fostered citizens to discuss with researchers of the National agency of urban psychology (by sitting in a sofa in the middle of the city) and to draw their own portrait of the city. The following exhibition organised by the Musée de Histoire de Lyon added a "et pour vous?" asking visitors point of views.

As a parallel path, *'Making history: research, create, share'*, created by Australia's Victoria Museum, is an online format made available through its website.[14] It enables users or a group of users to create their own family or community story based on a set of resources provided by the museum's digital archive.

Digital formats also question the figure of the format's curator. By engaging people, city museums are enabled (or would enable) non-linear format in order to create a plural urban perspective in today's multicultural multiethnic cities. Accordingly, the curator becomes a cultural mediator. *Cleveland Historical* is a format developed by the Center for Public History and Digital

14. Cf. "Making History", the online format developed by Victoria Museums https://museumsvictoria.com.au/learning/making-history/1-introduction-to-digital-history/ accessed 29/1/2021 Museums Victoria Introduction to digital history. It includes Melbourne Museum and other museums, such as Bunjilaka Aboriginal Cultural Centre. The online format allows the use of a set of resources, supporting students, individuals and community groups with investigating and creating a short digital history. https://museumsvictoria.com.au/learning/making-history/

Humanities that suggests a new kind of curation.[15] It provides a transformative way of understanding "the place" in cities.[16] In this collaborative oral history project, the community actively participates in reworking understandings of places and community identity.

The German museums mentioned above foster gradual engagement to increase awareness in citizens as witnesses and experts of their city, contributing to the museum collection. The Cleveland perspective focuses more on people as users of urban space. The Victoria Museum's approach combines collecting and displaying with educational activities. It bases its online potential on oral history videos and classrooms.

The formats target people/users of all provenance, age and genders. Their engagement with events contemporary to their lives as well as the focus on subjectiveness aim to build a new narrative of urban heritage. This approach overcomes urban identity as a notion based only on the specificity of city history and traditions, taking into account the sense of belonging and cultural identity[17] provided by collective memories that shape current urban identities, both in practices and players with different backgrounds.

Not only do these new formats impact the urban heritage on display by incorporating different storytelling, they also influence novel teaching/learning approaches. Open-ended narrative and egalitarian dialectical have an enormous impact on education formats. Some parallel aspects have been identified both in museum practices and in digital humanities scholarships.

On one hand, authors have identified a kind of *performative format*. The activation of digitally enabled doing has been described as a form of 'enactment' (Parry 2019; Dupré 2020). This term, pertinent to theater and music, frequently recurs in digital humanities relating to the "senses of action" of its approach.[18] The same recurrence and meaning characterizes forms of education and public

15. Cleveland Historical website Cf. https://clevelandhistorical.org/ accessed 4/1/2021.

16. Mark Tebeau, 'Listening to the City: Oral History and Place in the Digital Era', *The Oral History Review*, 40, 1, 2013, pp 25-35. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43863453 accessed 8/2/2021.

17. The recommendations of international organisations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS underline the need to include plural identities and intercultural dialogue by fostering the notion of "belonging" rather than identity. Examples include the integration of the concept of "cultural significance" in the Burra Charter (ICOMOS, 1979, Burra Charter. https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/Burra-Charter_1979.pdf). Cf. UNESCO (2015), Recommendation Concerning the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections, Their Diversity and Their Role in Society. Available online http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/museums/recommendation-on-the-protection-and-promotion-of-museums-and-collections/.

18. See Kyle Parry, 'Reading for Enactment: A Performative Approach to Digital Scholarship and Data Visualization' in GOLD and KLEIN *Debates in the Digital Humanities...*, pp 141-60. See also Elisa Mandelli, *The Museum as a Cinematic Space: The Display of Moving Images in Exhibitions*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2019. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctvnjbh8k accessed 2/7/2021.

Visitors at digital terminal of Museum of Liverpool. Photo: Rosa Tamborrino

engagement that bring "bodily knowledge and sensory skills" to classrooms and museums.[19]

On the other hand, city museum practices and digital humanities methodologies share data-driven rebuilding processes that require technological supports. The Museum of Liverpool, for instance, offers a multimedia approach to listening for music groups, immersive panorama projection to experience a football game, and a designated place where visitors become users of a digital platform to explore in situ geolocated contents and search for place-related contents in the museum database.

The content in question appears "computationally domesticated to the database".[20] Moreover these emerging models also implicate new methods for assessing the social impact and public mission of museum.[21]

The pandemic formats: the portrait of time

19. Cf. Dupré, Harris, Kursell, Lulof, and Stols-Witlox (eds), *Reconstruction, Replication and Re-enactment...*

20. Battles and Maizels, 'Collections And/of Data... p 334.

21. Cf. Enrico Bertacchini and Federico morando, 'The Future of Museums in the Digital Age: New Models for Access to and Use of Digital Collections,' *International Journal of Arts Management* 15, 2, 2013, pp 60-72. Accessed 7, 2, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24587113

Since the 1990s and the launch of the first museum websites, museums have developed new channels to engage their public.[22] Museums publish data on the Internet and in closed networks (intranets) for their visitors. However, most museums have not fully benefited from this tool as a new kind of cultural online offer until now.

In many cases, city museum websites are just a component of municipal websites. The Museo de Historia de Madrid provides an interesting example.[23] There are two web developments. The double path appears as a way to underline a choice by creating certain specifications. The city's official tourism website provides some information on the city museum in Spanish and English.[24] The municipal website integrates the museum's online offer into urban life. Monthly museum curators introduce "a piece", linking it to the related urban heritage site and pertinent documentation. The Musée de Histoire de Lyon does something similar. A new city museum website was recently launched, offering details of programmes, projects and curators involved in the remaking of the museum as well as webinars.[25]

In other cases, online formats interact with onsite museum formats. Following the digitization of the Amsterdam Museum's entire collection, the museum decided to make everything accessible online. This gives people an insight into the complete collections of both the Amsterdam Museum and Museum Willet-Holthuysen, and the museum is free to be more selective in the presentation of its collection in the permanent exhibition (90% of the pieces are not on display in the museum but clearly visible online).[26] The museum asks researchers and members of the public for contributions. Online visitors are asked for their 'assistance' item by item, with comments and suggestions. There are some difficulties in the transition between the objects and their immaterial representation, involving the distinction between real and digital formats

22. Cf. Caitlin Chien CLERKIN and L. Taylor BRADLEY, 'Online Encounters with Museum Antiquities,' *American Journal of Archaeology* 125, 1, 2021, pp 165-75.

23. Cf. https://www.madrid.es/portales/munimadrid/es/Inicio/Cultura-ocio-y-deporte/Cultura-y-ocio/Museo-de-Historia-de-Madrid?vgnextfmt=default&vgnextoid=ab18a1ead63ab010VgnVCM100000d90ca8c0RCRD&vgnextchannel=c937f073808fe410VgnVCM2000000c205a0aRCRD. Accessed 6, 2, 2021 Madrid municipality web site Museo de Historia de Madrid.

24. Cf. Madrid official tourism website https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/museo-de-historia

25. Cf. https://www.gadagne-lyon.fr/ Accessed 6, 2, 2021 Musée de Lyon-Gadagne Cf, also https://www.lyon-france.com/Je-decouvre-Lyon/culture-et-musees/musees/musee-d-histoire-de-lyon-musees-gadagne Only Lyon Musée d'Histoire de Lyon-Musées Gadagne

26. Cf. Amsterdam Museum official website, https://www.amsterdammuseum.nl/en/collection/online-collection accessed 26, 1, 2021 Amsterdam Museum Online Collection

(museum collection and digital libraries). Linguistically too, the call mentions 'piece' while it actually means data.

In general, even if they have their own website, city museums usually see it as a tool for reaching the public instead of a format. Social media also had been mostly used to spread information rather than analyse it. The development of a real platform to meet people and deal with the museum mission in a new digital environment requires expertise and investments, and online tools have been used poorly due to their novel disruptive potential.

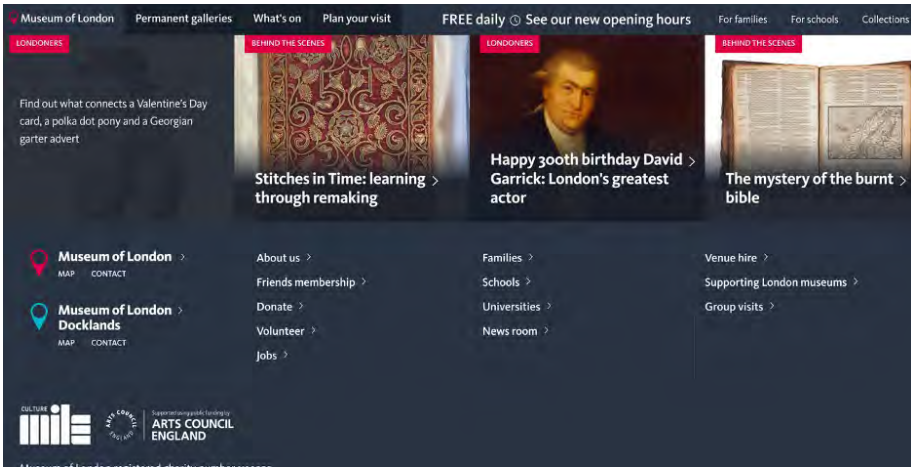
However, while online educational formats were seen by authors as still needing to be explored and the museums' learning-centred approach still had to be transferred to the web,[27] the Coronavirus pandemic suddenly encouraged new online curation formats. City museums using digital technologies have made huge progress in making their collections and narratives digitally accessible over the last year. Two kinds of format are currently in use: synchronous technologies such as live webinars and online digital archives, along with collaborative environments where you can interact and create a sense of community. The first makes resources available to visitors for their entertainment, while interactive formats aim to go beyond the notion of 'visitors' and actively engage people in creating.

In March 2020, in Italy, with the first lockdown in the world a new need for an online cultural offer arose. While cultural institutions were closing, some of them felt the need to offer a 'comfort format' to encourage people to stay at home with virtual public entertainment. Despite a lack of digitization of Italian museums, they set to work creating formats to 're-open online' in response to the dramatic situation. I call this response a *new pandemic format* which provided evidence of cultural and social resilience.

The ongoing Italian project MNEMONIC —by Politecnico di Torino in partnership with Fondazione Polo del 900— will provide a digital platform to collect 'the memory of the present' and offer Italian museums productions and collectively changed uses of urban and marginal spaces in locked down Italy.[28]

27. William B. Crow and Herminia Din, 'The Educational and Economic Value of Online Learning for Museums'. *The Journal of Museum Education* 35, 2, 2010, pp 161-72 (p. 162). http://www.jstor.org/stable/25801345 accessed 2/9/ 2021.

28. MNEOMONC is a research project (coordinated by the author of this paper) by the Department of urban and regional studies and planning in partnership with Fondazione Polo del 900. The foundation is a museum and cultural center in Turin clustering 22 Turin cultural institutions. MNEMONIC website http://www.mnemonic.polito.it/. The project was launched in July 2020 and is supported by Politecnico di Torino. It follows the initial observation of changes in the use of private, collective and public spaces since the beginnings of lockdown in Italy. Cf. R. Tamborrino, 'Coronavirus: locked-down Italy's changing urban space', *The Conversation*, March 20th, 2020, https://theconversation.com/coronavirus-locked-down-italys-changing-urban-space-133827. accessed 2/11/2021.



Museum of London website, some online digital formats at https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/emma-hamiltons-copy-haydns-creation accessed April 1st 2021.

Unlike elsewhere in Europe, Italy's urban heritage is spread among a myriad of museums. The online platform will allow the networking of the current digital and real-world transformations of urban heritage practices by mapping formats (tools, interactions, stakeholders) in Italian cities and cultural institutions as a form of urban resilience. The final *MNEMONIC Atlas* aims to know more about new ways 'to make and provide' heritage, culture, entertainment, education at the time of the pandemic era.

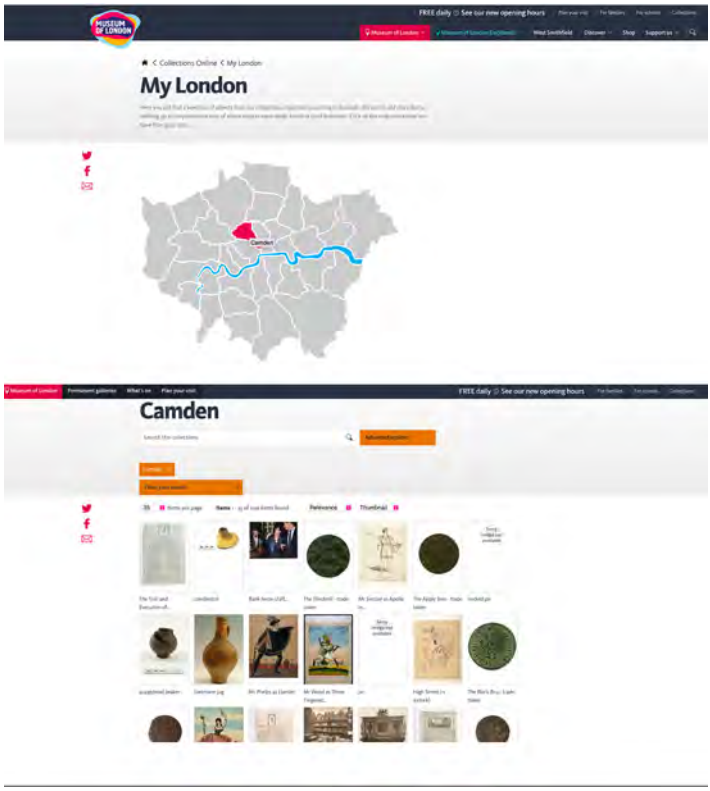
The spread of the pandemic around the world has generated the offer of special online formats everywhere. Several city museums are 'open online with loads of content to keep you entertained'.[29] The Museum of London website offers several online exhibitions on various aspects of urban history, such as fashion, the Roman period, black history, Londoners, Hidden London; the *Behind the scenes* is a container-format that also offers access to a series of online exhibitions.

My London format groups together items from the museum collections linkig them to urban borroughs.

The offer is continuously updated and formats are re-organized. Since January 2021 the museum also acquires 'viral tweets for collecting COVID'.[30] Users

29. Cf. Museum of London website, https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/museum-london accessed 2/11/2021 Museum of London.

30. The format is a part of the project *Going Viral*. https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/news-room/press-releases/museum-london-acquires-tweets accessed 3/13/2021 Museum of London acquires 'viral' tweets for collecting COVID, 28 January 2021.



Camden collection in My London format at the Museum of London website
https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/boroughs/ accessed April 1st 2021.

of the Wien Museum website can visit the online *"History and City Life Collection"* searching through 53195 "items reflecting the cultural, political, social, economic and day-to-day history of Vienna from 1500 to the present day". Alternatively, they can access visual stories in the form of digital *Albums*. These digital formats are among the most articulate and eclectic online materials offered by city museums, with thirty Albums on Vienna, the Viennese, and art from different periods, displayed in random order.[31] The Helsinki Museum web site lets

31. Thirty individual short *Albums* in digital format are listed in random order (enabled by the chronology of their creation). However, some themes can be recognized: some *Albums* focus on objects (shields, watches, money, death masks, shadow plays, fans), others are monographic portraits of artists (painters, musicians, engravers, artistic directors, graphic artists, photographers), others socio-architectural (such as cafés, cards, 18th Century Viennese buildings and urban space), socio-political (barricades, production by female artists, avant-garde). Wien Museum website. https://www.wienmuseum.at/en/collections/history-and-city-life. accessed 3/3/2021.

you browse the collection of photographs, art and objects. It also offers *Finna* as a special collaborative project to survey Finland's streets. The Marseilles Museum offers a virtual visit of the city through a 3D interactive map and a chance to discover its history through a timeline.[32] *When Corona goes to the museum* is the concept around which Ljubiana Museum has created its new special pandemic format. The *Corona Project* is a call for the local community to describe how the pandemic has changed 'our households, workplaces and leisure activities'.[33]

Other developments are shown by the Luxembourg Museum website as a consequence of a constantly changing situation that requires short-term adaptation. As the exhibition *Fouillez les archives/Browse through the city archive* cannot be visited because of COVID-19 restrictions, a short video behind the scenes of the exhibition is available. The interactive format, *Discover the exhibition in 3D*, enables a visit to the real exhibition in a virtual environment. The Virtual Reality method is also available with the use of Oculus and a strong interaction with the tool is encouraged, offering the chance to zoom in and out on objects and captions.[34]

Conclusions

If the history of the city is on display in the museum, the living city seems to be more and more the real subject of museum formats nowadays. Introducing the book *Museums Inside Out*, the editor asks "Where does the museum end and the outside world begin?"[35]

Formats capable of creating direct interactions between museum heritage and urban heritage in urban space (the city which hosts the museum) are provided by Apps. By downloading the Marseille museum website app, some *Historical Journeys of Marseilles* are enabled to experience open air urban heritage.[36] However, beyond enacting a digital experience, digital transformation entails digital curatorial practices for '(re)negotiating identities, cultural revitalisation and economic development'.[37] Among the different scales of heritage-making

32. Cf. https://www.musee-histoire-marseille-voie-historique.fr/fr accessed 2/3/2021 Musée de histoire de Marseille

33. https://mgml.si/en/city-museum/exhibitions/518/corona-project/ accessed 2/3/2021 Lubjana Museum

34. https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=zYcioJ8QBt6 accessed 3/2/2021 Lëtzebuerg City Museum.

35. Mark W. Rectanus, 'Introduction: MOVING OUT' in *Museums Inside Out: Artist Collaborations and New Exhibition Ecologies*, Minneapolis; London, University of Minnesota Press, 2020, pp 1-26.

36. Thanks to augmented reality, the format allows users to visit the city "walking" in its history. Cf. https://www.musee-histoire-marseille-voie-historique.fr/visit/tools accessed 3/8/2021 Musée de Marseille.

37. Gregory Ashworth, 'Interview' in Bryony Onciul, Michelle L. Stefano, and Stephanie Hawke, *Engaging Heritage, Engaging Communities* (eds), Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY, USA, Boydell & Brewer, 2017, pp 51-54.

in recent years,[38] increasing awareness of urban heritage is related to its impact on local communities.

The digital world is an opportunity for democratization and a challenge for designing new city museum developments. A critical approach to tools and formats as well as the integration of these formats in cultural and scientific standards are essential. A number of new formats have been rapidly produced under the pressure of current needs. Our analysis reveals uncertainty. Dating for digital products is always dubious as is their curation. These oversights, together with ephemerality, are critical aspects of digital formats. There is also sometimes a lack of context (both physical and cultural). Some formats provide visual sequences (image galleries) to narrate the past, instead of providing historical interpretative narrative as a museum is expected to. The most interesting formats seems to be those created specifically for a digital environment. Once shaped, they are presented as containers of various exhibitions and activities. Being tools, they perform different functions to those of an exhibition in real life. User-friendly interfaces can enable more than a basic search in a database. The digital approach has to empower human vision, enhancing not only the use of a collection but the power of heritage itself. Networking museum digital formats could be an interesting perspective for questioning urban heritage.

In a publication on digital museum practice by the Frankfurt City Museum, the curator and senior advisor of digital museum practice, Marete Sanderhoff, has indicated the museum's "idea of Public Domain" as "the sum of human intellectual and creative efforts" to be used by everyone "how they please". Accordingly, the museum shares reproductions of works in the Public Domain free of restrictions. This clearly indicates that formats involve complex and relevant issues. In a digital society, curating is, more than ever before, a crucial aspect of cultural policies. Formats can position city museums as catalyzers of local and socio-cultural development or leave them at the mercy of change. The governance of formats capable of maintaining the museum's independent cultural and critical role is challenging. They need to be continuously explored and discussed.

38. Cf. Lähdesmäki, Thomas Suzie, and Zhu Yujie (eds) *Politics of Scale...*