**My Heritage, Your Heritage:**

**The Danish Jewish Museum as a National Heritage Space**

# Introduction

The Danish Jewish Museum (DJM) in Copenhagen presents a complicated relationship with heritage, as a process of remembering while using that memory in order to shape a Danish imagined national community.[[1]](#endnote-1) Museums are good agents for such change. Tony Bennett refers to a museum as a “civic laboratory” that “brings objects together in new configurations, making new realities and relationships both thinkable and perceptible,” as spaces that can influence the reconstruction of society.[[2]](#endnote-2)

This article explores the DJM as a text or as a treatise of a cultural agent in the discourse of the relationship between Jewish minority heritage and non-Jewish national heritage, which aims to reconstruct national society in a way that will accept migration as a phenomenon that does not “hurt” the nation. Within this discourse I focus on the question of how the museum engages with a religious heritage in a diverse, multicultural and post-secular Europe. I show that the museum in its present location can be understood as a national-cultural institution creating a physical embodiment of the Danish national community that incorporates the Jewish community, which is constructed as a migrant community. The article examines how the cultural heritage that is presented in the DJM and through its surroundings has the effect of combining a national space and a realm of Jewish memory. The article assesses if the museum incorporates the Jewish experience towards a multicultural perception of the national body, or retains the Danish myth of national cohesion.

# The DJM - Description

The DJM is located in the Old Royal library building and the Royal Boathouse, which is part of the same building. It is positioned opposite the Danish National Archives, not far from the National Museum of Denmark and near the Parliament. The entrance is through a courtyard with a heavy metal door that is inconspicuous, even somewhat hidden. There are no banners leading into the courtyard, nor any significant sign on the door, which has as its logo the word מצוה (*Mitzvah*) inscribed on it in Hebrew letters. The word, which means “(religious) commandment,” is not translated to Danish. The museum’s walls are lined with Scandinavian wood and the floors are covered with oak plank and slightly slanted.

The DJM was designed by Daniel Libeskind, the world-renowned architect, well known for the design of the Jewish Museum Berlin. Libeskind’s design of the logo also informs the layout of the corridors. Each space symbolizes a signpost in the Israelites’ biblical journey to redemption – from the Exodus from Egypt, through wandering through the wilderness, then the giving of the Law, and finally reaching the Promised Land.[[3]](#endnote-3) The DJM interprets each of its spaces in a symbolic manner as the road from immigration to integration in Denmark.[[4]](#endnote-4) *Exodus* is interpreted as Arrivals – immigrations to Denmark; *Wilderness* is Standpoints – diversity in the community and deals with immigrations; *Giving of the Law* is used for two themes: Mitzvah – referring to the rescue, and Traditions – Jewish religion. Finally, *Promised Land* deals with acceptance of the Jews in Denmark.

# A Jewish Heritage Commemorated and Challenged

Housing Jewish heritage within a Danish national heritage buildinglocated in the midst of its administrative heart is the crux of this museum. It opens a locality with obvious national meaning to include the story of a migrant community within it. Thus, it is a Danish space that encompasses a migrant heritage. Hosts and migrants come together in this place to co-produce a new narrative of nationhood and belonging.[[5]](#endnote-5) But in the process, the migrants’ heritage also changes and adapts to the hegemonic culture.

The DJM sprung from an initiative of the Danish Jewish community. The exhibitions “Kings and Citizens” (1982–3), “Danish Jewish Art” and “You Must Tell Your Children” (1984), which celebrated the 300th anniversary of the Jewish community in Denmark, were great successes in terms of the large number of visitors, and in that the exhibits later travelled to New York City.[[6]](#endnote-6) This response to exhibits on Jewish heritage encouraged the Society for Danish Jewish History to appoint a planning committee and to start fundraising. Securing funding and finding a home for the museum took many years, and finally came to fruition in 2004.[[7]](#endnote-7) Thus, the very idea of this museum and its forerunner activities correspond to the traditional Jewish desire to transmit their identity to their children, as commanded in the biblical verse: “And thou shalt tell thy son” (Exodus, 13:8), on which the name of one of the 1984 exhibitions was based.

The idea of the DJM as a space for Jewish-religious heritage is enhanced by the museum’s logo and layout, based on the letters מצוה (*mitzvah*) and on Jewish sacred history as the iconographic plan.[[8]](#endnote-8) Immigration is presented as a central feature of Jewish history both in the DJM brochure on the first space in the museum (“Arrivals” representing the Exodus) and the label on the first display in the museum: “Jewish history is full of departures, migrations and new beginnings. Jews have left many countries to start a new life somewhere else after being driven away from their homes, but also in order to pursue better careers or business opportunities in other countries.”[[9]](#endnote-9) Instead of the biblical Exodus*,* this text is about the various migrations of Jews to Denmark and their reception there. It portrays the voyage as a common Jewish experience, and immigration as a Jewish and European phenomenon with shared patterns.

The second space, “Standpoints,” which represents wandering in the wilderness, presents current and past differences within the Jewish community after its immigration. Its main message is that “[R]eligion is not the most important denominator for the Danish Jews.”[[10]](#endnote-10) In stark contradiction to this, the most impressive space is the third, “The Giving of the Law-Traditions” which presents the Jewish traditions of the Jews of Denmark.[[11]](#endnote-11) This is the largest presentation space in the DJM, exhibiting various religious artefacts. Janne Laursen, former director and founder of the DJM, asserts that Judaica (as representation of Jewish religion) should not considered the basis of Jewish homogeneity, but the museum’s website shows religious tradition under the caption “Cohesion.” The fourth space presents the rescue of Jews by the Danes during World War II and the Holocaust experience of Danish Jews. The fifth and last space, “Promised Lands,” which represents the Israelites’ arrival to the Land of Canaan, is dedicated to the successful integration of Jews in Denmark.

Each of these spaces challenges Jewish traditions and Jewish cohesion. Already, in the first space “Arrivals”*,* it is clear from the explanations of the exhibits in the museum’s brochure that that immigration and immigrants were diverse: “some chose Denmark as their destination, others ended up here by chance.”[[12]](#endnote-12) This suggests there is diversity in the Jewish community and praises this diversity over cohesion. In fact, it made one visitor wonder if it “does …really make sense to try to tell one common story about Jews?”[[13]](#endnote-13)

Furthermore, despite making immigration a central feature of Jewish history, Jewish diasporic character is challenged visually by minimalizing the exhibition of trans-national ties.[[14]](#endnote-14) This is particularly obviousin the last space, “Promised Lands,” where the United States and Israel are mentioned but not addressed in any depth, nor is any other destination of emigration shown or mentioned. Indeed, the museum brochure includes a short article on the difference between Bundism (a socialist movement) and Zionism, but deals predominantly with the former, and has only two laconic sentences that mention support for Zionism among Danish Jews.[[15]](#endnote-15) In the various exhibits, any connection to the Land of Israel is downplayed and presented mostly as having religious or even anti-Zionist motives, alluding to the possibility that at least some Danish Jews are anti-Zionist. Even the blue collection boxes and tree-planting certificates from the Jewish National Fund represent, according to the museum, an “affinity” with Zionism, not support or affiliation. This way the *Danish* character of the community is enhanced.[[16]](#endnote-16) The visitor is expected to interpret this as the elimination of a “competitive” promised land that would compete for the immigrant’s allegiance, leaving Denmark as the only possibility for redemption.

The “Danishness” of the community is also reflected in the that fact that Denmark does not have a Holocaust museum, and, as asserted the DJM’s former director, does not need one. Since the “majority of the Jews escaped to Sweden in 1943,” the museum is not to be identified as a Holocaust museum.[[17]](#endnote-17) Danish Jews are expected to experience the Holocaust as a “local” phenomenon and the Holocaust trauma is determined by the numbers of local victims. In the permanent exhibition, neither deaths nor suffering are highlighted. Denmark's collaborationist policy is mentioned only in the context that it helped save the Danish Jews from the fate of the Jews in the rest of Europe.[[18]](#endnote-18) Acceptance is expressed by their evacuation from their homes and having their lives saved by their Danish fellow citizens. Indeed, they were saved as *Danes*. Non-Danish Jews were not treated in quite the same way.[[19]](#endnote-19)

Jewish heritage is altogether presented as rather precarious. The community’s integration and even assimilation are hailed as its greatest success, to the point where the museum’s brochure presents some Jews whose Jewish identity is less important than a professional choice, for example as a Latin teacher.[[20]](#endnote-20) Visitors would be justified in wondering what Jewish tradition and identity mean in such a case. This is the opening to, and perhaps the price paid for, integration into a Danish social environment where one has a “Christian ‘identity’ without personal belief or active participation.”[[21]](#endnote-21) In this way, Jewish tradition is commemorated, but it is celebrated for its integration and acceptance into the wider society.

# Opening-up Denmark: A Danish Museum with a Migrant Variation

Since integration and assimilation are so closely connected, it is easy to understand how the DJM fulfils two ostensibly conflicting roles: as preserver of Jewish heritage and as Danish national heritage point. The DJM’s name, its location in the national hub, and the source of its budget all indicate that it is a national museum. As such, it is part of a tradition dating back to the beginnings of the nation-state, when a visit to a national museum served as a kind of cultural ceremony legitimizing the state.[[22]](#endnote-22) Fittingly, the DJM was opened in 2004 in the presence of the Queen. In 2011 the museum was recognized by the Danish government. It is supervised by the Heritage Agency of Denmark.[[23]](#endnote-23)

The location and the name of the DJM are the most immediate and most significant features that form the message of the DJM as a Danish national institution and as a space that accepts migrants. The old library building and Royal Boathouse within it are part of Danish heritage and the entire national hub. Proviantgården was built in 1603 on Slotsholmen, the island which is now Denmark's administrative center. It was built as part of Christian IV's Arsenal Dock and decommissioned in the 1860s. Beginning in 1994, Proviantgården has been converted into offices for the Danish Parliament, together with a reading room for the National Archives. Within the walls of this national building, Libeskind designed the DJM. Through it, Jewish heritage is incorporated, suggesting a diversification of the national heritage, tying together the past of the minority with the past of the nation in one urban space, which widens the scope of Danish heritage.[[24]](#endnote-24) The same convergence is expressed by the logo which ties *Mitzvah*,a Jewish (religious) concept, to Danish-Jewish memory. Libeskind interpreted this concept as “the good deed” of “the rescue of the Danish Jews in 1943,” namely the evacuation of most of Denmark’s Jews to neighboring Sweden, in resistance to the order of their arrest and deportation.[[25]](#endnote-25)

This event is also celebrated by the DJM’s third space, “Giving of the Law.” Thus, the Danes’ “good deed” is represented by a Jewish-religious concept and is played out within Jewish sacred history and biblical story of their travels from Egypt to their Promised Land. The museum is a celebration of the Danes’ finest hour – the rescue of Danish Jews. The rescue is celebrated not only as an ethical deed, as Libeskind noted, but is meant to epitomize the acceptance and integration of the Jewish community in Denmark. It is supposed to illustrate just how far Danes were willing to go to save *Danish* Jews. The DJM’s interior design, with its Scandinavian wood-covered walls and slanted floors, gives the visitor the impression of locality combined with migration.

The centrality of the rescue story embodies tension between assimilation and particularity. The entrance and architecture present the double message of Holocaust and salvation. Not only does the reminder of the Holocaust undermine feelings of safety, the hidden entrance door brings forth feelings of loss and a need to hide.[[26]](#endnote-26) The museum’s entrance can remind visitors of an entrance to a bomb shelter. However, the architect actually meant it to be reminiscent of an entrance to a treasury. The treasury Libeskind had in mind was the unhindered continuous heritage of Danish Jews, preserving therein what was lost in the destruction of the Holocaust. This metaphor fits well the museum’s ensconced position as well as its aim for research and dissemination of Jewish history and culture. Its modest outside is in deep contrast to the nationalist aura of its location and the celebratory mood of its internal architecture. The ante-room to the museum is a cinema where films propounding Libeskind’s idea for the museum and in which he praises the outstanding behavior of the Danes who carried out the rescue.[[27]](#endnote-27) But the emphasis on WWII experiences serves as a reminder of the threat of extermination that the Jews had faced as “others.” The resemblance of the slanted floor in the DJM with the Jewish Museum Berlin creates an association with the expulsion of the Jews.[[28]](#endnote-28)

The scenery resembles the deck of a boat, and the visit program is designed as a sea voyage. It is the re-enactment of the rescue/evacuation of the Jews. But The DJM goes far beyond Libeskind’s vision for the celebration of the rescue, and promises immigrants a new home in a new Promised Land. Therefore, the voyage of the visitor is also a re-enactment of the long road from immigration to full integration of Jews in Denmark. The museum celebrates immigration (and integration) as a European and Jewish phenomenon.[[29]](#endnote-29) The simulation of the sea voyage is a means of destabilization not only of one’s physical foothold, but also of identity. Visitors tread in the footsteps of Jewish immigrants from their exodus from their original countries through the immigrants’/visitors’ arrival, and redemption – as equal citizens in Denmark.[[30]](#endnote-30) Along the way, visitors absorb the idea that the Danes have already successfully absorbed an immigrant group in the past as a “good deed.”

The DJM proclaims Denmark as providing “spaciousness” for the Jewish immigrants, and plays out the process of Jewish integration, and thus challenges Danish self-proclaimed homogeneity and acts as a call for change. How well this challenge works can be seen in the uncomfortable reaction a 38-year-old man had to the museum and the video presented in the entrance-hall; this visitor said he felt “jarred on the ear” by the high praise Libeskind showered on the Danes for the 1943 rescue, as he contrasted it with current-day intolerance. The reaction shows how well the DJM’s message is understood as an *ideal* and works as a call for action and not as feel-good celebration of the past.[[31]](#endnote-31)

# A Museum as a “Civic Laboratory”

The combination of the Danish association of national heritage and national administration with Jewish heritage relieves the tension of the dilemma of whose heritage is to be preserved.[[32]](#endnote-32) The interplay between the Jewish content, the various connections to the Jewish community, the Danish national environment and government support make this museum a space of negotiated heritages: Jewish heritage meets Danish self-conception. As we have seen, the DJM’s layout virtually conflates Danish and Jewish identities. The Danish good deed is played out by Jewish sacred history and Jewish sacred history is interpreted as the road from immigration to integration.

Beyond preservation, it aims to challenge the visitor into accepting a new content into an ongoing location of heritage. This is unusual for Danish museums, most of which engage with the global to reassert the national by displaying national experience and preserving common memory. The national museum does not include minorities: the Germans, Greenlanders, Roma or Jews.[[33]](#endnote-33) The story of Jewish migration is enjoined to destabilize Danish-Christian homogeneous identity making them more compliant towards immigrants and their cultures. However, the focus of the museum on the salvation of the Jews makes the Jewish visitor ready to see Denmark as the land of redemption. But since the DJM is based on the 1943 rescue, it acts as justification and affirmation and might make acceptance of change easier.[[34]](#endnote-34)

The educational aim of the DJM visit is immediately clear in its presentation of the Jews as a community of immigrants who have been successfully integrated. The museum is designed to educate towards a more positive attitude towards immigrants through the positive example of the Jewish experience.[[35]](#endnote-35) The museum’s four-year-plan presents Jewish cultural history as providing “a comparative European perspective that enables us to illuminate both specific and general terms for coexistence between the minority and the surrounding community”.[[36]](#endnote-36) Janus Møller Jensen, the current director of the DJM, asserts that: “you can change the museum guest. You do not become another human being, but if you leave here with a feeling of being surprised, then you have created something that can sprout. And something that can grow.”[[37]](#endnote-37)

The ethical call for accepting migrants positions Jewish migrants as an archetype. It carries the danger of relegating the Jewish community to the position of “the Jew” as a stranger.[[38]](#endnote-38) But it does not. It celebrates integration achieved by Danish acceptance and through the convergence of Jewish and Danish history, values and memory. In a recent activity at the museum, the public was invited to watch the documentary film *Flotel Europa* by Vladimir Tomic. The documentary is about Tomic’s own experience as a refugee from Bosnia living on the ship the Europa, which housed refugees for two years. Although this experience is not Jewish, the picture illustrating the event on the museum’s website is of the hotel ship St. Lawrence that was docked at the Copenhagen Harbor, which housed hundreds of Jewish refugees in the late 1960s.[[39]](#endnote-39) The rescue acts as a reaffirmation of the past but also as a forceful encouragement for the future.

Indeed, most of the effort to achieve acceptance is presented as coming from the side of the Jewish community and their effort to blend in. The external appearance of the DJM is symbolic. Its modest outside contrasts the national aura of its location. The modesty makes the entrance hard to detect, and unlike the other museums nearby, it does not boast of its existence with flying banners.[[40]](#endnote-40) This modesty communicates the entire message: migrants can be integrated in the body politic to such an extent that they are almost imperceptible. Likewise, the DJM is rather unusual among Jewish museums by emphasizing the diversity of the community and thereby their diffusion in the society.

# Conclusion

Kevin Lynch warns that the major “danger in the preservation of [an historical] environment lies in its power to encapsulate some image of the past, an image that may in time prove to be mythical. …We should expect to see conflicting views of the past, based on conflicting views of the present.”[[41]](#endnote-41) A boathouse basement of the Royal Library constructed in the early seventeenth century by King Christian IV is a place of Danish heritage, and Libeskind, a modern well-known Jewish architect, planned it as the shrine to the rescue myth. But while the outside is material heritage, the content inside is not about the architecture and not entirely about the myth. It is about housing an intangible cultural heritage of what is depicted as an immigrant minority. Ostensibly, it is a house for Jewish history, culture and religion as it was manifested in Denmark; in reality it aims to fashion Danish heritage.[[42]](#endnote-42) As such it both re-enforces the myth of the past and challenges the present society in its present attitude towards its current immigrants.

The DJM celebrates integration yet emphasizes immigration of members of a community that was first established three centuries ago. The museum presents a common heritage with the majority society beyond cultural differences. The story of the rescue is meant to construct a common memory of Jews and Danes. At first glance, the DJM is the glorification of the past – by celebrating unreservedly the rescue of Jews in 1943. But by casting the celebration of the Danish deed as a Jewish realm of memory it is objectified and turned into a challenge for the present society rather than as self-complacent commemoration.

While it challenges, it also holds out a promise. The museum was inspired by the Jewish desire to transmit its heritage to its children, but it belongs to the Danish national museum system. It sets out to illustrate a combined heritage that provides space for a minority’s heritage while posing no threat to the majority’s cohesiveness. By making visitors aware of the Jewish component as both integrated and distinct, it aims to facilitate further acceptance of immigration.

1. Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London; Routledge, 2006), 44. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. T. Bennett, ‘Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthood and the Governance of the Social’, *Cultural Studies* 19, no. 5 (2005): 525–526. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Daniel Libeskind, ‘Mitzvah: The Concept for the Danish Jewish Museum’, in *Daniel Libeskind: The Danish Jewish Museum*, ed. Henrik Sten Moeller (Copenhagen: Danish Jewish Museum, 2004), 43. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Janne Laursen, ‘The Danish Museum: A New Museum Asserts Its Character’, in *Scandinavian Museums and Cultural Diversity*, eds. Katherine Goodnow and Haci Akman (Oxford: Berghahn Books and the Museum of London, 2008), 16. MOVED UP FROM ENDNOTE 11 AS THIS IS THE FIRST MENTION OF THE ARTICLE [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Buciek, Bærenholdt, and Juul, ‘Whose Heritage’, p. 195; PROVIDE FULL INFORMATION AS THIS IS THE FIRST MENTION OF THE ARTICLE; Mads Daugbjerg, *Borders of Belonging: Experiencing History, War and Nation at a Danish Heritage Site* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014), 180; see also the reconfiguration of Dybbøl as a national symbol imbued with cosmopolitan values, pp. 157–165. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Laursen, ‘The Danish Jewish Museum and Daniel Libeskind’ in D. Libeskind, *The Danish Jewish Museum*, 8. MOVED UP FROM ENDNOTE 30 [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. A collection of art and religious artefacts was displayed for many years in NY Kongensgade in Copenhagen since 1952 until the 1970s when the collection was dispersed to smaller locations, Laursen, ‘The Danish Jewish Museum’, 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. MISSING INFORMATION – WHAT IS ENDNOTE 8? [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. *Arrivals* –– Museum Brochure: Danish Jewish Museum (2004), 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. *Standpoints* – Museum Brochure: Danish Jewish Museum (2004), 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Janne Laursen, ‘The Danish Museum: A New Museum Asserts Its Character’, 46. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. *Arrivals* – Brochure, 1, 5. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Jonas Wissing Larsen, ‘Religious Encounters at the Danish Jewish Museum’, *Course Cultural Encounters and Differences* 25.04.2018, <http://culturalencountersanddifferences.dk/religious-encounters-at-the-danish-jewish-museum/> [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Laursen, ‘A New Museum’, p. 42 PROVIDE FULL INFORMATION – IS THIS DIFFERENT FROM THE OTHER TWO LAURSEN CITATIONS? ENSURE THE SHORT TITLES REFLECT THE FULL TITLE [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. *Promised Lands* – Museum Brochure: Danish Jewish Museum (2004), 4–5. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. *Promised Lands*, pdf, pp. 40-43 <http://jewmus.dk/en/education/> accessed 13.05.2017. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Laursen, ‘A New Museum’, p. 44. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. ‘Holocaust in Denmark’, <http://jewmus.dk/en/exhibition/the-five-dimensions/mitzvah/holocaust-in-denmark/> [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Søren Kjørup, ‘Cultural Minorities in Danish Museums: The Danish Jewish Museum’, *Scandinavian Museums and Cultural Diversity*, eds. Katherine Goodnow and Haci Akman (Oxford: Berghahn Books and the Museum of London, 2008), 62. MOVED UP FROM ENDNOTE 26 [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. This obscure example is given in the brochure *Arrivals* – Brochure, 1, 5. Buckser speaks of “Viking families” in Andrew Buckser, ‘Religious Practice and Cultural Politics in Jewish Copenhagen’, *American Ethnologist* 30, no. 1 (2003), 104. No mention is made of the discouragement of the new immigrants after the Russian Revolution by the police; see Conrad Kisch, ‘The Jewish Community in Denmark: History and Present Status’, *Judaism* 47, no. 2 (1998): 220–221. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Ingrid Storm, Bastiaan Rutjens and Frenk van Harreveld, ‘Personal Experience or Cultural Tradition: The Difference between Christian Identity in the Netherlands and Denmark’, *Religion, Brain & Behavior*, (2019), 12 DOI: 10.1080/2153599X.2019.1628100. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Carol Duncan, and Alan Wallach, ‘The Universal Survey Museum’, *Art History* 3, (1980), 449. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Laursen, ‘The Danish Museum: A New Museum Asserts Its Character’, 42. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Buciek, Bærenholdt, and Juul, ‘Whose Heritage’, pp. 185–7. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. The DJM brochure for visitors. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Kjørup, ‘Cultural Minorities’, 56; Sune Bechmann, ‘“Now We Should All Acknowledge our Holocaust Guilt” Denmark and The Holocaust as European Identity’, *CFE Working Paper Series* no. 37 (2008), 12 MOVED UP FROM ENDNOTE 31 [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Bechmann, ibid. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Kjørup, ‘Cultural Minorities’, p. 58; Eirene, ‘A Place Called Space – The Danish Jewish Museum’, Blog, 8.7.2013 <http://a-place-called-space.blogspot.co.il/2013/07/the-danish-jewish-museum.html> accessed 11.02.2015 [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Ulf Hedetoft, ‘Denmark versus Multiculturalism’, in *Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, eds. Steven Vertovec‏ and Susanne Wessendorf (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 111, 118; Kent Martinussen, ‘Line of Fire’, PROVIDE FULL INFO FOR MARTINUSSEN; Daniel Libeskind, *The Danish Jewish Museum*, ed. Henrik Sten Moeller (Copenhagen: Danish Jewish Museum, 2004), 29. IS MOELLER THE EDITOR OF LIBESKIND’S BOOK? [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Laursen, ‘The Danish Museum and Daniel Libeskind’, 16. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Bechmann, ‘Now We Should All Acknowledge’,15. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. K. Buciek, J.O. Bærenholdt, and K. Juul, ‘Whose heritage?’, p. 186. IF THIS REFERS TO THE SAME ITEM AS IN ENDNOTE 5 THE AUTHORS’ NAMES MUST BE THE SAME [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Peggy Levitt, ‘The Bog and the Beast: Museums, the Nation, and the Globe’, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 42 (2012), 40. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Laurajane Smith, “‘We Are… We Are Everything”: The Politics of Recognition and Misrecognition at Immigration Museums’, *Museum & Society* 15, no. 1 (2017), 86. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. And perhaps also by holding up the great example of 1943. Lack of homogeneity of the Jewish community is also designed to lessen fear of immigrants: Kjørup, ‘Cultural Minorities’, 64. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Museernes 4-Årige Arbejdsplaner, p. 2, ‘Planning’, Danish Jewish Museum – The Museum, <http://jewmus.dk/en/the-museum/planning/> accessed 9 Feb. 2015. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Michael Rachlin, ‘Museet Skal Have en Mere Aktiv Stemme’ mosaiske.dk <https://mosaiske.dk/museet-skal-have-en-mere-aktiv-stemme/> accessed 09.11.2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Oxford: Polity Press 1991), 59. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. ‘What’s on? - The Invisible City - Copenhagen Architecture Festival’, <http://jewmus.dk/en/whats-on/news-detail/the-invisible-city-copenhagen-architecture-festival/> accessed 05.5.2017. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Kjørup, ‘Cultural Minorities’, 56 [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Kevin Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?* (Cambridge Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1972), 53. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p. 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)