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Navigating Narratives: A Meta-Ethnography of the Russian Ethnographic Museum

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Navigating Narratives: A Meta-Ethnography of the Russian Ethnographic Museum

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2016
Honor's Thesis
Slavic Studies Department
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Abstract

The Rossiskii Etnograficheskii Muzei (Russian Ethnographic Museum), in Petersburg, Russia, portrays narratives of Russia to Russians. However, there are two main yet distinct Russian identities: *rossiiskii*, the Russian word to denote citizenship and state identities within Russia, and *russkii*, the Russian word to denote the Russian ethnic identity. This study investigates opposing narratives that embed ethnic Russianness in and separate it from the Russian state. I investigate how both the museum and Russian citizens engage with ethnically Russo-centric imaginations in the space of this museum. This study is the product of almost three months of fieldwork at the Russian Ethnographic Museum, including photo-documentation of the museum and interviews with curators and visitors. I demonstrate that the displays within the museum and the ways in which visitors negotiate the established narratives make claims about ritual citizenship through narratives of progress and objects.

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Note on Transliteration, Names, and Citations

My transliteration of Russian Cyrillic uses the Library of Congress system, except for Russian names that have established English transliterations.

My research complies with the Human Subjects Review Board, and I have changed the names of all individuals that did not explicitly give me permission to use their names in my work. I intentionally do not cite the specific interview when citing my interviewees, but I do clearly state their names so that the reader may utilize the appendices to understand the context from which specific quotations were selected. Information about my interviewees can be found in Appendix A, and selected sections of interviews can be found in Appendix B.

Chapter 1

Introduction:

Research Questions and Background Knowledge

During the Soviet Union, the government attempted to create not only a classless society but also a homogenized Soviet society and identity that was more important ethnicity or nationality: a large task when considering the multi-ethnic and largely non-industrial nation that the Bolsheviks acquired in 1917. The idea was to bring together all of the peoples from the constituent parts the region acquired by the Soviet Union into one proletariat, one Soviet people (Hosking 1992: 98). Since its inception, the Soviet Union attempted to address the issues that arose in relation to nationalities and attempted to guide them toward unity, at least in official discourses (Terry 1999: 538). To achieve this unity, the Soviets did not look at nationality as an identity to be destroyed in order to create this Soviet identity, as was once thought. Rather, they temporarily encouraged national identities to spread the revolution, socialist ideas, and support of the new state to the former subjects of the Russian monarchy (Hirsch 2005: 5). Thus, Soviet citizens had complex identities that fluctuated between Soviet and national identities. Today in the Russian Federation, nationality and ethnicity are tangible still.

The first time that I travelled to Russia was in late January of 2015. I flew to Vladivostok to study and live for four months. I was surrounded by Russians for the first time in my life and a fair number of other foreign students, although they generally came from China or the Koreas. Consistently in conversation with other students and friends, I was told by Russians the ways that other ethnicities behaved, which is not completely unlike some of the narratives that I heard in the United States about the stereotypical behavior of commonly encountered nationalities, ethnicities, and races. However, the differences that I was able to perceive were striking. In my

experience in the contemporary United States, discourses about “others” often relates to the media, especially news, portrayal and the subversion of this image. On the level of the quotidian, media seems to play a large role in educating us of not only who we are but who those around us are. I am not claiming that the importance of media in Russia is any less significant but that it is less defining. From my time in Russia, the discourses that I heard about “others” seemed more categorical: it is less ambiguous, has more categories and variables, and is more shared.

Examples of this categorical nature include knowledge of where and how “others” live, how and what they eat, how they speak both in terms of rate and quality, and how they behave. Although these discourses are similar to an extent similar to discourses on “others” in the United States, they are still very different. This difference seems to be mainly characterized by the distinction between broad and specific strokes. When discussing “others” with Russians, they seemed to have a familiarity with the people that they were talking about that I have never experienced in the United States. This different quality of stereotypes struck me and force me to consider where these notions were created and propagated and the purposes for which these narratives are used. Thus when considering a research topic, these questions came to the forefront of my inquiries. This line of questioning eventually led me to Saint Petersburg.

Research Setting: Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation

Saint Petersburg (often affectionately called Peter in Russian) is Russia’s second largest city. It is located in the delta of the Neva River and on the Gulf of Finland, which leads into the Baltic Sea¹. Originally, the city was built by Peter the Great as a “window to Europe” with all of the implications of Westernization and modernization that this goal implies. The population of

¹ A map of the Saint Petersburg can be accessed on the city’s official webpage: <http://gov.spb.ru/>.

the city is 4, 869, 600 residents according to the city's official webpage². Although the city is an important center of trade, business, and industry, it is known for its cultural importance as a city of the arts³. Commonly, Russians refer to St. Petersburg as their cultural capital that is frequently compared with Moscow, the nation's capital. This comparison often draws out Russian's views on their country. Most Russians that I spoke with that like Petersburg disliked Moscow and romanticize Petersburg as a gem of Russia while Moscow was cast representative of Russia's poor bureaucracy. On the other hand, other Russians that I conversed with that like Moscow dislike Petersburg since it was not an authentic Russian city and idealized Moscow as the epitome of Russian cities. The majority of the city's population is ethnically Russian, but there are notable minority populations including Ukrainians and Belorussians, but much diversity is seen when walking through the streets, shopping, and while doing most other activities in the city⁴. In conversations with most people that I met, however, this diversity generally did not arise. Moments of awareness occurred when people of different ethnicities/ nationalities interacted. In interactions when I was with Russians and together we interacted with non-ethnically Russian citizens, they often explained how I should interact with these people based on their "knowledge" of them.

The most prominent religious tradition in Petersburg is Eastern Orthodoxy, but there are populations within the city that practice Islam, Buddhism, and Catholicism⁵. There are many notable religious landmarks throughout the city, especially impressive Orthodox churches and temples. In casual conversation, religion, however, generally did not arise outside of times when

²Official information about the city's population can be accessed here: <http://gov.spb.ru/helper/day/people/>.

³Information on the city's economics can be accessed here: <http://gov.spb.ru/helper/economics/prognoz/>.

⁴According to the numbers available on the 2002 census, which are accessible here: <http://worldgeo.ru/russia/lists/?id=33&code=78>.

⁵Information on some of the major religious populations can be accessed here: <http://ok-inform.ru/obshchestvo/5554-religioznoe-litso-peterburga.html>.

I encountered and spoke with Muslims that became curious about my faith in relation to my name⁶.

Informal conversation often drifted to history, housing, and their intersections. When not conducting research, I lived with people in a communal dormitory over summer. Some of these people were ethnically Russians, and others were mainly ethnically Ukrainian or Belorussian. However, many were interested in finding better living conditions for their money. Usually, they desired to move into apartments since it was all they could afford, which as they always explained meant former communal apartments, *kommunalki*. Today, these apartments provide one room per person or group of individuals and include a shared kitchen and bathing room and lack the official ideology once embedded within them. Historically, these apartments were a measure to pragmatically house all of the new residents of cities and to ideologically impose the beliefs of the new regime and destroy previous bourgeois lifestyle (Boym 1994: 124). A part of this experiment was removing protective privacy from the domestic sphere, creating a panoptic effect in which communal apartment residents monitored themselves and others. In part, this shared memory of living conditions aided in my considerations of how Russian formed aspects of Soviet ideology into a shared memory, how this ideology was based in opposition to the previous Russian Empire, and how these interact within Russians today. Although my study does not investigate the Russian home, I cannot help but appreciate the aspects of *kommunalki* that are remembered in much the same way as ethnographic objects and how they were presented to me as a foreigner. I also am able to feel that the ways in which these apartments were negotiated between ideology and practice reminisce of the ways that representations of “other” are negotiated within the museum.

⁶ Kamal is an Arabic name that for many Muslims that I encounter in both the United States and Russia prompts a question about my religion.

Methods

My research is based primarily on two foundations: semiotic analysis and ethnographic interviews with Russian interviewees. My study investigates the ethnographic knowledge and its portrayal. Semiotics acts as a powerful tool for interrogating this form of knowledge. According to Barthes (who used the word semiology), semiotics is “a science of forms, since it studies significations apart from their content” (Barthes 1957: 110). Content is not unimportant here. Rather, Barthes asserts that the methods through which meaning is relayed are at times just as or more significant than the content of the message. He arrives at this conclusion through studying narratives and myth embedded in our language on linguistic and metaphorical levels (Barthes 1957: 113). Thus, this type of analysis lends itself to all domains of speech and sentences whether they are the products of words, images, or objects. This part of my research required photo-documentation of each of the exhibitions in the museum and participant observation, a way of doing ethnography defined by Geertz as form of “thick description”, which also aided in conducting my ethnographic interviews. This “thick description” is a way of looking at events as a text embedded with meaning (Geertz 1973: 10). This lens can be applied to both semiotic analysis and ethnographic interviews. Both methods require the investigator to not take the course of events, the actors, the actions nor objects involved for granted. They should be viewed as pathways to rely meaning through differing mediums. Thick description privileges the notion that individuals within a society have agency to decide how they interact with other members despite the fact that individuals operate within the confines that their culture imposes upon them. At once, individuals hang within culturally imposed binds and navigate which binds suite the situation best.

My study utilizes these methods of analysis because museums and their displays are not neutral nor without narrative and ideology; they are the product of actors within a society. Similarly, museum visitors are actors within a society and not passive receptacles of knowledge. I chose these methods because of their superiority to surveys for discovering the meaning that each exhibition relays and for allowing my interviewees to create and discuss discourses more freely. I think the use of surveys may have forced interviewees to use categories of my own creation that do not necessarily match their own. Also, surveys may have restricted my interviewees into only discussing the exhibitions from the museum, which would have restricted the connections that they made to their own pasts, desires for the future, and experiences with ethnographic knowledge. In relation to the previous, I firmly believe that ethnographic interviews allow for the mutual creation of knowledge: interviewees during ethnographic interviews also ask questions and raise new points that they have that can ultimately bring new insight to the topic of at hand. A feat that I believe surveys can more often fail to accomplish. The goal of my analyses of my interviews and semiotic analysis is not only to map out the number of people that attend the museum or that have similar conceptions of ethnography and the museum. Rather, my goal is also to illuminate the narratives that the museum exposes to visitors and that museum visitors navigate by using the museum's objects and their internal schemata of belief.

I traveled to St. Petersburg twice while conducting my research for a total of two months and three weeks between June of 2015 to January of 2016. I mainly interviewed nine individuals during this fieldwork time in 8 interviews. Six of these individuals were of university age and are currently pursuing degrees (three are pursuing degrees in art, and the other three are pursuing degrees in sociology). Their names are Masha (female pseudonym), Sveta (female pseudonym),

Kirill (male pseudonym), Ksenia, Misha, and Alessa. The remaining interviewees Dmitri, Oleg, and Boris (pseudonym) were between the ages of 50 and 60. Of this group, Dmitri and Oleg are museum employees, while Boris is a manager in Ufa (although he did not say in which industry). My interviews with Oleg and Dmitri were made possible by my supervisor at the European University, Mikhail Lurye. Besides these interviews, I arranged my other interviews during my fieldwork in St. Petersburg. My first three interviews with visitors are with individuals that I encountered in the museum, while my other interviews with visitors were conducted with friends that I asked to go to the museum either independently or with me.

My Experience with Ethnography

My interest in Russian museums began while living in Vladivostok, Russia and working on a research project that investigated the Ainu in contemporary Russia. I often had to explain my ideas relating to this project, and one question that that I was often asked was are the Ainu represented in the museum. In this case, the museum referenced was the Arseniev Museum of Primorsky Region, a museum in Vladivostok that effectively collects the Primorsky region, which is positioned between Japan and China and above North Korea, and its history in an experiment in self-knowing named after the explorer and ethnographer Vladimir Arseniev⁷. Many factors prevented me from going to the museum. But this recurring question made me deeply interested in museum portrayal of region, ethnicity, and nation, and also what in fact visitors learn at these institutions. Thus, when I had the opportunity to travel to St. Petersburg I designed this travel around a research project that investigates these factors at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. My primary questions were why do Russians portray themselves and other ethnicities/nationalities in the museum and what meanings does it have for various Russian

⁷Information about the Arseniev museum can be accessed here: <http://arseniev.org/about-museum/history/>.

identities. Despite this experience in Vladivostok, I chose to focus my research in St. Petersburg because of the because of the Russian Ethnographic Museum. As an institution, this museum represents ethnography from a more central perspective taking into account the divides that exist in Russia between center and periphery. While more foreigners visit St. Petersburg as a whole than Vladivostok, it seems as though mainly Russians attend this museum.

My research would have benefited from more interviews with individuals with whom I already built rapport in Vladivostok, but by the nature of my study it was almost better to have interviews with individuals that I did not know well that routinely went to museums. I was unsuccessful in my endeavor of only interviewing individuals that frequented the Russian Ethnographic Museum in particular because I did ask some acquaintances to visit the museum, and these individuals did agree to interviews afterward. Of my two trips to St. Petersburg, the goals of my first trip were to collect both photographic and interview data in order to analyze for any themes that arose, and my second trip's goal was to elaborate on these themes and concepts.

I used a core set of questions in each of my interviews, but they were not controlled. I wanted each interviewee to be free to answer questions and elaborate in any ways that they saw fit. Despite this fact, some interviews were strikingly similar. This similarity aided in drawing concepts that are central to my study. Thus, the concepts that I focus on throughout my study in the museum walkthrough and ethnographic accounts are drawn from all of my interview data and other sources. Although many similarities did arise, some of these were undoubtedly because of my questions, which demonstrate my research interests and had a framing quality. The majority of my interviews were conducted in Russian but some were conducted using varying levels of English since some of my interviewees wanted to practice their English with me. This use of English, although it represented the least that I could do to thank some of my interviewees,

obscured some categories that I desired to better understand such as *byt* and the convergences between *russkii* and *rossiskii* (I will return to these categories later).

I acknowledge that ethnography cannot be conducted objectively, and as a result, this study is filtered through my subjectivities in numerous ways. From the questions that I chose to ask and the way interviewees answered to the interviewees that allowed me to interview them and my analyses in some way illustrate my subjectivities and how others interact with my subjectivities. Most notably, these subjectivities include my male, foreigner (in this case American), a Russian language learner, researcher, and Black identities, which without a doubt affected my access to information and the types of information shared with me. The primary bias that I seem in my core interview questions is a leaning toward the Russian language's academic register. At times this allowed for sort of mutual confusion between myself and some interviewees in which they were uncertain of what exactly I desired to know and in which I was uncertain of whether I asked my question correctly. A short coming of my selection of interviewees in relation to important conclusions that I draw is the lack of caregivers with children since children are an important aspect of the museum's everyday functions.

To my knowledge no comprehensive ethnographic investigation has been conducted on the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Thus, my research will fill a gap in current scholarship on the ethnography of museums and the contemporary functions of ethnographic knowledge in Russia. My study does acknowledge and draw on the Francine Hirsch's work, *Empire of Nations*, as an account of the historical uses of ethnographic knowledge during the Soviet Union (Hirsch 2005). However, the majority of my study utilizes conceptual frameworks from social sciences, especially anthropology, to view the Russian Ethnographic Museum through the lenses of nationalism studies, memory studies, and studies of the everyday. In the next chapter, I detail

the theoretical grounding that will be used throughout the entirety of my study and raises critical distinctions between two Russian identities (*russkii* and *rossiiskii*). In chapter 3, I engage in a selective, guided walkthrough of my field site, the Russian Ethnographic Museum. In chapter 4, I interrogate the discourses that arise from my interviews, comment book data, and online comments as they discuss the museum and its displays. In chapter 5, I conclude my study with a critical discussion of the notion of citizenship in Russia.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Grounding

Daily practices are taught and propagated throughout our lives at numerous sites. Socialized daily practices are inclusive of the way that we eat and speak and of the way that we categorize and sort items, animals, and people. The beginning of the socialization process generally occurs within the home on an individual level. Eventually, socialization includes actors and sites that are no longer domestic. This process is called exo-socialization (Gellner 2008: 37). Individuals cease to be who their parental figures sculpted them into being, and society at large either adds a layer of material or attempts to correct parental craftsmanship. The key to this type of socialization is that it occurs at various sites depending upon the specific content being taught. Both domestic and exo-socializations tend to be ethnic or national in content although this ethnic or national content is taken for granted. The assumed national nature of socialization is exemplified when children first learn history. At this point of schooling, the qualifiers of nation (or the name of the country) is removed and only re-added at later periods of schooling. Schooling as a whole is an example of a site in which national identities are taught and reinforced. By schooling, I refer to both schools as well as to other institutions of learning and knowing, such as libraries and museums. These sites in both broad and specific strokes teach individuals who they are positively (by what it means to be included within various groups) and negatively (by what it means to not be included). Museums, especially, inform a national audience of who they are and who they are not. As institutions, museums occupy a unique location between education and leisure. Thus, they act as liminal sites that operate both between education and leisure and utilize both processes to relay messages. This study is about how museums teach and create an experience of nation.

The *Rossiiskii Etnograficheskii Muzei* (the Russian Ethnographic Museum) and its displays are the focus of this study. An important aspect of the museum's name is the word *Rossiiskii*, which refers to a citizenship identity within the Russian Federation. *Rossiiskii* is one of the two words within the Russian language that means Russian; the other word is *ruskii*, which refers to an ethnic identity. The significance of this distinction is that the museum displays ethnographic exhibits and exhibitions (displayed objects and collections of displayed objects) of all of the ethnicities and nationalities comprised within the Russian state. However, “the ethnographic” and “ethnography” as terms are in many ways vague, and understandings of ethnography have shifted over both time and the dominant national school of ethnography. In the Russian case, the ethnographic is about displaying peoples through their material objects, everyday objects such as utensils and clothing to more specific ritual objects. The museum's ethnographic project shows differences between the peoples of Russia through their material objects (their material culture). But what assumptions are embedded within this agenda? One dominant assumption is that material objects can portray differences between groups of people.

The categorizations that the museum uses for people are instrumental in determining which factors it attributes to differences between peoples. The museum's Portfolio of Exhibitions claims that the museum has artifacts in their collection from each of the 157 peoples that lived on the territory of the former Russian Empire, the former Soviet Union, and that currently live on the territory of the Russian Federation⁸. The museum is divided by geographical regions. For example, there are parts of the museum that has sections dedicated to Central Asia and the Northwestern part of Russia and the Baltics. However, when referencing the displayed people, the museum uses ethnic and national names. “Russian” and “Lithuanian” as ethnic and national descriptors are used in place of “agrarian societies” or “fishing societies” as descriptors that

⁸ <http://www.ethnomuseum.ru/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/files/listy.pdf>

focus on subsistence patterns—just as Kazakhs and Tajiks as ethnic and national descriptors are used instead of Muslims as a religious descriptor. The predominant categories used throughout the museum are those of nationality and ethnicity. Thus, the principle analytical lenses of this study are that of nationhood and nationalism, both of which rely upon memory and nostalgia to construct them and sites that embody memory and nostalgia to relay them.

Nationalism Studies

The existence of nation is assumed. It is a type of solidarity that individuals are born into and experience. Thus, nation to an extent comprises an individual's reality and is experienced as natural, despite being a constructed object. The realities of a nation's construction, however, do not eliminate the utility of the ways it is experienced. Nation is replicated from within and by interacting with individuals or ideas of different nations or by spending time within different nations. For example, in many American high schools and universities it is required to learn a foreign language or at least take a certain number of courses in a foreign language. Although rarely interrogated, for a foreign language to exist, there must be a native language (Bonfiglio 2010). In *Mother Tongues and Nations* Thomas Bonfiglio asserts that the term "native tongue" or "native language" arose with the rise of the nation-state and various nationhoods, and he delineates the historical shift in thinking that allowed this shift to occur (Bonfiglio 2010).

Embedded within this idea is that we must break a "natural" state and learn another language, a different state. In this process, students do not merely learn the language but also internalizing mindsets. On a surface level, for primarily English-speaking students of Russian it is the difference between Moscow and *Moskva* or Saint Petersburg and *Sankt-Peterburg*. The city names are recognizable in sound (in this example, the different alphabets are not of central importance), but different enough while first learning Russian to seem "unnatural". One seems

more correct and natural than the other; they are felt differently. The process of learning another language provides an interesting example of and introduction to the two dominant schools of thought within Nationalism Studies, i.e. primordialism versus constructivism, and the question they seek to answer: whether nation is a natural historical product or a constructed entity.

Primordialism asserts that nation is a natural phenomenon that has its origins in a time immemorial (Connor 1994: 37). Constructivism insists that the phenomenon of nation is not only constructed but that the construction is also fairly recent in history (Anderson 2006). The differences between primordialism and constructivism raise a number of questions about nation, such as: what is nation, how did nation come to be, and who can be considered members of a nation. One similarity between primordialism and constructivism that further stresses the importance of the previous questions is the (undeniable) belief in the existence of nation: the existence of nation is not contested, though the definitions, origins, and inclusivity of nation are. Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation is very helpful in understanding how constructivists define nation. His exact definition of nation is "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 2006: 6). The imagined aspect of this definition may at first seem ambiguous, or even mystical. But to Anderson, imagined refers to the undeniable fact that an individual lives in a community with other individuals whom they may never see and may never want to see; yet, with whom, the individual still feels a solidarity (Anderson 2006: 6). An American from any of the fifty states recognizes that individuals from each of the others still are American without seeing, hearing, or knowing them.

It follows that Anderson's definition of imagined applies to a number of other communities. Religious communities can be considered imagined since the masses that confess Christianity, Islam, Judaism, or Buddhism, for example, will never know or see each of their co-

religionists. A distinction that Anderson draws specifically for nation is that it is limited, since unlike most of the aforementioned religions no nation hopes to include all of mankind.

Moreover, imagined communities are sovereign because of their origins within the ages of enlightenment and revolution. Or, in other words, the nation rose during a time when hierarchical dynasties became less viable and more vulnerable to interrogation. Lastly, Anderson asserts that nation is imagined as a community because regardless of systems of power and unequal power relations, the nation is conceptualized as having deep psychological bonds and horizontal social relations (Anderson 2006: 7). These features are the difference between citizens and subjects. Multiethnic empires that preceded nations organized themselves around centers, and had porous and shifting boundaries, and subjects of many different ethnicities. On the other hand, nations operate with more solidly formed or conceptualized boundaries and have citizens that are either born into membership or can legally become citizens (Anderson 2006: 19).

As for how nation, or more accurately nationhood, came to be, Anderson cites print capitalism, whereas Ernest Gellner asserts exo-socialization, for example, schooling outside of the familial unit: both linked with the rise of the state originating in the 18th century (Anderson 2006: 46, Gellner 2008: 37). Print capitalism and exo-socialization are more than factors that aided in the creation of the nation; they also are ways in which the nation is constantly replicated. For example, when individuals read, watch or listen to the daily weather, global weather patterns still seem to stop between the borders of nations. As methods of (re)creation of nation, print capitalism and exo-socialization lack content. Eric Hobsbawm asserts that this content is created through the invention of tradition and the selection of a national memory (Hobsbawm 1983: 13). More accurately, Renan explicitly states what is selected for national memory, implies:

“[forgetting or even to] go so far as to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation” (Renan 1996: 45).

Thus, the nation and various nationhoods are built through inventing traditions, replicating them, spreading and sharing them to the end of forming a community. This community is comprised of strangers who identify other strangers as a part of that community because they share a list of traditions and borders, and they forget events and traditions not included within the nation’s narrative. And this identification comes with the unspoken assumption that other strangers within this space will be more similar to them than to strangers who live in other spaces (in other nations). The treatment of nation and nationhoods as narratives furthers the constructed nature of nation and nationhoods. According to Homi Bhabha, “[nations], like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of the time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind’s eye” (1990: 1). Accuracy is sacrificed in the name of narrative.

However, nation is still felt. Emotional attachment is an aspect of nation’s constructed nature. This attachment in part fuels the primordialist analysis of nation because deep emotions and connections are inspired by the specific narratives that selectively draw on historic events and figures in the construction of nation. The constructed and selective nature of these narratives does not invalidate the experience that these narratives give: nation as old or even as eternal. This apparent “naturalness” of nation ultimately fuels the primordialist view. According to this view, a group of people can justify its claims to nation by having key characteristics in common. In *Marxism and the National Question*, Stalin articulates specific attributes of nation that primordialist use to justify their approach. The key usefulness of Stalin’s definition is the fact that he did not select the attributes of nation solely from his personal opinion on the phenomenon

of nation. Rather, Stalin voiced common thought about nation at his time and summarizes the primordialist view.

Stalin defines a nation not as racial or tribal (Stalin 1953: 303), but rather as “a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture” (Stalin 1953: 307). His definition subjects his selected attributes of nation to the impersonal forces of history, rather than to the forces of human construction within history. Politically motivated, this definition is not all inclusive. Not every people by this definition can be a nation, which is informed by the specific political context in which he articulated this definition: the Soviet Union as it grappled with the national question. Thus, if a people lack a common language, territory, economic life or common psychological make up, then they were not considered a nation. The final two criteria, a shared economic life and psychological make-up, are critical. Together, they illustrate the constructed and ultimately relative nature of a nation since a shared psychological make-up corresponds to similar thought processes and belief systems, such as religion and superstitions, which are constructed systems.

Stalin’s text reveals the contradictions in the logic and argumentation of the primordialist approach alone. This text has two main utilities. One, its interests lies in the fact that Stalin did not select his criteria from the aether to summarize a new phenomenon. Rather, by perfectly articulating the primordialist view, Stalin finally put into words common thought about what it meant to be a nation in Russia. Two, the inaccuracies within the primordialist definition allow for the deeply experiential aspect of nation that at times is lost in constructivist approaches. These two approaches and a discourses between them inform this study. Moreover, the commonalities between these two schools of thought demonstrate the necessity of memory in

any discussion of nation and nationalism. Anderson, Gellner, Hobsbawm, Bhabha, and Stalin discuss the past whether real or imagined to an extent or at length. Their discourses on nation in this way are heavily based on the notion of memory, or more accurately the faulty and selective nature of memory.

Memory and Nostalgia Studies

The felt experience of nation is granted by memory and nostalgia. History is often summoned as the actor that creates nation, which ignores history's biased nature. Pierre Nora discusses the difference between memory and history. Believing that memory and history are opposing forces, he claims that memory is "a phenomenon of the present, a body tying us to the eternal present, [while] history is a representation of the past". Moreover, "[m]emory, being a phenomenon of emotion and magic, accommodates only those facts that suit it" (Nora 1997: 3). This interpretation of memory agrees with Bhabha's notion of nationalism as narrative and in general the constructivist understanding of nation and nationalism. However, Nora makes distinctions between different types of memory: "true memory" (or, more accurately personal memory,) and "memory transformed by its passage through history". Of Nora's two types, "memory transformed by its passage through history" is most important in this study. An stipulation of this type of memory is "its need for external props and tangible reminders" (Nora 1997: 8). Whereas "true memory", is lived and still interacts on an individual level, the latter variant, "memory transformed by its passage through history", is not actively lived but must be collective, remembered, constructed, reconstructed, and constantly filtered. Keeping in mind this distinction, I conclude that historical memory is most instructive for this study and any endeavor that investigates nationhood and nationalism.

Despite the socially constructed nature of “memory transformed by its passage through history”, central to both conceptions of memory are the physical locations where they are constructed. Nora uses the terms *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* to describe where memory forms. Although, he does not directly define these two places, or sites, of memory, the distinction between them is analogous to the distinction between the two types of memory, with “real memory” corresponding to *milieux de mémoire* and “memory transformed by its passage through history” corresponding to *lieux de mémoire*. Nora’s concept of *lieux de mémoire* fits between historiography and history; it is guided by a fundamental break with the past created by collective forgetting that can only be uncovered when the tools of historical analysis are used on history itself. Furthermore, he gives examples of *lieux de mémoire* by stating that sites such as museums, archives, cemeteries, monuments, and sanctuaries act as *lieux de mémoire* since they are “relics of another era, illusions of eternity”. He even posits that sites like these “seem like exercises in nostalgia, sad and lifeless”; yet *lieux de mémoire* are deeply embedded within society (Nora 1997: 6-7). They seem lifeless because they memorialize experiences that cannot be lived at the present, although they can still be felt. Nora’s *lieux de mémoire* are reminiscent of Boym’s understandings of mythologies as “cultural common places, recurrent narratives that are perceived as natural in a given culture but in fact were naturalized and their historical, political, or literary origins forgotten or disguised” (Boym 1994: 4), a definition she derives from the works of Levi-Strauss and Roland Barthes. Mythologies are what a group, in this case a nation, remembers about itself. These memories and mythologies often are “grounded”, if such a word can be used to describe a phenomenon so unstable, by an immemorial past remembered and nostalgically longed for.

According to Boym Nostalgia is “a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed” (2001: xiii). Linking globalization as a force that increased the desire for “local attachments” to nostalgia, Boym extends her definition of nostalgia as “an affective yearning for a community with a collective memory, a longing for continuity in a fragmented world” (2001: xiv). This extended definition of nostalgia unifies studies of memory, “memory transformed by its passage through history”, to use Nora’s phrase, and studies of. However, as Boym admits, nostalgia “goes beyond an individual psychology...it is a yearning for a different time...[it] is rebellion against the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress”. Yet, , nostalgia is exclusive by nature of being a yearning for a collective memory. Longing as an experience can unite humans with other humans; membership, however, separates us (2001: xv-xvi). And just as memory and nationalism, “[t]he danger of nostalgia is that it tends to confuse the actual home and the imaginary one.” Again, just as Nora explained about memory as a whole, nostalgia is generally an amalgamation and imagination built for the needs of the present with the power to impact the future (Boym 2001: xvi). Nostalgia, moreover, is not of one kind. Boym delineates two types of nostalgia: restorative nostalgia and reflective nostalgia. Restorative nostalgia “attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home”, while reflective nostalgia “delays the homecoming—wistfully, ironically, desperately”. Boym expands on these types of nostalgia by noting that restorative nostalgia has been a key attribute of recent national and religious revivals, which as nationalism favors unifying symbols and narratives. Reflective nostalgia, however, focuses and thrives on subjective specifics (2001: xviii). In my study, reconstructive nostalgia with its connections to Nora’s “memory transformed by its passage through history” informs my analysis.

Museum Studies

Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* and Boym's restorative nostalgia are related, and their theories about memory and nostalgia work together when discussing the nation and nationalism. Combined *lieux de mémoires* such as museums, archives, cemeteries, and monuments are imagined through a nostalgic lens selectively since they are based on memory rather than history. Moreover, narratives within museums gain authority through the authoritative position of museums in society (Duncan 1991: 91). This framing makes the object worthy to be viewed regardless of how mundane it may seem. Svetlana Alpers calls this heightened valuation "the museum effect". Objects through this effect receive an elevated value (Alpers 1991: 26-7), which is granted by being selected by specialist and applies to all forms of display and displayed. The portrayal of nation is one such object of display because one way that the nation is recreated and embedded within a society is through exhibitionary display in sites, such as museums and monuments that Nora calls *lieux de mémoire*.

Such display calls for an investigation into "the ways in which [a] sense of nationhood and of national identity arises from arrangements of meaning-making, from symbolic practices". These meaning-making and symbolic practices are the museum's way of portraying a nation composed of narratives and images (Evans 1999: 2). This portrayal does not exclusively exist for the nation at question. Nations also portray other nations and people considered alien⁹. The two dominant methods of displaying nation are displaying either artifact or art¹⁰ (Evans 1999: 237). Moreover, both methods are integral to the memory and nostalgia that often fuels nationalism

⁹ An aspect of displaying people considered other has historically been the portrayal of curiosities. This term is used to denote objects non-living, living, or formerly living that were strange and could be used to demonstrate the diversity of humanity and their creations through strangeness. An example of which in the Russian case is the Kuntskammera, the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. This museum should not be confused with the focus of this study, the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Although both museums are located in St. Petersburg.

¹⁰ The ideological debate between naming objects art or artifact although not treated here is still important. See works of Carol Duncan, especially "From the Princely Gallery to the Public Art Museum: The Louvre Museum and the National Gallery, London".

and notions of nation. This fact was especially true during the 19th century when historical frameworks (whether through artifact or art) “aimed at the life-like reproduction of an authenticated past and its representation as a series of stages leading to the present” (Bennett 1999: 348) were introduced and implemented in museums on a wide scale. This introduction ultimately had universal ambitions that aimed to deepen time through contemporary scientific knowledge and findings and national goals that made the nation into an object of imagination: a process that immemorialized it as a created entity (Bennett 1999: 348).

Thus, museum portrayal of nation is linked with experiments—in both the arts and sciences—of knowing self and other. Especially in the 19th century, the discipline of anthropology was instrumental to the endeavor of knowing self and other and in connecting Western nations with other nations and peoples. Anthropology allowed connections to form between Western nations as well as divides between Western and “primitive” peoples. A visceral example of this usage of anthropology was Saartjie Baartman, the ‘Hottentot Venus’. An example of curiosities that frequently were portrayed in museum settings, she was used to demonstrate the differing physical traits and imagined different genetics of “primitive” people from the Western nations. The dominant portrayals thus denied “primitive” people a history of their own. “Primitive” people became known only through their relation to Western nations as living fossils of an earlier stage of development (Bennett 350-51). Artifacts and the people that they are used to represent are an aspect of anthropology and ethnography because they display and everyday life of the people. This everydayness is *byt*.

The Everyday, *Byt*, Ethnography, and *Etnografii*

The everyday is invisible and all inclusive. Thus, it is notoriously difficult to define and theorize the everyday. As Ben Highmore claims about everydayness, “[t]here is no escape”.

Furthermore, as his introductory chapter asserts, the everyday comprises the quotidian and the strange (Highmore 2002). The everyday is made up of both the daily actions that we take for granted, such as putting on clothes or brushing teeth, and infrequent ceremonial activities, such as vacations, marriages or funerals. Of particular importance is Highmore's recognition that the everyday is negotiated through sets of binaries, which include the particular and the general, agency and structure, and resistance and power; however, that none of the binaries alone explain the everyday (Highmore 2002: Intro to Everyday Life Reader). Especially salient here are the particular and the general.

The binary of the particular and the general is instrumental when mediating and theorizing the everyday and various daily practices. Henri Lefebvre uses the terms "philosophy" and "everyday life" to describe the general and particular respectively (Lefebvre 1971: 12). In his conception, these terms cannot be separated. Philosophy without everyday life is only an abstraction; everyday life without philosophy lacks a method of understanding. Pierre Bourdieu similarly uses the terms "theory" and "practice" to refer to the general and the particular. Bourdieu asserts that a science of practice (theory) should account for all possible practices (Bourdieu 1977: 11). His assertion that theory should allow all practices comes from his belief that individuals within a culture do not follow theory or the general. Rather, they follow a sense of what should or should not be done—a sense that is felt, rather than reasoned (Bourdieu 1977: 10-16). Lefebvre and Bourdieu critique the methods of social sciences and posit specific thought processes that social scientists should acknowledge when studying people and their daily lives (everydayness). However, both Bourdieu or Lefebvre emphasize the difference between the particular and the general. The question that they raise is how can theory, the general, more

accurately portray actual relations and interactions between individuals, who do not think and live according to the constraints of theory, and their daily lives, the specific.

Michel de Certeau concisely answers this question by admitting that theory does not inform social scientists about the purpose of what is being theorized and stating that in order to understand a practice, social scientists must begin with how those who actually conduct a practice understand it (Certeau 1984: xiii). In other words the dichotomy between the general and the particular alone does not explain phenomena. Rather, the relationship between the general and the particular must account for subjective views of the particular to achieve some form of truth. Studies that investigate the general and the specific look at the everyday as Lefebvre's does through "neither dissociat[ing] dwellings, furniture, costumes or food by filling them into systems of differing significance, nor consider them as a single general concept" (Lefebvre 1971: 28). The everyday, however, is not reducible merely to the material objects of daily life but also includes daily practices and how they relate to material objects (Certeau 1984: xiii).

In general, the everyday as a category is too vast to analyze practically. In the context of my study, the everyday in its broadest sense of the frequently and infrequently habitual applies to the focus of the study: the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Ethnography, an attempt to relay the entirety of or parts of a group's daily life, is the focus of the museum's portrayal. The ethnographic as displayed in the museum differs from many English-speaking Western notions of ethnography. This difference relates to the museum's official name, *Rossiskii Etnograficheskii Muzei*, and central to this difference is the fact that *etnografiia*, although literally translatable as ethnography, is conceptualized differently than ethnography. In English-speaking contexts, ethnography is "the systematic description of a single contemporary culture, often through

ethnographic [fieldwork]” (Barfield 1997: 157). As a word, ethnography was introduced by Ludwig Schläzer as the German “Ethnographie”, but he used this term interchangeably with the word “Völkerkunde” (ethnology)¹¹. Schläzer introduced the science of ethnography/ethnology to Russia when he worked with Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg during the 1760s in order to research the peoples of Russia’s eastern territories (Barfield 1997: 157). Thus, just as in other former empires, *etnografiia* is linked to the legacies of colonization. In Russia, *etnografiia* looks at material objects and history, rather than at contemporary groups as informed by their particular histories, as American and European understandings of ethnography hint. This definition is biased toward an English-speaking audience that understands ethnography either loosely as a study of a people or group.

The difference between ethnography and *etnografiia* is central because works across these definitions and understandings of ethnography and because the material object, which is both central to the everyday and museums, is key to understand the purpose of the museum. The importance of this distinction is reiterated in the museum’s catalogue, which states that “the scientists used their appreciation of ethnography as a science studying peoples and an artefact as a particularly informative document on the ethnic culture of a nation...[and,] they thought it necessary to acquire [e]thnically particular and expressive artefacts for the collections which could provide a comprehensive ‘ethnic portrait’ of each nation” (Fedoseyenko and Fedorova. 2001: 26). The creation a comprehensive ethnic portrait was accomplished through the portrayal of everyday life of the various peoples from the territory of Russia. The key factor of this portrayal is its general nature. The particular is not of central importance here, rather the museum attempts to display the people of the territory of Russia and certain surrounding countries

¹¹ Völkerkunde does not literally translate to ethnology. The word ethnologie is the literal translation. However, völkerkunde and ethnologie are accepted as synonyms.

through the general (Fedoseyenko and Fedorova 2001: 34). The dichotomy between the general and particular is noticeable because of the need to select various particulars in order to represent various generals. Specifically in the Russian case, the portrayal of everyday life invokes the word *byt*, which is also asserted in a Russian text embedded in an image on page 20 of the museum catalogue, which states, “[e]tnografiia ne est nauka knizhnaia. Material, nad kotorym rabotaet uchenyi, dolzhen byt’ sobran prezhe vsevo v srede, v zhivom narodnom **bytu**...” (ethnography is not a book science. The material, on which scientist work, should be collected above all in the people’s environment, in the living people’s *byt*) (Fedoseyenko and Fedorova 2001, emphasis mine)

Boym defines *byt* as “everyday existence (everyday routine and stagnation)”, and this category is opposed to that of category of *bytie*, spiritual life or being (1994: 29). The line between *byt* and *bytie* is the divide between the everyday and the spiritual world. The everyday does not reject spiritual objects and practices, rather the everyday is not inclusive of spiritual bodies and facts. The spiritual realm of God cannot be seen in *byt*, but the methods through which humans appeal to this realm can be. *Byt* is not only objects associated with the everyday but also includes how they are used, thought about, discussed, and to what they opposed. An important observation Jyoti Arvey makes in her analysis of everyday expression of gender in the Russian home about *byt* is that contemporary *byt* is not connected to work life (Arvey 2014: 33), which restricts the meaning. The Ethnographic Museum’s notion of *etnografiia* reveals another important aspect of *byt*: its traditional nature. The separation between home life and work life that Arvey’s interlocutors shared are rooted in modernity. The museum’s displays do not depict the modernity of the ethnography endeavor that produced them. Thus, separations between work and home lives that exist today may remove distinctions between people that the museum

displays by silencing an aspect of their *byt*. The everyday and work life in the contemporary day may be opposed. But once the contemporary is not central, the opposition between the everyday and work life begin to fade. The assumption is that modern man works in order to have his separate everyday life, but in the past, work was less separable from everyday life.

Semiotics as a Lens

Taken together, nation, nationalism, memory, nostalgia, and museums can be read through the lens of semiotics, which according to Roland Barthes is “a science of forms [that] studies significations apart from their content” (Barthes 1957: 110-15). In its most basic form, semiotics postulates that a sign is comprised of two parts: a signifier and a signified. Their relationship, a type of equivalence, constitutes the sign. The relationships between signifier and signified exist on the linguistic level of language and can be applied to what Barthes calls myth (what Boym calls cultural mythologies, what Nora calls memory). In the case of myth, the semiotic system has two tiers: a linguistic level and a mythological level. In this system, the linguistic sign becomes a mythological signifier within a new mythological scheme once the linguistic sign is embedded with meaning, i.e. a rose signifying passion or love in a mythological scheme. The relation then creates a new signified and a new overall sign. Embedded within this logic is that a semiotic approach to narrative does not need to focus on the level of language necessarily when unravelling a myth. Rather, it is more important to know the culminating sign from this linguistic level, which is the signifier of the mythological level (Barthes 1957: 110-15). Semiotics as an analytical tool serves the purposes of unraveling myths because it deconstructs myth through determining its component parts. Thus, semiotics as a tool is useful for deconstructing the myths and narratives of nation, memory, and museum portrayal created by the nation as a community and as an entity. Throughout my study, I will use myth in Barthes’s

notion of semiotics to mean narratives that are widely and almost religiously believed in a society, and I will use it in this meaning only when conducting semiotic analyses.

Nation builds its narrative upon a selective sample of history that necessitates forgetting. Nation portrays itself as an existence that simply is. In reality, nation's very selective drawing on the past negates its claim of always existing. Nation becomes the unifying stories and emotions that form an "imagined" community of members: at once a created entity and the members of the community that form and negotiate it. Memory, an aspect of nation, runs counter to history, which by its nature is all inclusive. Memory by its nature is selective and selected by individuals. These actors through memory separate histories, prioritize experiences, polarize events and in the case of the nation aid in the construction of a past (whether immemorial or not) and unifying histories that can rely on partial forgetting. Portrayal within museums always moves toward an end and aids in selective remembering. Within the museum, narrative is constructed between the museum's curators, owners (whether private or state), and museum visitors. Thus, semiotics as an analytical framework will be central to this study.

Conclusions

This study is meta-ethnography, or an ethnography that investigates the ethnographic material displayed in an institution and the analysis and beliefs of both museum workers and visitors. As such, my research is based on participant observation as a visitor to the museum investigating both the narratives that the museum constructs and that visitors propagate or subvert. It draws from photographs, the arrangement of objects, and official descriptions while also interpreting formal interviews and conversations between museum visitors, museum workers, and myself. To my knowledge, no comprehensive study of a Russian ethnographic museum has occurred with a goal of understanding the semiotic portrayal. However, there are

studies of the ethnographic and ethnographic knowledge in Russia and the Soviet Union. Francine Hirsch's book, *Empire of Nations*, is one such study. Her work demonstrates the role that ethnographic knowledge played in the creation, maintenance, and rule of the Soviet Union (Hirsch 2005). Two key points arise from Hirsch's study for this study. First, during the Soviet Union the Russian Ethnographic Museum (once the Ethnographic Department of the State Russian Museum then the State Ethnographic Museum) acted as a space for mediation of Soviet realities and Soviet ideologies in relation to ethnic and national distinction (Hirsch 2005: 226). Second, this mediation was accomplished mainly through re-narrating the existing pre-Revolutionary exhibitions both formally and informally, which included creating new scripts and tours to relay the proper ideology and the introduction of comment books (Hirsch 2005: 200, 211). Hirsch reveals that the physically displayed objects in the Russian Ethnographic from its inception to 1930s did not greatly vary, but the political narratives embedding into these objects greatly shifted and always suited the state and its self-image.

Nation is no more than the stories it tells about itself. For nation to become the entity that individuals know and experience, these stories must be learned. Museums like the Russian Ethnographic Museum epitomize sites where such learning can occur. The museum displays various ethnicities and nationalities through their everyday artifacts, collectible examples of *byt*. In order to understand the whispered narratives of ethnographic objects, my study deconstructs the assumptions within the displayed objects and within their framing. Objects and their ordering and framing are the language of museums. They relay meaning through emphasis and design of the constructor. One important consequence of such signifying systems is that they denote a relationship or an interaction. Using the structure of an old saying, if a message is stated without anyone there, does it still have a meaning? No. Structurally, the museum portrays narratives

through the architecture of the building and through the exhibitions that curators at the museum create for an audience. The content of these narratives is nation, which is fueled by the memory and nostalgia of a nation's members. The form of these narratives is material culture displayed through *byt*, which comprises and represents the everyday. Nation without memory is impossible. Nation can only form once a specific type of memory is created and nostalgically sought after by a community. In the context of nation, memory and nostalgia are characterized by their communal nature and by their reliance on selection and imagination. The question arises of how to display nation through this memory.

This display of nation through memory is accomplished by *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory). Museums as such are a *lieux de mémoire* that portray nation through objects. The type of displayed object varies by museum; of particular interest to my study is the portrayal of ethnographic objects (material culture)...ethnography is central to comprehending both the people and memory that objects invoke. However, museum visitors do not passively consume the museum's constructed narratives. The mediation between structure and agency manifests itself during an investigation into the narratives that the museum relays and visitors' interpretations of the museum's narratives. Thus, studies of nation and nationalism, memory and nostalgia, museums, the everyday and ethnography, *byt* and *etnografîia* unite within my study in order illuminate the mediation between portrayal in the Russian Ethnographic Museum and understanding of museum visitors. The component parts of my theoretical grounding build upon each other and focus my analysis like the organization of exhibits in an exhibition. Excluding any one part of this theoretical complex would only underestimate the importance of any part in relation to each other and in relation to the negotiations that occur within the museum between various actors and structures.

Chapter 3

The Russian Ethnographic Museum: My Field Site

My study is a meta-ethnography that investigates the display of ethnographic material in an institution and that analyzes the beliefs both of museum workers and visitors about this institution and its displays. My research is based on participant observation. I attended the museum daily as a visitor during my summer field work between June and August 2015 and between late-December 2015 and mid-January 2016. While at the museum, I interrogated the displays that the museum presents to the public, and I listened to other museum visitors as they spoke about the museum. Some of this listening included loosely structured interviews with nine visitors to the museum and curators as well as informal conversations with many more visitors. Interviewees used the museum's displays to negotiate the narratives that the museum and other visitors propagate and subvert.

My research is filtered through my own subjectivities as well as through the museum visitors'. This study is heavily influenced by my male, foreigner (in this case American), Russian language learner, researcher, and Black identities. With my identities in mind, I analyze the museum (i.e., the museum's architecture, its exhibitions, and its policies) through my subjectivities in this chapter, and in the next chapter I interpret what I have understood through interviews. The following section is a walkthrough of the museum with me as your guide. Although I go into detail, I do not attempt to describe exhaustively the museum because such an endeavor is not the goal of this study. Rather, I guide your attention to aspects of display throughout the museum as if we were on a tour looking at the museum itself as an object of ethnography.

The Building

All museums are contained spaces with the intention of display; however, they display not only various narratives and myths inside their doors but also through their exteriors. The Russian Ethnographic Museum is no different. Its building is itself a monument that displays narratives just as its exhibitions do. However, the difference between these narratives—one architectural and permanent, the other intentional and in-flux—obtains within agency. The architecture of an inherited building, especially of a historic building, may not be changeable. The building of the Russian Ethnographic Museum is one such case. The museum was established by Tsar Nikolai II in 1902 as the *Etnograficheskii otdel Russkogo Muzeia* (Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum). World War I prevented its original opening in 1916, and the museum opened to the wider public in 1923 after the Bolsheviks took power (Baranov 2010: 26, 33). This building and the symbols emblazoned on it can be analyzed for the narratives that they create. Barthes calls these narratives mythological signs, or myths (Barthes 1991: 114). The idea of analyzing the exterior and interior of this building (for its explicit purposes and ends) is consonant with a question that Carol Duncan views as central to museum studies: “[W]hat fundamental purposes do museums serve in our own culture and how do they use art objects to achieve those purposes?” (Duncan 1991: 89-90). In this way, Duncan’s endeavor and the goal of my study align. My goal is to ask what fundamental purposes do museums serve in Russian culture and how do they use art objects (i.e., art and artifacts) to achieve these purposes, and to investigate how the created narratives are navigated. Following Duncan’s critique of current trends in museum studies (Duncan 1991), my study focuses on the depiction of ethnic Russian identity (i.e., *russkii*) and “Other” (i.e., *rossiiskii* but not *russkii*) within the museum.

The relatively permanent exterior of the museum marks the first step of depicting self through memory that cannot necessarily be altered. Thus to understand how the museum as an institution frames its expositions, one must first understand the exterior architecture of the museum, which ultimately is what the museum visitor first encounters.



Fig. 2-1 Photograph of Exterior of Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photography by Kamal Kariem

The museum visitor first sees the pastel yellow building with its white columns and artistic accentuations. It can be at first overwhelming because there is no one sign to focus on. Many museum visitors would probably rather focus on the interior and the exhibitions than on the exterior, but this fact does not trivialize the narratives embedded into the building. The first two symbols on the museum are the Russian (*rossiiskii*) Flag and the Russian imperial symbol. Then, visible under three arches above the entrance and two windows are the sign of St. George slaying a dragon (the coat of arms of Moscow), the symbol of the double-headed eagle holding the imperial regalia (the Russian imperial coat of arms for the Russian Empire), and the symbol of two crossed and inverted anchors (the coat of arms of St. Petersburg). These three coats of arms function as semiotic signs. Each one carries a symbolic freight: Moscow, the Russian

Empire, and St. Petersburg. Together the collective sign that they produce is an imperial ideal that revolves around the center of the empire (and the current government). Recall that both Moscow and St. Petersburg have been the capital and center of various governments from the Russian Empire through the Soviet Union and to the contemporary Russian Federation. Together the three symbols produce a myth of empire implicitly connected to the lands that have been conquered and the peoples of these lands but represented through the ideological and imperial center's view. It is one of the first imaginations of nation seen at the museum. This narrative is framed under the words "Russian Ethnographic Museum" (*Rossiiskii Etnograficheskii Muzei*), which in turn forms the lens through which the exhibitions will be viewed. Similarly, each of the symbols on the building can be broken down semiotically. There is a statue of Athena and two winged figures on either side of her (the museum's logo) atop the museum, and there is a relief featuring several men in togas to the right side, which both can be seen in Fig. 2-1. Both sculptural works are signifiers paired with signifieds of the Classical. Together, they produce myths of the empire as connected to this imagined Classical world, and they link the museum to reason and logic, which the imagined Classical Greece and Rome connote. This reason and logic are frame the ways in which the museum's displays should be viewed according to the narrative that they create.

We continue to the entrance: two large black doors that everyone pulls toward them before they realize that they need to push. Generally, the right door is open and able to be moved. Immediately after these, there is another pair of doors that open in the same way, except these doors are large, thin, and made of glass. Beyond them, we can see into the museum. As we look straight ahead, we can see a guard stand and a ticket collection booth on either side of the

entrance to the museum space proper and a large open room with people passing through occasionally.

To our right, we see little seats along the wall that are a bit shorter than knee-high with red cushions and a light wooden frame, an information desk, a ticket sale booth, a room that does not seem to have a clear purpose (it turns out to be the room that stores comment books and other similar information), and stairs that lead down. To our left, we see more of the same seating in the same location, a shopping stall to buy souvenirs and books¹², two doors that are closed that lead to a café, and more stairs leading down. The location of the ticket booth and the souvenir stand stick out because they are both out of the visitors' way. Conversations with sellers reveal that they rely mainly on overflow traffic to the museum or else they are bored because no one stops to buy souvenirs. Although the location of the ticket booth may have been influenced with line control and management in mind, the location of the souvenir cart does not seem to follow this same pattern. Its size and placement hint at a marginalization within the museum, which to an extent makes sense as a state museum. Museum goers are not required to pass it, and often do not see it because of its location. There are no signs that points toward this cart, and we rarely see any museum visitors go there to buy anything, except during the winter holiday season. Souvenirs act as objects of memory, whether they are memories of the experience, the place, or the people. Although many visitors associate museums with their gift shops or souvenir stands, the positioning of these stands within the Russian Ethnographic Museum may hint at a limiting of tangible objects as reminders of the ethnography portrayed within the museum. Walking toward the ticket booth, we observe that the prices for tickets and excursions can be seen on a price board in Russian and English. Whenever museum visitors buy a ticket, they receive both

¹² These books are mainly about the museum and its displays and the souvenirs relate to "Russianness". The seller was surprised when I bought an elephant statue as a souvenir, rather than something more "Russian", which she showed by saying that I could buy such a statue anywhere (implying that I shouldn't buy it there).

the ticket and a brochure of the museum, which establishes an image and narrative of the museum as a space that contains and displays.

After buying a ticket, museum visitors with coats or bags that they do not want to carry take them down stairs to the coat check area. Walking down the stairs toward this area, we notice a bathroom is visible at the base of the stairs, and walking toward the coat check area, another one is visible at the end of the hall. Walking back up the stairs ready with our tickets, we walk past the ticket purchase booth and move toward the ticket check booth. Here a museum worker takes our tickets and rips the perforated section off, and chances are good that we just interrupted her conversation. After this point, we are officially in the museum. We can more clearly hear the music and see that it is coming from a large television playing short films about the creation of the museum and other timely subjects. When I was there during summer, the other film was about the museum during World War II, how it was affected, and how it was helped by the people of the city afterward. In front of this television, there are three rows of the same below-knee-level seats with red cushions¹³. As we survey the room, we see more of these seats around the walls that provide space for museum goers who are tired or waiting. Looking up, we see the high ceilings and carved imperial symbols of the Russian Empire above the halls perpendicular to the entrance (<http://www.ethnomuseum.ru/mramornyy-zal>). This imperial symbol, which is also on the exterior on the building, is now framed by this entrance hall space, which also invokes the Classical era.

¹³ After the summer the only videos to be shown were the alternating Russian and English versions, and the physical space was structured differently because the seating in front of the television was removed.



Fig. 2-2 Photograph of Imperial symbol and variant of the museum's Athena symbol. Photograph by Kamal Kariem

Looking around, we can also see rooms with numbers over the doors that are for various offices not generally open to the public. However, of all these sights, what draws the eye the most is the room directly in front of us as we walk in: a giant two-tiered marble room with impressive sky-lighting and a dark alto-relief along three of the four walls. The alto-relief, according to the museum's webpage,¹⁴ "realistically displays the characteristic types of multi-ethnic Russia"¹⁵. It is approximately five feet in height with around four feet of marble below it. This alto-relief and the marble room as a whole are a part of the museum's imperial inheritance. The Russian Ethnographic Museum was originally conceived as a memorial to Alexander III by Nikolai II. It was meant to embody his father's nationalism in monumental form. This idea is codified legally in the Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire law 11532 from

¹⁴ <http://www.ethnomuseum.ru/gorelef>.

¹⁵ Full sentence: *Prekrasno vypolnennyyi gorel'ef realistichno peredaet kharakternye tipy mnogonatsional'noi Rossii.*

1895¹⁶. The Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum grew out of this project. The detail of the alto-relief is maintained, which makes it possible to see the various people, the tools that they used, and the general groupings they are in. However, this room is generally blocked off by rope, which prevents museum visitors from entering and looking closer. More detail can be observed on the museum's webpage through one of the functional parts of the virtual tour¹⁷. The rope that generally blocks off this room demonstrates heightened value and a centralization of this space. This idea is reinforced by the events that take place within this room: exhibitions occasionally, lectures, concerts, etc. This room's decorations are also changed for special occasions and seasonal holidays.

However, a semiotic analysis uncovers the meaning of these narratives. The alto-relief itself, which displays various ethnic groups from the Russian Empire, signifies the multinational imperial ideal. If the mural acts as a signifier and the multinational constituency of empire acts as the signified, then what is the myth? In this case, the myth could be read as the greatness of the nation. Within this myth those who constructed and collected the empire, i.e. the ethnic Russians (*russkie*), are invisible. Thus, the myth for this semiotic system is that the Russian Empire (*Rossiiskaia Imperiia*) was assembled by Russians (*russkie*) originally, but without the statue of Tsar Alexander III, this room hints at an ethnic Russianness that becomes less visible, yet still perceptible in the position of authority. This myth was originally more apparent, and the idea behind the alto-relief and the statue of Alexander III was of “the tsar and his people”¹⁸ (Fedoseyenko and Fedorova 2001: 18-9).

¹⁶ Accessible by using this link to search by the year and law number. http://www.nlr.ru/e-res/law_r/search.php

¹⁷ The virtual tour is accessible through this link: <http://www.ethnomuseum.ru/virtualnaya-ekskursiya>

¹⁸ This statue is no longer present, but can be seen in the Museum's Album from 2002.



Fig. 2-3 Marble Room. Photograph by Kamal Kariem

The Brochure

Then we open the brochure, within which there is a map offering choices of where to go. Whenever museum visitors buy a ticket, they receive both the ticket and a brochure for the museum, which establishes the museum as a space that contains and displays. This document is not simply an introduction to what is in the museum but also the narratives that the museum relays. Under the museum's name, Rossiiskii Etnograficheskii Muzei (the Russian Ethnographic Museum), and the museum's logo are images and words about what the museum contains. The museum's logo is an image of Athena, the Greek goddess of, among many other things, the arts and crafts. The four images resemble a box topped by a cross, a mask, a wooden carving of a mermaid, and a totem, which are followed by the words, *Znaki i simvoly, Zhelaniia i vozmozhnosti, Istorii i sovremennost' vo vlasti vremeni* (Signs and symbols, Desires and possibilities, History and the contemporary, Under the spell of time). Thus, we are presented

with images and words that invoke a vaguely familiar past while at once questioning it by posing the thought that the past and contemporary may be unified and mystified.

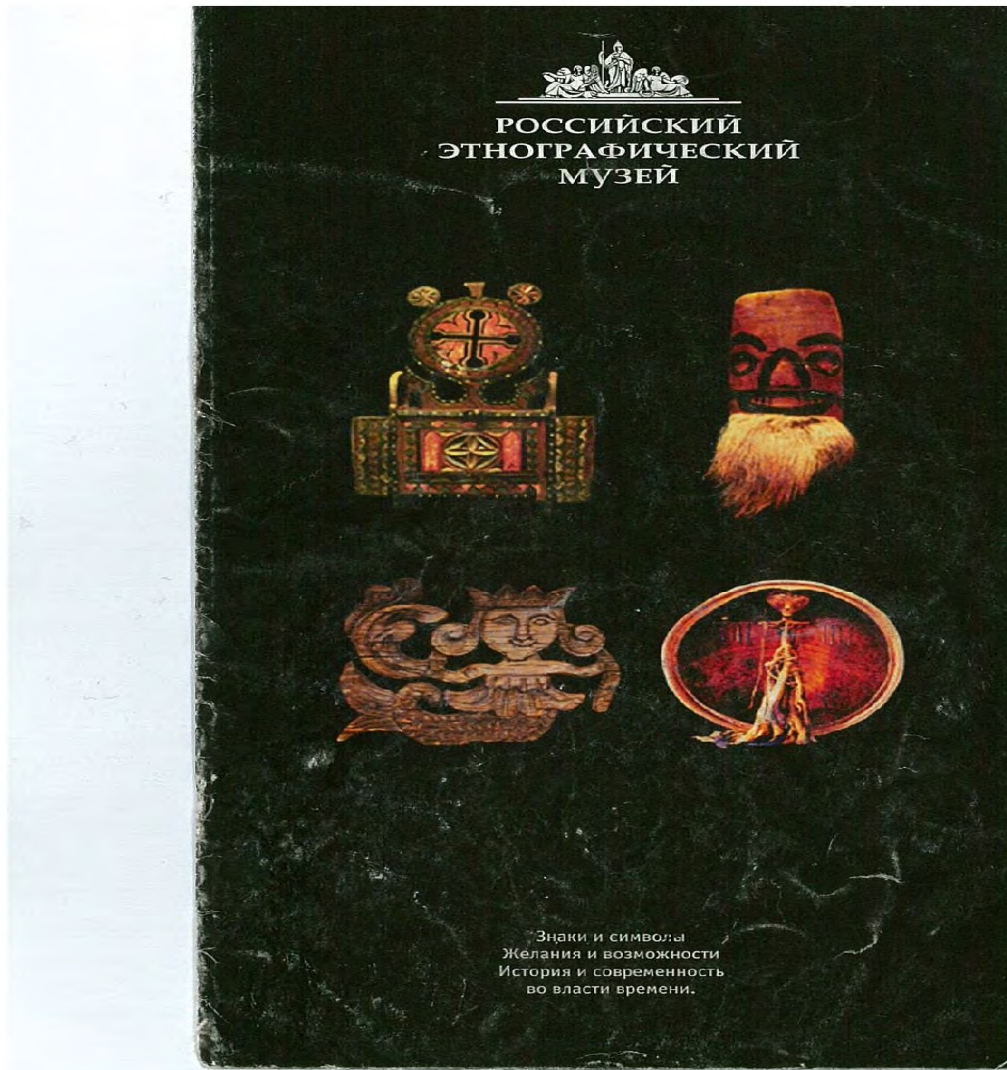


Fig. 2-4 Front cover of museum brochure. Photograph by Kamal Kariem

For example, take each of the images between title and the phrase. In order from left to right and from top to bottom, the objects are a kind of headdress¹⁹, *sviatochnaia maska* (Christmas mask for mumming), *rez'ba rusalki* (a carving of a mermaid [used in housing decoration]), and *shamanskii buben* (shaman's tambourine). The four objects on the front of the

¹⁹ Dmitri told me what this was, but he did not know which culture it came from.

brochure represent mysticism both familiar and strange, which are the narratives that these images create. Familiarity arises because they activate various internal schemata that visitors have, i.e. visitors know what mermaids and masks are, although they might not understand the specific purposes of these examples. This familiarity invokes a primordial past that becomes strange and mystic through the words at the bottom, which increase in value and meaning in relation to the symbols: Signs and symbols, Desires and possibilities, History and the contemporary Under the spell of time. These phrases and images taken together mystify the objects displayed and the pasts that these objects intend to represent. Just like the museum, this brochure is framed by the symbol of Athena and the Classical. Thus, a narrative arises that the museum contains the mystical and ancient while putting them into a framework of logic and reason.

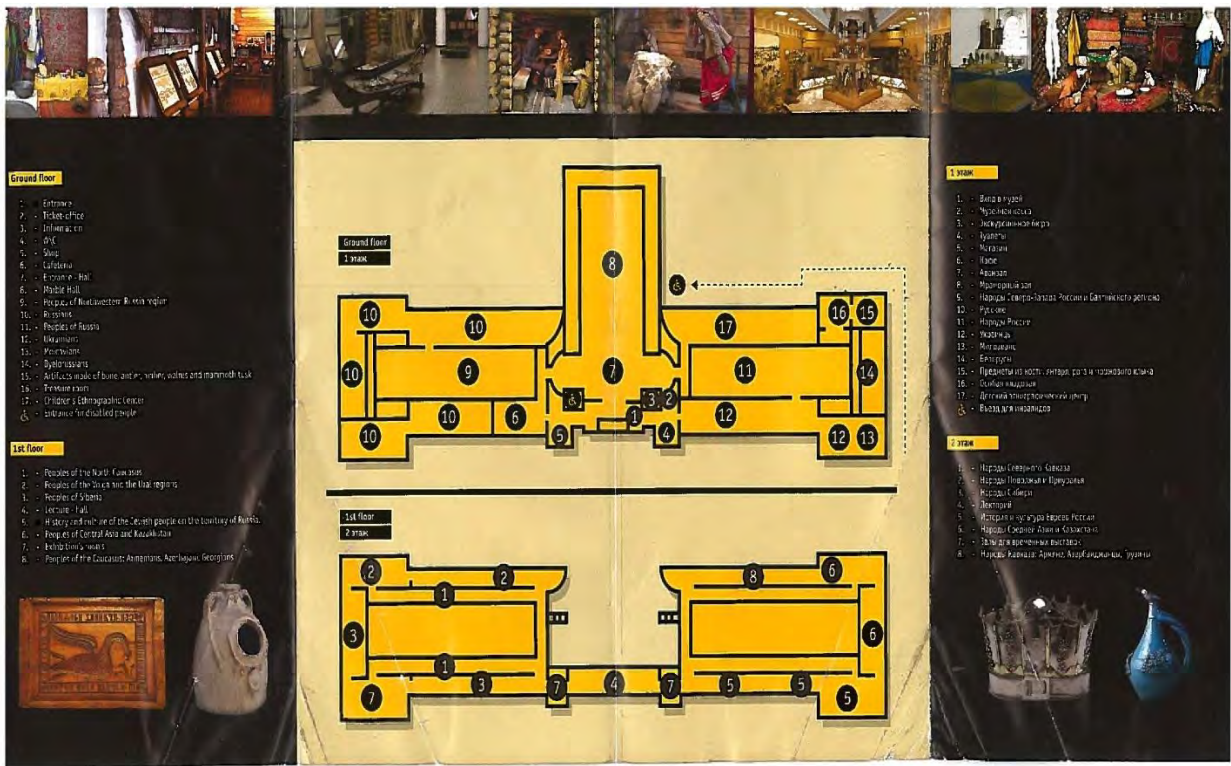


Fig. 2-5 Photograph of brochure floor plan pages. Photograph by Kamal Kariem

The brochure illuminates where exhibitions are located on a surface level as well as demonstrates the types of exhibits and exhibitions. It also displays pattern and intention. The breakdown of the museum, in terms of where exhibitions are placed within the museum also has meaning because of its intentional nature, whether these meanings are ideological, practical, an overlapping of the previous two, etc. Other than the exhibition “The Museum and its Collectors” and the amber room exhibit, the first floor displays mainly the Peoples of the Western part of the Russian Empire. This location is privileged within the museum because of the ease of access of the first floor. Thus, these people are similarly privileged since museum visitors can more easily see them²⁰. The amber room and the exhibition “The Museum and its Collectors” represent exceptions to this pattern because they are not devoted to any one group within this part of Russia. The second floor, then, displays the “Others” of the Empire: the Peoples of the North and Far East, Central Asia, Volga and Urals, Jewish Culture on the territory of Russia and a space for temporary exhibitions (from my experiences on a particular group from this list). On this section of the brochure, more than the museum’s breakdown can be seen. Also visible are photographs of exhibits and exposition spaces. The physical spaces within the museum that have been photographed are at the top of the page, while the exhibits from the museum’s collection are at the bottom of the page.

These images are not simple or without narrative. The top images of exhibitions represent a narrative imbued with all of the meaning behind each semiotic system that creates them. This embedding must be recognized before their various signified terms on the mythological level can be understood. In this specific case, we have signs on the linguistic level depicting mumming, peasant life, wooden tools and contraptions, and aspects of specific religious activities. These

²⁰ This privileging is especially true of the exhibition on ethnic Russians since it is the largest exhibition in the museum

signs in turn relay meanings, which in this case relate to the past. These terms ultimately produce a narrative of the peoples and events being displayed as old. At this point, a cascade of meaning can be seen. The myth constructed at this mythological semiotic level is that the museum must portray old objects, which are linked to ethnography. Thus, ethnography is not about living cultures but about the past and histories of the specific peoples and cultures within this myth.

Of these pages, the remaining aspects of the pages are the exhibits that create a dialogue between presented artifacts in our minds. On the left, a vase and a tablet are displayed. While on the right, another vase and crown are displayed. These images of objects are what create a narrative about the physical objects that the museum portrays. A comparison of these pairs of objects sheds light on the combined narrative that they create. On the left, the tablet and vase through their material form a narrative. Here, it is important to factor the material, the depiction, and the apparent (but not actual) quality of the material. In regards to the tablet, it is wooden, has limited ornamentation, and seemingly simple depiction, and the pot appears plain and has simple designs. These materials and appearances of the objects are useful in order to determine what the signified terms of these images are. In this case, the simplicity of the objects exposes the signified terms as simple and less advanced. There may also be a myth of the primitive wrapped into these two images as well; however, this narrative becomes more clearly visible once these images are understood in relation to the other two images. The material and detail of the objects plays an instrumental role in the secondary tier of this semiotic system. The crown is made of some sort of metal and ornately decorated with floral symbols. The vase, next to the crown, is made of a polished material and has detailed ornamentation including a handle that appears braided and the design across its front. This ornamentation acts as signifier terms in the mythological tier of this system. The signified terms become advancement, higher cultures, and

similar conceptions, which ultimately produces a narrative that these objects came from more advanced cultures/ peoples. However, this classification is does not mean that these objects are representative of modernity. It is clear that these objects still come from people that are not “modern” by today’s standard, which qualifies this narrative by illustrating that while the people that produced these may be more advanced that they still are from the history of a people rather than their contemporary.

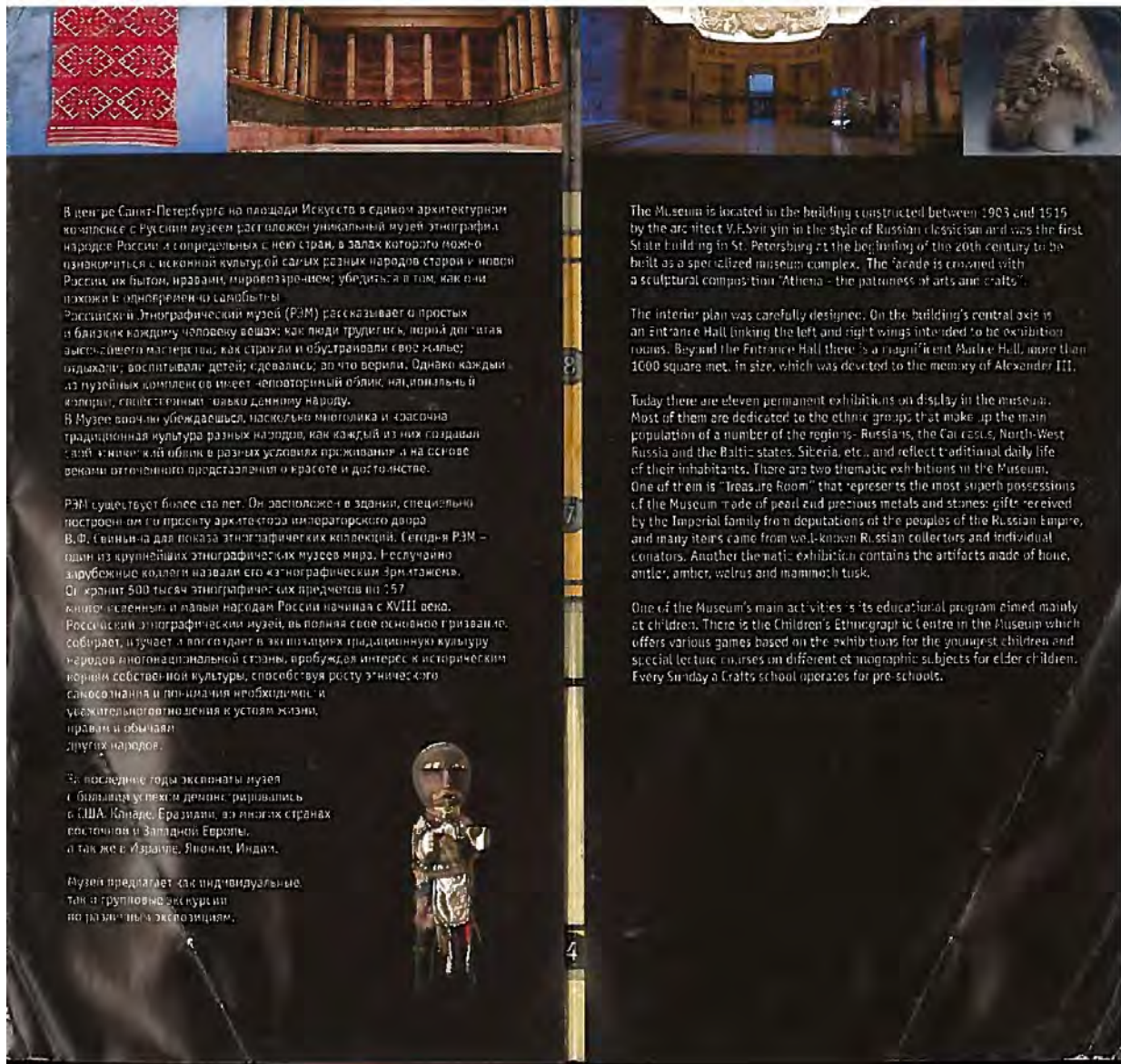


Fig. 2-6 Photograph of Museum Description pages in the brochure. Photography by Kamal Kariem

A similar analysis can be conducted for the museum's description within the brochure (Fig. 2-6 above). However, here an interesting occurrence is the production of two texts: one in English and the other in Russian. These texts reveal distinct audiences that the museum has. One of these populations is dominantly Russian-speaking; the other is characterized by English-speaking, which also aligns with the Western tradition that this usage accomplishes. The key feature about both of these populations is that neither is restricted to one ethnicity or people. The colonial legacies embedded within both of these populations illuminates that a division between these two texts is also a sense of inclusion into greater imaginations of inclusion and exclusion. Or in other words, a division between Russian-speakers and foreigners is demonstrated. A division, which in the mind of the museum, warrants different information for these separate populations. The narrative expressed to Russian-speakers relates the objects and displays of the museum as well as the special nature of the collection; while the narrative expressed to English-speakers illuminated features of the architecture and the museum's programs.

A Walkthrough of the Exhibition "The Museum and Its Collectors"

In the foyer, there is a choice of direction: right or left. To the right, under the Russian imperial symbol is an extended temporary exhibition. In this room, there is seating pressed against the wall to the right and left of the entrance. Above these seats are general introductions to the exhibition: one in English on the left side and the other in Russian on the right side. Then almost the length of the room on both sides there are glass display cases from the floor going up about 7 feet high. There are two bends toward the center of the floor in these cases, again one on each side that allow for specific sections to take up more space and display specific parts with more space. These display cases are divided by the collection that the exhibits came from, which correlate to the specific collector of these exhibits. This dividing principle is only made clear

when a visitor reads the various descriptions on the display case that also divide the exhibits, which museum visitors rarely did as I conducted research. Despite this lack of reading, it appears as though there are neat divides between the various ethnicities displayed. On the right side, this division appears to go along an east-west gradient. Thus, on this side of the display, people of the Far Eastern part of Russia are closer to the entrance and the exhibits slowly shift until it reaches exhibits of the cultures of the Baltics. Although not explicitly stated, the arrangement of the people on this side of the exhibition reveals an intentional pattern.

Through semiotics, this idea begins with the start of these connected display cases beginning with people of the Far East and ending with people of the Baltics. They are in the following order: *Nentsy* (Nenets), *Khanty* (Khanty), *Mansi* (Mansi), *Buryaty* (Buryats) *Mordva* (Mordovians), *Bashkiry* (Bashkirs), *Mordva-Erzya* (Mordva-Erzya), *Mariitsy* (Mari), *Udmury* (Udmurts), *Kresheniye Tatory* (Baptized Tartars), *Ukraintsy* (Ukrainians), *Ukraintsy-boyki* (Ukrainian-Boykos), *Ukraintsy-gutsuly* (Ukrainian-Hutsuls), *Ukraintsy-rusiny* (Ukrainian-rusyns), *Bolgary* (Bulgarians), *Russkie* (Russians), *Sety* (Setu), *Belorusy* (Belorussians), *Polyaki* (Poles), *Litovtsy* (Lithuanians), *Latyshi* (Latvians), *Litovtsy-aukshtaity* (Lithuanian Aukstaitians), and *Finny* (Fins). If we were to overlay these peoples on a map in order, in general, there would be a trend moving westward. In terms of display, the first peoples of the Far East are framed by background photographs and exhibits that show people with fur clothing and that live off in “unpopulated” snowy areas. While, the peoples of the Baltics are framed by photographs showing seemingly modern fishing boats, people dressed in more contemporary fashion, and with more recognizable tools. These photographs, exhibits, and ordering are a part of a semiotic system that intend to relay meaning. This system advances a narrative through its individual aspects, which must include the objects that are displayed to represent the previously

listed nationalities/ ethnicities. These photographs are an exercise in locating the displayed people and give context for the displayed objects. The first framing photograph produces a narrative of isolation and distance for the people of the Far East and Siberia (as seen in Fig. 2-7). The last framing photograph produces a narrative of similarity, modernity, and Western-ness for the people of the Baltics (as seen in Fig 2-8). This exhibition creates a narrative that utilizes both these framing photographs and the displayed exhibits. In this narrative, the photographs locate the nationalities, while the exhibits, pieces of material culture, represent the people. This narrative continues on the other side of this exhibition. Here, similar elements of display and representation are used. Together, the framing photographs and these objects demonstrate an experiment of knowing framed through ethnography and the colonial gaze. Historically, these specific exhibits were collected by museum ethnographers in order to know the peoples of the Russian Empire, and their display within the exhibition continues this endeavor of knowing by using the same exhibits despite the differing contemporary context. These displays also relate to notions of empire through their display in the Saint Petersburg, a central city in Russia in terms of culture.



Fig. 2-7: Photohtaph of Exhibits from the Rudenko Collection displayed in the The Museum and Its Collectors Exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 2-8: Photograph of Exhibits from the Galnbek Collection displayed in The Museum and Its Collectors Exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum

The left side of the room appears to follow a different pattern that begins again with people of Siberia then shifts slowly to people of Central Asia. Within this transition, a narrative of progress seems to arise as well; however, it is not the same narrative as on the right side. The main distinction between these two narratives is their framing elements. The previous framing may be interpreted as a comparison between the more “advanced” parts of the Russian Empire with the less “advanced”: a narrative of unidirectional progress. In this case attention should be paid to the ordering of the peoples displayed. The ordering of the left side is as follows: *Buryaty* (Buryats), *Tuvintsy-todzhintsy* (Tuva-Todzhins), *Tuvintsy* (Tuvans), *Altaitsy* (Altaians), *Tatary Kazanskie* (Kazan Tatars), *Tatary kasimovskie* (Kasimov Tatars), *Krimskie Tatary* (Crimean Tatars), *Nogaitse* (Nogais), *Aisori* (Aissors or Assyrians), *Abkhazy* (Abkhazians), *Armyane* (Armenians), *Azerbaizhantsy* (Azerbaijanis), *Taty* (Tats), *Talyshi* (Talysh), *Avartsy* (Avars), *Tadzhiki* (Tajiks), *Uzbeki* (Uzbeks), *Turkmeny* (Turkmens), *Kazakhi* (Kazakhs), *Kirgizy* (Kyrgyz), *Turkmeny-tekintsy* (Turkmen-teke), *Turkmeny-saryki* (Turkmen-saryks). The ordering on this side of the exhibition is not a central to the narrative because the location does not steadily move in one direction or another. However, a pattern does arise from religion and general location. Each of the displayed peoples is either Muslim or Buddhist, except for the Christian Armenians, and are in areas bordering or in dominantly Muslim or Buddhist regions or countries. In Fig. 2-9 and Fig. 2-10, a similar arrangement of objects and photographs can be seen as on the other side of this exhibition: framing photographs, objects, brief descriptions, and labels. These function in the same way as previously described, i.e. the use of a colonial lens of knowing to gaze upon those being displayed.



Fig. 2-9: Photograph of Exhibits from the Klemenz Collection displayed in The Museum and Its Collectors Exhibition in the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 2-10: Photograph of Exhibits from the Dudin Collection displayed in The Museum and Its Collectors Exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem

In the descriptions of the exhibits and the descriptions of the collectors, comments about the exhibits are not made, or more accurately, qualifications and analysis of the exhibits are not given as shown by Fig. 2-11 and Fig. 2-12. Rather, descriptions make objective claims about what is displayed.



Fig. 2-11: Photograph of Exhibit List from the Voltaire and Sirelius Collections displayed in The Museum and Its Collectors Exhibition of the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem.

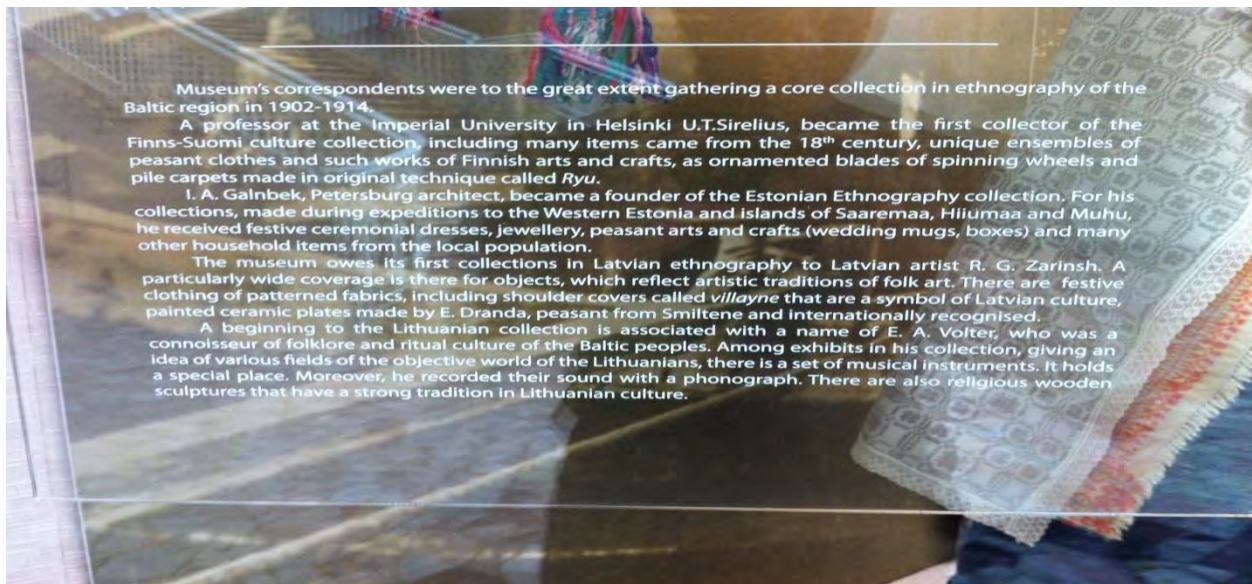


Fig. 2-12: Photograph of Description from The Museum and Its Collectors Exhibition of the Russian Ethnographic Museum describing the Sirelius and the objects in the Sirelius Collection. Photograph by Kamal Kariem.

Thus, nothing presented within the exhibition itself prevents the viewer from making various claims and assertions about the superiority, level of development, current living conditions, and other claims that could be made about the groups displayed. Visitors only have access to the displayed exhibits, which were generally comprised of traditional clothing, utensils including dishes, and tools (including weapons), and tour guides, if they paid for an excursion. There are no maps in this section of the museum, which is an irregularity in the museum. Despite this irregularity of having no maps, this section is a microcosm of the museum and its displays. It acts as a microcosm of the museum by displaying peoples or representatives of each of the geographic areas being displayed throughout the museum and as a microcosm of its displays by following the same general principles of display used throughout the museum. Elements of virtual tourism also arise since viewers in one room can see and experience aspects of the traditional cultures of the peoples of Siberia, the Far East, Russia, the Baltics, and Central Asia in one room without needing to travel throughout the country. Furthermore, the general layout of the exhibition seems to follow the expansion of the Russian Empire loosely.

However after looking closer at the descriptions, analysis of the exhibits are not the point of this exhibition, which can be seen in the minimalist labels that tell only the object's name, the people that used/ produced it, and the general time frame that it came from. Rather, this extended temporary exhibition is about the museum's first collectors, i.e. the museum's first employees that conducted expeditions to collect objects for the museum. But this intended meaning, which is reinforced by screens further back in the room that display some of the museums first documents and information on these first collectors, are not be communicated well despite descriptions on the display cases in both English and Russian. The light grey color of the descriptions on the transparent glass makes it difficult to read them at times depending on the

lighting and some of the particular exhibits that are behind them. Walking through, we see a few people. For example, on an average day we might see an elderly man walking alone, a woman with children, two middle-aged women walking together, and one woman with a single child. A conversation that can commonly be overheard in this room begins when a child asks about what one portrayed group is wearing, and then the caretaker answering. This type of questioning often occurred to the right of the entrance when children saw the fur clothing of *Nentsy* (Nenets), to which the adult might discuss the environmental factors that make fur clothing better than other types even to this day for them. An environmental deterministic discourse arises through such explanations that create a frozen image of certain nationalities/ ethnicities, especially for indigenous populations. Just as further down the room still on the right side, a caretaker might use the display to show the child how “they” used to dress and the tools that “they” used to use. The room at once appears simply when in reality more is being displayed than simple clothing, utensils, and tools. Each section of the exhibition is framed by a background ethnographic photograph that displays the ethnic characteristics and generally the housing of the group being displayed. Also, after another look over the exhibition we notice that most of the traditional costumes displayed are women’s costumes, which excludes the wide variety of men’s costumes.

Then, after looking over the exhibition again, the disconnect between what is displayed and the intention of the exhibition is truly experienced. An exhibition that is about the museum’s first collectors mainly shows not the collectors or their histories primarily but rather the objects that they collected. To an extent, this feature could mainly be the fact that museums speak through objects. However, the museum silences narratives of colonialism, its effects, history, and at times the present lives of those represented through this representation. The museum privileges the objects collected and the ethnicities that they allow to be displayed over the museum’s actual

collectors, who helped with the process of knowing in colonization throughout the Empire. The next exhibition that we will investigate is the permanent exhibition on Russians (*Russkie*), which is located on the other side of the museum on the first floor that surrounds the exhibition on the People of the Baltics and Northwestern Russia.

A Walkthrough of the Exhibition “Russians”

The first aspect of this exhibition is the sign. It reads *russkie* (Russians) not *narody Rossii* (Peoples of Russia). Embedded within this sign is an ideology that there are many peoples of Russia as displayed by the museum, but Russians unmistakably are a part of Russia. Combined with the earlier described framing of the museum as a whole, this sign also positions Russians as ultimately the people that collected the empire together. In this conception, Russians are unmarked in a museum of marked and qualified. The description from this exhibition also separates it from other exhibitions thus far because it is on a screen with selectable options to receive more or different information about Russian society, family, household, holidays, and music. The description of the Russian people as a whole gives them history. It starts not with their historical culture, region of habitation, or language. Rather, it establishes them as the *samie mnogochislennye narod Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (most populous people of the Russian Federation). Thus, unlike the previously displayed peoples/ cultures, here the Russians are immediately introduced as still existing in the present and in the past and allows for progress to be seen in the Russian people as well, which gives them a history rather than making them into an ahistorical people without change over time.

This first room/ section for the Russians displays exclusively various traditional costumes. In this room, large ethnographic photos on the walls frame this room within the context of a Russian village. The photos illustrate various aspects of village life: from the natural

surroundings and the buildings to the people and some of their activities. Next, smaller ethnographic photos surround specific exhibits in display cases embedded in the wall and illustrations of traditional dress that surround the room. Finally, actual display cases contain traditional costumes on faceless mannequins. When we walk into the room, we immediately see the screen to our right, the rows of display cases that contain mannequins and traditional costumes, and a path down the center of the room that heads toward the back for us to walk through. As we walk, we see the display cases embedded in the wall that contain various headwear, and the smaller ethnographic photos that surround them to give them some form of context. Next, through seeing these photographs, the larger framing photos in the background become more prominent, which allows for us to see how these various levels relate and interact with each other through positioning, the use of transparent glass displays, and angles. Walking back through the room, we head toward the next room/section. Here, we see the framing description of this room. This description describes the origins and purposes of traditional Russian costumes and changes related to the reforms of Peter I. Again, the Russians are given a deeper history than the other displayed peoples thus far. Fig. 2-13 (below) illustrates this deeper history and the manner in which it is displayed. The combination of these elements of display invokes a past that, if not immemorial, is distant and idyllic. The framing photographs and descriptions clearly frame the displayed exhibits within the room as belonging to the past, while explicitly acknowledging that Russians belong to the flow of history, progress.



Fig. 2-13: Photograph of in the room on traditional clothing in the permanent Russian exhibition in the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photography by Kamal Kariem

In the next room, there are various scenes that portray the traditional life of Russians. As a whole, this room details broadly ritual and holiday aspects of the Russian peasant calendar year. The general route that is necessary to see each of the scenes in the room is circular. Starting on our right as we walk in is the scene that displays *pokhonnyi obryad* (funeral ritual). The scene itself displays aspects of *pokhonnyi obryad* in the home, which is illustrated through an imitation room in the home being displayed. Two icons and crucifix can be seen on a shelf in the background; just as a table with utensils can be seen. However, the focus of the scene is the two mannequins and model casket shown. This scene shows the extended context of *pokhonnyi obryad* by combining it with ethnographic photos and descriptions. Photos of the church are prominent here and are used as well to illustrate the relation of churches with *svadba* (wedding). Next to this scene is a large three panel painting of life in the village. The next scene displays *ryazhene* (disguise). The scene displays four *ryazhenye* (mummers): two feminine figures, one

masculine figure, and one animal figure. It is difficult to know, which biological sex is being displayed since within mumming rituals prescribed gendered roles and rules of dress need do not need to be followed. The description illuminates that *ryazhene*, in a ritual sense, occurs especially around the winter holiday season. The next scenes and exhibits relate to specific holidays, on which *ryazhene* take place: *svyatki i maslnitsa* (the Christmas season and Maslenitsa). The display cases contain exhibits of masks, clothing, tools, and objects used during these holiday periods. Included among these exhibits are paintings of various aspects of Maslenitsa. Also, various ethnographic photos are also used to help frame these ritual times by showing their occurrence in the past, which hints at a continuation into the future. The last scene in this room illustrates part of the Friday of Maslenitsa with two mannequins as mummers comprising a horse and a male mannequin playing a flute. Walking back around, we past the same previous scenes and exhibits, but we also see the calendar area that comprises the final part of this section. Here there is a large exhibit that displays the months of the year and the prescribed activities that Russian peasants habitually did or should do. Walking into the next room/ section, we see that it details the various housing styles and objects within the home for Russians. No mannequins are in this room. The entire room is separated by having wooden floors designed to give the appearance of a home. Within this room, there are two life-sized model rooms of a traditional Russian home. The first room has a table, a shelf with various containers on it, two chairs, a bureau of some sort with a box, various decorative objects of wood and porcelain, and a tea pot on it, and posters on the walls. The posters, however, do not seem as though they would be widely owned. One seems to have direct political implications. Most of the others are of landscapes, and the final one it comprised of a few photos. The central photo of this set is of Moscow and the other photos are unclear. Before the second sample room, there is a

map that details where the different housing styles occurred, descriptions of these different types of housing, and small ethnographic photos and diagrams of traditional housing. However, one photo stands out among the others. It shows more modern appearing homes with an old-fashioned style record player or radio, a lamp on a table and a couch that appears to be leather. There are two display cases that illustrate various home objects, such as candle holders, and decorations. These model rooms and the examples of housing décor and items are used to create an image of what traditional Russian houses were and within some discourses how traditional Russian homes still are. They produce an image of what Russian life used to be, which generally is understood either as no longer existing or as the habits of a minority of Russians today. This image does not dominate the way that viewers shape their beliefs on contemporary Russians. From conversations that I heard museum visitors having in these rooms, they reminded them of the past or villages that are not considered modern, which was not the case for many of the ethnicities and nationalities displayed within the museum (especially indigenous populations). The next room in sharp contrast to the previous room displays the early industrial culture of the Russians. Along the walls there are diagrams, dioramas, descriptions, tools, ethnographic photos, and traditional costumes. There is also a scene displaying the cloth making and dyeing processes in a domestic setting. In the center of the room, there are exhibits of utensils, pots, and other containers. However, most prominently display in the room is the wall immediately opposite to us as we walk in shown in Fig. 2-14 and Fig. 2-15.



Fig. 2-14: Photograph of metal work in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photography by Kamal Kariem.



Fig. 2-15: Photograph of metal work in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photography by Kamal Kariem.

This display establishes a specific and exclusive myth about the Russians through memory. The myth begins with a narrative that Russians have a long standing industrial culture, or at least a longer standing industrial culture than the other peoples displayed in the museum. Through semiotics this narrative is in part portrayed through the existence of this type of section only for the *Russkie* exhibition. However, specific elements of display, such as the metal work and dioramas that draw the viewer in, accomplish this feat as well. Focusing in on the metalwork prominently displayed within this room and the small dioramas immediately under this piece, the top section portrays a myth the Russian people as have an industrious and communal spirit, which is accomplished by displaying the figures working together then coming together with the various goods that they produced. Following this display downward, an active comparison is made between the work that I previously described *promygly* (works) and *promyshlennost'* (industry). This divide is established by again showing figures that look similar to the larger figures in bronze that represent the Russian people above divided from workers by a factory. While numbers are given for each section in order to show the number of master craftsmen, peasants, workers, and factories. It seems as though the factory transformed the Russian people, especially since four of the figures are positioned in such a way that it appears that they are walking toward the factory. This transformation is visible when we focus on the physical features of the figures displayed on the left side of the factory versus the figures displayed on the right side. The most noticeable shifts include beardlessness and more visible musculature. But the similarities between the two sides is also important to note. In this case, the dominant similarity is the communal spirit. This communal character of Russians is the myth advanced here through the narrative of progress because while the Russians may have physically changed from factories they did not lose their defining characters. This myth becomes transparent since in

the factory they are still working together and helping each other. Furthermore, this myth is seen in the two dioramas in glass cases below by displaying the same type of communal work within the factory setting again. The use of ethnographic photos, display cases of tools and traditional costume of workers, and the displayed seen illuminate that Russian industry has a history and has advanced to the point where not only can industrial culture from the later 18th and early 19th centuries can be observed and documented but that comparisons over time can also occur between this culture and previous ones. Also, a myth arises about the necessarily communal nature of Russians throughout their history and advancements.

Another aspect of this room that stands out are the ethnographic photographs displaying factory life and the display cases containing examples of worker clothing as seen in Fig. 2-16 and Fig. 2-17.



Fig. 2-16: Photograph of ethnographic photographs in the permanent Russian exhibition in the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem.



Fig. 2-17: Photograph of traditional Russian worker clothing in the permanent Russian exhibition in the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem.

These ethnographic photographs and the display cases that present factory life and examples of worker clothing accomplish similar narrativizing feats as the metalwork. Progress is directly shown between the first three rooms and this room on early industrial culture through the divides in material culture, i.e. Russians have been able to advance beyond simply the traditional and folk aspects of their culture and industrialize. This explicitly displayed narrative of progress is unique because it does not appear in other locations in the museum, which is significant and carries implications. We must acknowledge who is displaying whom to understand the narratives relayed here.. Dominantly, ethnic Russians are displaying themselves and other nationalities/ethnicities to a primarily ethnic Russian audience, which as this section of the exhibition displays has monumental effects on the specific lens used and attributes assigned to those displayed. Specifically for this section of the permanent Russian exhibition, Russians are displaying themselves to themselves, which creates a myth of what it means to be ethnically Russian. All

such endeavors deal with nationhoods and their interpretations, which in this case gives the Russian people history and allows for their progress.

Heading into the next room, we see more display cases along the wall; however, the display cases, the mannequins, and exhibits shown greatly contrasts the previous room. Here agriculture, hunting, and fishing are displayed here. Within the center of the room, there are large exhibits and a display case with a diorama. Each section has at least one, but generally two display cases with mannequins wearing traditional clothing. In and around these cases, there are framing ethnographic photographs. Contrastingly, the first part of this room details the main pathways across Russia via maps and descriptions focusing on land (railways) and water transportation because of the museum's framing timespan. The next individual sections of the room display the previously detailed subsistence patterns. Walking through the room, two main aspects that stand out: the central diorama and the map that concludes the Russian exhibition. The diorama displays an image of village life that Russians lived within the context of the room, which is to locate the everyday not only in the subsistence practices of ethnic Russians but also their communal spirit and activities. Both the diorama and the map are exceptions to previous exhibitions because of their size since they are the largest in the museum.



Fig. 2-16: Photograph of Russian village diorama in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 2-17: Photograph of Russian village diorama in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 2-18: Photograph of Russian village diorama in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 2-19: Photograph of Russian village diorama in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 2-20: Photograph of Russian village diorama in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem

Displays of this sort always portray an imagination. The village diorama shows communal life including a market among other traditional activities. However, this diorama's purpose is to demonstrate "Russianness". From the large church, to the wooden houses, the positioning of the market, to even the number of people on the street, this diorama displays an imagination of village life that viewers are intended to associate with "Russianness". For ethnic Russians, it is meant to call upon their memory of an immemorial past that has aspects of the stories that they remember if they once lived in a village, from lived experiences if they still live in a village, from stories that their parents and relatives have told them about village life, and almost an innumerable amount of other sources. This diorama of a village is not meant to meet every expectation or memory from each of the sources memory that it draws from. Rather, it is

meant to be broad enough that it does not need to match. Thus, such dioramas are a method of balancing the general and the specific imaginations of the Russian people. For younger museum goers and foreigners, the museum's portrayal becomes the standard imagination of how Russians either lived or still live because of the museum's authority.

In this section, there are large ethnographic photographs that capture Russian peasant life sharply contrasts the previous room, which portrayed early industrial cultures in Russian. However, it still fits uniquely into the scheme and purpose of the *Russkie* exhibition. As the final section, this room is intended to make a statement and conclude this exhibition. Following the ordering of the rooms, an interesting phenomenon is illuminated. The rooms consist of the following order: traditional clothing, traditional holidays and practices, traditional houses and housing components, early industrial culture, then patterns of subsistence and traditional practices. Following this order, a specific narrative is created on a large scale through the juxtaposition of these rooms. The narrative that arises seems to be that many different aspects of "Russianness" could be seen and even collected before industrialization, and after industrialization these collections can then not only be collected but categorized. A people become more than their clothes, their holidays, and housing; they become also their methods of subsistence, their location, and their tools. A separation occurred along with early industrialization that allowed for more than collecting to describe a people: ethnography as a more systematic study arose. Agreeing with this logic, the patterns of display in this final room adhere more closely to the standard of the museum. However, another factor that also supports this idea is a reverse ordering of these rooms and sections. In this case, if a museum visitor were to begin in the final room, exposed to the giant map and ethnographic photographs at the beginning and ultimately end with the room on traditional clothing. Following this pattern, the

room on early industrial culture still produces a large division between what can be seen before this room and what can be seen after it. The organization shifts from the museum's normal scheme of display to the a section devoted to early industrial culture, which is the only one in the entirety of the museum, and then to rooms that follow the spirit but not form of museum's normal scheme of display. In a way, shifting from more order to less order without lossing any of the meaning.



Fig. 2-21: Photograph of ethnographic photographs framing the map of the Russian Empire in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photo by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 2-22: Photograph of ethnographic photographs framing the map of the Russian Empire in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photo by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 2-23: Photograph of ethnographic photographs framing the map of the Russian Empire in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photo by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 2-24: Photograph of the map of the Russian Empire in the permanent Russian exhibition at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photo by Kamal Kariem

The next defining feature of this room is the map, which is slightly separate from the rest of the room. It is framed by ethnographic photographs of Russian peasants and lighted by a warm yellow light that makes the area, especially the photograph frames, glow. This effect seems to intentionally idealize the imperial past and Russian peasants. In combination with the sheer size of these photographs and the map, this past and these people loom over the visitor, many of whom only viewed them after closely approaching despite the large size of the photographs and the map. They were forced to look up in order to see the photographs and the map. While, the ethnographic photographs displayed around the map serve a similar function to the diorama in terms of familiarizing visitors with a myth of peasant life, the map has a different function. Many visitors would stop at the map and locate the cities in which they live or lived in and to which they traveled or desired to travel. Thus, this map serves as a method of familiarizing the space of Russia, which embeds experience and memory into the land.

The various narratives that the Russian Ethnographic Museum depicts are embedded within their displays, such as these two exhibitions, Museum and its Collectors and the permanent Russian exhibition. These narratives are portrayed through material culture, even in context where the use of material culture creates narratives and myths divorced from the meaning of the exhibition. However, not all of the created narratives and meaning in exhibitions are intended. Museum curators formulate their exhibitions and meaning, which are then negotiated by museum visitors. At once this endeavor relates to the creation and diffusion of knowledge but also to its contestation. The museum visitors contest these messages through the ways in which they discuss them. This chapter investigated the semiotic messages within two of the museum's exhibitions as ethnographic objects that relay narratives and as the stimulus for the ways in which the museum and its exhibitions are discussed. Within the context of the Russian

Ethnographic Museum, these narratives are important to acknowledge mainly for three reasons. First, these narratives have an impact of the formation of individual and group identities from those displaying and those who are displayed. Second, the narratives are officially sanctioned (although not dictated)²¹. Third, the museum still portrays exhibitions that have not been recently updated since funding is required to reconstruct and renarrativize exhibitions. Thus, imperial and soviet legacies, histories and political contexts are still present in the museum, which it has negotiated these remnants over time. Another implication of this point concerns the narratives that the museum visitors navigate in terms of which messages that they perceive and to whom they assign these messages. The next chapter interrogates how museum visitors discuss the museum and negotiate the narratives that they find within in and discuss the miscommunications that occur in navigating the narratives portrayed within the Russian Ethnographic Museum.

²¹ In my interview with Dmitri Aleksandrovich Baranov, the head of the Russian ethnographic department, he discussed the reality that federal museums do not need to comply with local powers and that the Ministry of Culture does send suggestions for specific exhibitions. The extent to which the museum has the agency to create these recommended exhibitions or not was not discussed.

Chapter 4

Ethnographic Accounts:

Museums in Russia are different from museums in United States. They have a different history, even if they have at times had similar, if not the same, goals. The most immediate and significant of these histories is the legacy of the Soviet Union. This legacy is especially felt in the Rossiiskii Etnograficheskii Muzei. Dmitri, one interviewer and museum worker, told me the following anecdote after I asked him about the museum's attendance:

That's a hurtful question for our museum. Because...before there was a large attendance, in Soviet times due to the fact that our museum was in the program of "Obligatory attendance for tourists", especially for foreign tourists of our museum...There [were] such tours, which included obligatory attendance of the Hermitage, Peterhof, Kunstkammera, and our museum. Then in the 90s, when they anew formed those packets of tours...our museum, I don't know due to some reason, became un-included. And then to return to the packet is hard. It's a lot of money. A whole lot. To return is hard, which means, it's hard to enter and thus...the attendance became lower. And...then... it is connected also with a lack of enough advertisements.

As illustrated by this anecdote, the museum has existed through and had to mediate changes in government. For the museum, these shifts had many impacts including lower museum attendance. In Dmitri's opinion, there should be more visitors despite the reality that they had over 233,336 visitors in the 2015 calendar year or on average 19, 444 visitors per month (see Appendix C). This anecdote also demonstrates continuities from the past to the present. Employees from the Soviet era continue to work in the museum, and official list of museums for "obligatory" attendance continue to exist. Dmitri's remark does not discuss what it means to be a museum to both museum workers and visitors, what narratives these populations advance about the Rossiiskii Etnograficheskii Muzei, and the negotiations of these narratives in relation to their identities.

Having started with a brief walk-through of two exhibitions, I now begin an investigation of the discourses that visitors and workers create with these narratives. I use concepts of nationhood, memory and nostalgia, museums, and the everyday in order to interpret my research data, which are primarily interviews but also include ethnographic descriptions, statistics, and visitor book responses. My interviewees in this study were all Russian (read as *rossiiskie* but not necessarily *russkie*); they span from students to museum curators, from residents of St. Petersburg to tourist, and from mono-lingual Russian speakers to multi-lingual speakers. Further information about these informants and about my core interview questions can be found in Appendix A. The remainder of this chapter presents ethnographic accounts, which illuminate how the museum's displays are negotiated by both curators and visitors. These negotiations establish narratives of progress and myth of "Russianness" and demonstrate ritual citizenship practices.

Ethnography in the Framework of History and Progress

It seems to me like globalization has strongly affected all nations displayed [in the Russian Ethnographic Museum]. However, there are of course exceptions [to that]. Northern People are probably interesting to me...because they largely preserve such a way of life...*this type of life style...this is still like this...kind of in some part of, even Russia, far, far away from here.* Thus, it's partly interesting that it's not only history, but someone's today, when we walk there with every gadget, technological stuff and there in the pure informational world, they live like that and it's interesting. (Italics indicates that the interviewee used English terms)

- Ksenia

When visitors enter a museum, they read and remember. As they walk through the halls, they read the descriptions, the images, and other people that they see. Each of these readings requires different skills. To read descriptions, literacy is required whether it is individually possessed or attained through fellow visitors. To read other people, visitors watch the ways that they walk or stand paying close attention to any indications of movement because they know that visitors should not run into one another. To read images (just as knowing that one should not collide with

a fellow visitor) requires memory. In order to understand the narratives of images, or in this case the language of objects, visitors must remember the context of what is displayed and any associations they have with it. Museum exhibitions utilize these various reading forms to communicate meaning. However, museum exhibitions cannot by definition control the connections that visitors draw from them. Exhibitions produce meaning in relation to dominant ideas and assumptions about their portrayal to an end of the curator's or museum's choice.

According to Lavine and Karp, "Every museum exhibition, whatever its overt subject, inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it" (Lavine and Karp 1991: 1). Lavine and Karp make a claim as to what a museum is: a forum for relaying cultural assumptions to an audience (with the implication of relaying these biases through objects). Thus, museums are inherently sites of contestation. Curators make claims that audiences view and negotiate. These narratives are not only embedded in objects and their arrangements but also portrayed through unchangeable aspects, such as architecture. As Duncan's analysis of museums demonstrates, museums are ceremonial monuments that must be viewed as more complex than simply space (Duncan 1991: 90). Duncan poses the question: what purpose does the display of others in museums through "art objects" serve in the culture displaying them (Duncan 1991: 89-90)? Museums both question and reinforce societal views on a given topic, making the space of the museum contested not only between curators and visitors, but also between a collective social memory and personal memory. This question and framework are consonant with the negotiations of museum visitors to the Rossiiskii Etnograficheskii Muzei since ethnographic objects serve a number of functions besides representing different ethnicities. This point is further illuminated by an interviewee, Oleg Viktorovich.

[Permanent exhibitions] reflect the level of development of the museum at that point of time. That is at the moment, permanent exhibition corresponds to the

level of the collection of object[s], the collection reflects them, the level of their interpretation, and the level of the conceptual guidance of these objects of the museum...And temporary exhibitions, they, how would [you say], show the dynamics of development of the museum.

Analyses of museum representation of others in terms of how these representations function for the displaying society have not been central to recent trends in museum studies (Duncan 1991: 89). A divide arises between displaying and displayed societies, in which the one has the right to gaze upon the other.

What according to museum visitors and curators is a museum? And what according to museum visitors and curators is displayed in the Rossiiskii Etnograficheskii Muzei, and to what end? Visitors interpret the museum's exhibitions through a negotiation of their experiences and the specific populations to which they belong. Often, the lens through which museum visitors view the displays is that of progress, which according to Robert Nisbet "holds that mankind has advanced in the past—from some aboriginal condition of primitiveness, barbarism, or even nullity—is now advancing, and will continue to advance through the foreseeable future" (1969: 4-5).

A sense of progress and the desire "to show something new" is emphasized by two Russian art students in the museum for practicum, in which they practiced painting, sketching, and other 2-dimensional forms. They represent their subjectivities, but also speak as two of 725 museum visitors that attended the museum for practicum during the 2015 calendar year²². This sense of progress continues when I asked about whether or not the displayed people still live in the way they are displayed, they replied, "No. It's how they lived before". New is relative and about the viewers. It is important to acknowledge two competing notions of the new here: one relates to absolute age and the other synonymous with novelty. Museum visitors generally do not

²² It is important to note that through observations in the museum and conversations with the statistics bureau of the museum that this population is dominantly art students, which makes my first informants more representative.

know whether the displays represent a remote past or contemporary realities, they could only respond, “No, we don’t know”. A narrative arises of the displayed peoples and objects, in which only their pasts are portrayed without knowing about the contemporary lives of the people or the contemporary uses of these objects. Progress is assumed without the knowledge or interrogation of what came after the displayed antiquity. This narrative continues with another interviewee, an elderly Russian manager named Boris. When asked why he came to the museum, he replied:

I specially came to Petersburg, I’ve been here already week. I came here for 10 days to see Peterhof, [the town of] Pushkin, museums, the Russian Museum, churches; simply I rest and watch... Well, when I came one time, two times a year, I am in Petersburg and go to museums... Well I’m interested. I’m interested to know the history of my country. Interest. [My] purpose is interest, knowledge, expansion of [my] horizons.

He links the museum’s displays to a past rather than to the present or the contemporary world. A narrative of history and progress arises in his speech as well. The museum shows the history of Russia, which is united with the colonial history of the country regardless of whether it is explicitly stated or not. This progress narrative became more evident when I asked him about whether the displayed people still lived in the ways in which they are displayed:

No. Of course not. Now everything is globalization, in principle [which] evenly occurs everywhere... Even I would say, even people far from each other, for example India, Thailand, and those start approaching the same that is called globalization. Like that, how they used to be dress, now already that is history... Today [there is] industrialization in general. Basic industry, it’s already those like before there already isn’t craftsmanship. There already is factory industrialization, [which] is all around the world. And somewhere they collect cars, somewhere they collect refrigerators. Well, factory goods. Such like before weren’t...

The narrative informing his comments illustrates a cognitive divide characterized by the separation between craftsmanship (works done by hand) and mechanical reproduction²³, between what the museum displays and what are the contemporary realities of these people. This

²³ A divide also seen in the permanent Russian exhibition’s room on early industrial culture.

characterization further privileges the museum's portrayal of ethnic Russians (*russkie*) by displaying early industrial culture within their exhibition, which relays a message that Russians are fundamentally more advanced than the other displayed nationalities/ethnicities, even in the past. From these perspectives a narrative arises about what is displayed, which in Boris's comments relate the displays to the past and to the past's separation from the contemporary. This divide between the past and the contemporary creates a useful dichotomy for understanding museum visitors' interpretations of the displays within the context of progress. Furthermore, this dichotomy relates to nationalism studies and the debate between constructivists and primordialists. According to the logic presupposed by this divide, distinctions that used to exist (and in some ways still do) either no longer exist or are declining. In other words, all people are moving in a unidirectional fashion into the future or are irredeemably separate from this trajectory. Another association that Boris makes is one between globalization and progress that privileges Western notions of modernity and the idea that others must advance to this standard. He then continues to discuss the erasure of borders between people; however, he does this without clarifying what he meant by assimilation. Boris's views indicate a belief in inherent differences between various nationalities that merge over time. Thus, this assimilation fits into his previously established relation between globalization and progress, which indicates a belief in unidirectional evolution and progress that run counter to constructivist notions of nationhood. Such unidirectionality suggests that various ethnicities are more similar than they used to be.

The divide between the past and the contemporary is not always clear to all museum visitors since according to this unidirectional theory of cultural evolution, either an ethnicity is on the path of progress or eternally separate from it. For Kirill the museum clearly showed the past. Yet even this concept was contested.

Yakutsk, Khavorobsk, Vladivostok. Yes. I would want to revisit the style of life now. In my opinion they, for them nothing differs from then. Well, that is, there are some insignificant changes. Well like in general they live in tents. [They don't have] any problems. They have the same diet of food.

When I interrogated his thoughts by stating that indigenous populations have modern technology such as heat or electrical generators, he said:

Well...[they have them] yes. But they all still live there. It's just a replacement system of heating: fires. No one cancelled them. I doubt that they have generators.

His perspective forces a selective and essentialized past that continues into the present onto specific displayed ethnicities/ nationalities but freezes others in the past within the context of progress through history. Some people are irredeemably separate from progress. In this case, indigenous populations remain in an idealized, past state while other ethnicities have been able to advance²⁴. This discourse mirrors the quotation that opened this section and relates directly to the primordialist camp, in which every ethnicity/ nationality has a primordial past that may or may not still exist, but is felt and known. This belief can be strong enough to even be embedded within the land of the ethnicity being discussed as my informant does. This embedding of people and land with notions of "primitiveness" and static-ness is accomplished through memory. This memory then enables progress to occur, but not everywhere or for all ethnicities and nationalities. Kirill does more than link people with land; he also compares different ethnicities with one another, which relates to a component of history and progress driven discourse of some informants by invoking cultural levels. When referring to Kazakhs, Kirill illustrates this idea by saying the following:

Well they don't have culture as such... Well they have culture. It resembles Central Asian culture. But they and Central Asians, Kazakhs, Mongols. They well, they aren't similar to Mongols. They are more... Well every nationality has their own culture and someone's culture is high, someone's culture is low. And in

²⁴ Throughout our interview references to the past and present shifted as if embedded within his mind was a map of which unnamed ethnicities were able to change over time and which unnamed ethnicities were not.

general I understand culture in such a way. Some have [a] better [culture], some have [a] worse [culture]. Because culture depends on the people themselves. And Kazakhs have a disgusting culture simply. They don't have any culture.

In these discourses, there are different cultural and progress levels that may or may not be rectifiable, i.e. the People of the North and Far East still existing in a frozen past state and Kazakhs, representing Central Asians as a whole, have no culture. This lack of culture means a lack of “high” culture, and within this discourse, “low” culture is devalued to the extent that it is not considered culture despite the fact that ethnographic museums by nature do not display the aspects of culture that are viewed as “high” culture. Thus, these people and nationalities are viewed primarily through a primordialist perspective that puts them within history or separates them from it without accounting for their current existences, their present. This general attribution of narratives of progress to the displays within the Russian Ethnographic Museum continues through various other media as well, namely the comment (or visitor) book and the museum's Tripadvisor webpage, which effectively acts as a virtual comment book that the museum links to their website. These comments, however, at times make more direct connections between this lens and ethnography and progress as well as other significant categories and audiences of the museum. One such reviewer was Yevgeniya P., who wrote on Tripadvisor about the museum being a “historical excursion” showing “how people lived in ancient times, their *byt* and traditions”. She then recommended that people with school aged children should go to the museum. Although this genre of writing is generally short, it is loaded. She connects ethnography and history together primarily in two ways. The first way, in which this connection is made, is through calling the Ethnographic Museum a historical excursion, and the second way, is through saying that the content of the museum shows how people in ancient times lived. These associate the museum with a historical context embedded with narratives of

progress because it implies that the people no longer live in the ways displayed. Similar ideas extend throughout many other comment book and Tripadvisor comments, such as Babich1960's comment:

For me, attendance of the Ethnographic museum [is] always a joy of immersion in culture, practices, traditions of peoples. In this museum you feel the deep roots of our multinational country and the connection of time. Beautiful expositions make the museum emotionally perceived by adults and by children. It's my favorite museum since childhood.

This comment continues the ideas that the museum focuses its displays on the past, but it focuses on a specific variant of the past, roots or origins. Emerging from this excerpt of this comment is the notion of a unity in the roots/ origins of Russia, a multinational country, and of a connection that the museum possesses with the past. Another continuity between these two comments is an importance of childhood and of children in relation to the museum.

A(n) (En)cultured Childhood

During my fieldwork during summer and winter at the Russian Ethnographic Museum, I consistently saw children. Almost every day that I researched at the museum children were there in different concentrations. Frequently school groups attended the museum together with their teachers and a few parents, but more often, I saw parents or grandparents with children. The significance of children became more apparent during my research over winter during the holiday season. During the times that I came to the museum in winter, the museum's attendance was higher as a whole, but the concentration of families with children was especially high. This fact allowed me to investigate the relationship between the museum and childhood.

My interview with Dmitri Baranov, Head of the Russian Department at the Russian Ethnographic Museum, and statistic data from the museum were especially telling and suggested

that children are an important audience for the museum (see Appendix C). According to Dmitri, while the museum generally does not have any single audience in mind, presumably because they need strive to appeal to the public as a whole as a government museum, it does have many programs for children²⁵. The museum statistics on various museum services, including excursions, show that most of the museum's official services are devoted to children²⁶. The purposes of children being specifically targeted, however, are not made clear from this data. To fill this absence, interviewees and commenters ultimately describe the purposes that they deem as central. These purposes relate to the previous discourses on progress established by museum visitors in interviews, the comment book, and the Tripadvisor comments. They are reactions to this narrative and advisements of what caretakers should do with children in relation to narratives of progress. From this data, the museum's displays and services enculture children into Russianness or help them to build understanding (especially its equivalent in official discourses of tolerance).

This idea is furthered by the fact that the museum has a Children's Ethnographic Center²⁷. This center has two sections. One part is devoted to games and activities that children can play with the guidance of museum workers, generally excursion guides. The other part is dedicated to crafts, and it accordingly has tables that children and caretakers can use during masterclasses. On the side devoted to games and activities, there are places reserved for traditional Russian musical instruments for those attending specific excursions. During excursions that involved this section of the center, the excursion guide tells the children the names of the various instruments before playing them and handing them out for all participants to try. While on the side dedicated to crafts, there are display cases with various traditional crafts

²⁵ From interview with Dmitri

²⁶ The majority of these services have *detskaya* or *shkola* as modifications for the type of service.

²⁷ Visible in museum brochure, but not on the webpage, etc.

from around the Russian Federation, especially from the ethnic Russian people. The Ethnographic Center in itself is a method of enculturation. As Fig. 3-1 and Fig. 3-2 display, the room and many crafts within the Ethnographic Center display images of Russianness. Fig. 3-1 portrays a room very similar to the room devoted to traditional Russian housing, especially the two model rooms within this segment of the permanent exhibition on Russians. Similarly, Fig. 3-2 portrays *matrieshki* (Russian nesting dolls), a carved *ruszkaya troika* (a Russian style of sled or carriage pulled by three horses) pulling a bear, and part of another carved horse drawn sled. These figures are a part of imagined and created Russianness. This invented nature is especially true of *matrieshki*, which are an example of what Hobsbawm would consider invented tradition, since they originated in Japan and become emblematic as a sign of Russianness. In combination with the other elements of enculturation that take place in this room, the Children's Ethnographic Center encultures children into the sights and sounds of a created image of traditional Russian life.



Fig. 3-1. Photograph of the Ethnographic Children's Center activity section. Photograph by Kamal Kariem



Fig. 3-2. Photograph of Ethnographic Children's Center display case with Russian toys. Photography by Kamal Kariem.

I had the opportunity to attend an excursion of this sort that ended in this center during my summer fieldwork at the museum. It began in the Russian (*Ruskie*) section of the museum. Specifically, this excursion began in the last room that I highlighted in the previous chapter with the large map of Russia, the large diorama of a Russian village, and the displays of various Russian (*Ruskie*) subsistence patterns. Here, our guide, a Russian woman wearing traditional Russian clothing who appeared to be in her thirties, led us to the tools that were next to the agriculture display case, where there were tools for agricultural practices. While next to these exhibits, our guide specifically asked the children the names of various tools and instruments, asked them to guess how the instruments were played (and the sounds they produced), and whether or not the tools could be instruments as well²⁸. The children did not believe that the

²⁸ She did not ask any of the adults to answer questions.

tools could be instruments until our guide demonstrated that they could. This continued for around 8 minutes before we went to the next room on early industrial culture in Russia. There she spoke to the children in a similar fashion and asked them to identify various tools that were displayed in the center of the room. Once this question and answer session finished, we went to the Ethnographic Children's Center. There, our guide handed out instruments for us to play in the way that she instructed, and then we played a game. From this experience, it seems that children were the focus of this excursion and a main audience of the museum, which was also reflected by the discourses that my interviewees constructed.

Ksenia, an interviewee and student at the Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg, when asked about the other visitors that were in the museum, said, "people with children". Further, she explained that the museum should be required for children because it is necessary to show the different ways that people live. This belief speaks toward the idea of using the museum as a method to spread tolerance, which other interviewees and commenters agree upon. However, this discourse on tolerance is framed by narratives of progress as Ksenia suggests by saying:

Hmm...of course not. It seems to me like globalization has strongly affected all nations displayed [in the Russian Ethnographic Museum]. However, there are of course exceptions [to that]. Northern People are probably interesting to me...because they largely preserve such a way of life...*this type of life style...this is still like this...kind of in some part of, even Russia, far, far away from here.* Thus, it's partly interesting that it's not only history, but someone's today, when we walk there with every gadget, technological stuff and there in the pure informational world, they live like that and it's interesting. (italics for sections originally in English)

Tolerance becomes necessary because people live differently in relation to progress and must be inclusive of the belief that people, in this case the people of the north, are at a different level of progress than other people. In other words, children should go to the Ethnographic Museum to

understand the reasons for differences in a world that is dominated by notions of progress. But discourses on tolerance seem to always be joined by enculturation into “Russianness”, in both interviews and in comment book data. Specifically, this enculturation occurs in childhood in part through the Ethnographic Museum’s services and through caretakers, often parents. For example, Ksenia remembers going to the museum when she was younger with her parents, a friend’s parents, and a large group and attending master classes provided by the museum. In these classes, she most vividly remembers when they made things: brooches, traditional foot ware, etc. A significant factor of these memories is that they illuminate the interconnectedness of each of these individual aspects of enculturation and tolerance. This idea is also reflected in two other interviews with Higher School of Economics sociology students and their comments on the museum.

Misha, who went to the museum at the same time as Ksenia, also went to the museum as a child. Unlike Ksenia, he vividly remembers yellow cars that the museum used to have for children to ride in and an interaction with his mother in the museum, in which she clarified an exhibition for him. He retold this clarification upon my asking what he remembered most from this childhood visit.

Ah...the swastikas...You know some native peoples had swastikas in their urnans, in their buttons on their clothes. And as a child, I was really fascinated by war stuff and by art history as well. You know, the Second World War. And I would go, “woah. What’s happening, mom...mom what is that? Why would they have swastikas?” And my mom would say, “that’s just...they would mean it as a symbol of [the] sun and not as a swastika in the Third Reich way”

Misha’s anecdote illustrates the role of caretakers in the interpretation of museum and its displays. She wanted to ensure that the symbols that Misha saw were put into a separate narrative than the previous one that he had, which was that all swastikas are associated with the Third

Reich, a negative association despite his interest in World War II and its symbols. She re-narrativized this symbol for Misha to include a framework of tolerance that may not have been present before.

Similarly, another interviewee, Alessa, from the Higher School of Economics had a similar anecdote in that it advanced a discourse of tolerance as the main purpose of ethnographic museums. The main difference between her and the previous two interviewees from the High School of Economics is that she is from Irkutsk, and by extension when she was younger, she went to a regional museum of ethnography. She recalls that when she was younger that her parents took her to the regional museum and that her father especially took her to see the Asian cultures displayed within it despite the fact that according to her that she did not philosophically understand the differences between the people that she saw. Also, she remembered that because of her times at this museum and because of her father's explanations that she has rarely been shocked by differences. She even directly asserted the need for tolerance and the importance of parents in her discourse.

You understand that it's real life and people live there like this, and this is normal. And I think that it is important especially in this period to understand not just like the tolerance, but just like the idea that you are not unique. I mean that you are not the only like type of people. So there are also different [people] and this is normal. And I think this idea, well children should get this idea, and of course parents play a huge role here. They should take their children to museum and explain to them that [there are] different culture and [there are] different types of traditions to let them know.

Furthermore, these memories and beliefs about ethnographic museums fit Alessa's general conception of ethnography as a description of how people historically differ because of the environment. She believes that certain environments provide different ethnicities/nationalities advantages or disadvantage. This environmental determinism ultimately still fits

within the discourses of progress because in this logic the environment affects the rate progress. This discourse entwines with notions of tolerance because without understanding how the environment has differently affect ethnicities/ nationalities, it is impossible to understand why different national traits and levels of progress exist and why these differences should not be create hierarchies according to Alessa. Thus, ethnographic museums alone are not enough to teach tolerance. Rather, parents are required to guide children through differences in terms of explaining what they are, why they exist, and how children should interact with them. This parental influence is seemingly also essential because it can provide insight that descriptions within the museum do not. In the Russian Ethnographic Museum, additional information is added frequently. Through my time at the museum, I often heard parents explaining why specific ethnicities dressed the way that they did or do depending on whether the image of the ethnicity is frozen or not. The case that occurred most often was caregivers describing why the indigenous populations of the north and Siberia wore fur clothing. In this situation, caregivers often told children that these people wore and still wear the fur clothing because of environmental necessity. The continuity of clothing was always stressed in these situations, which relates to notions of progress and exceptions to progress that take progress for granted for all people except indigenous peoples. Embedded within this type of parental guidance is cultural knowledge that, again, is not necessarily relayed through museum descriptions but they do necessarily relate to understandings of the narratives portrayed through semiotics. These understandings place the displays within the museum into specific frameworks of progress and history that are not inherently goals of these displays and narratives. Dmitri illuminated this reality when I asked him about the important goals of the museum.

Ha...well I don't know. That in actuality is also a problem, that we don't have a unified conception of development. It got old, there was one before. A new

conception hasn't been able to form. For that we also still need advice because we have plan-charts [to build our exhibitions]... There should be a balance between scientific research components and public components because exhibitions are the sphere of practice, which is oriented on the external world. And in that thought, this form of practice depends on the public. And in this thought, it's more vulnerable. It is the presentation of your work in the museum... Well the public has its representation and its interests and it's necessary occasionally to conform.

By stating that at times curators must shape their goals to the public's beliefs and interests, a situation arises in which the museum both shapes and conforms to public opinion on its displays.

Ethnography and the discourses that arise within the museum, then, transform into an amalgamation of the curator's and public's beliefs on displays and given authority by the authority of the museum.

Thus, museums are inherently sites of contestation of narratives that can either be reinforced or undermined by specific negotiation and elaboration processes of individuals. In this case, children rely upon caretakers of various sorts to bring them to the museum, such as their parents, their friends' parents or teachers, to place the displayed people into similar categories and frameworks of progress and history and to learn notions of tolerance and to be enculturated into their Russian identities. These children in turn become adults that do the same for their children actively through bringing them to the Russian Ethnographic Museum, encouraging others with children to go to the museum, and through enrolling their children in a schooling system that utilizes the museum to these ends. It is important to note what is contested and what is not. These presences and absences take on meaning within the framework of progress and affect the space of the museum. However, as contested space, a negotiation of authenticity and of the meaning of museums also occurs.

“Actual Stuff”

Thus, for me museum, the first museum, is a treasure. It's a grave. When the first people not only bury their ancestors and they threw in the grave flowers, rocks. When they began a dialogue with the help of objects. Strictly speaking it is a museum. It is a cemetery.

- Oleg Viktorovich

The origin of the museum as a modern institution largely arose as princely collections of the 16th and 17th centuries became national(ized) in the 18th century (Duncan 1991: 92-3). Within princely halls, rulers presented and idealized themselves and the states that they ruled, which shifted once these collections were installed in national museums (Duncan 1991: 93). Collected objects in both of these situations are meant to present authority. In many cases, however, the objects themselves in the princely collections also were used to authentically display the people (ethnicities) from which they came. At the same time, for individuals that were unfamiliar with the people and the objects being displayed these objects must have become what they deemed as an authentic representation of the people being portrayed. A dialectic arises from this phenomenon of objects and authenticity that relates to discourses of authority through display but that does not depend on it. It should be noted that in both princely collections and museums objects are out of context despite any attempts to rectify this loss, and they are subject to the imaginations of those displaying and viewing them. The authenticity being discussed is not objective. Rather, authenticity is subjective and dependent upon individual's imagination of what is being displayed. Similarly, authenticity in the Russian Ethnographic Museum is accepted or contested depending upon how well the imaginations of these objects align with viewers' beliefs and experiences.

This specific idea and dialectic of authenticity can be seen my interview with Misha, a sociology student from the Higher School of Economics that speaks Russian, German, and Belarussian.

Our everyday life are emails and text and basically that's printed information and that's pictures and videos and stuff like that and people are totally adjusted to it:

to read, to watch, and basically that's it. But when I go [to the museum], I can see actual stuff. And that's actually quite interesting because it's not a photo from google pics. And it's totally another feeling like its 3D.

In this conception, the museum gains authenticity by collecting and displaying “actual stuff” or physical objects that people are no longer used to seeing in non-virtual or imagined form. The physicality of the object matters here. The object (as all objects) has always been three-dimensional, but this emphasis suggests cognitive distance. These objects become real by being displayed within the museum since they can be directly viewed without the aid of virtual spaces and technologies. The fact that these technologies, such as computers or phones, are physical is unimportant to Misha, which is the reason that cognitive distance acts as a useful lens for analyzing the discourses he exposes. Misha continues this discourse when pondering the specific original purposes of the museum once I told him that the museum originally opened in about 1925.

[19]25 adds up to my idea because I thought that it would be about Russia but that goes for the Soviets too because it's a very large country and basically an imperial...Empire. Yes. And you know the main color or flow of Empire is that you have to put it together somehow. And I think that the Ethnographic Museum may have served actually that purpose so that people of different nationalities and [ethnicities] would learn about each other and would be adjusted to each other.

In this way, Misha's theory of the original purpose of the museum aligns both with Francine Hirsch's analysis of the uses of ethnographic knowledge during the Soviet Union but also with discourses of progress that occur even within the museum today. According to this logic, Soviet citizens needed to understand the different historical levels that various ethnicities that lived within the USSR were at (although he doesn't know how it relates to today). Major discourses that arise from this interview are that of “actual stuff” and of the nature of empire. These discourses are consonant to each other because “actual stuff” relates to the ethnographic as a way of displaying empire. However, “actual stuff” is not restricted to the past because it is still

displayed today, yet it is dialectically opposed to the virtual and the contemporary physical objects that create the virtual. In this way, “actual stuff” helps the museum to gain authenticity through its physicality and not by displaying the everyday life of people today. Embedded within this logic is the idea that the museum displays the past, which agrees with the previous subchapter’s analysis of the museum and its displays and its negotiations by museum visitors and curators in the context of progress. Thus, the Russian Ethnographic Museum becomes authentic by displaying the past.

This idea is furthered by one of the museum’s workers, Oleg Viktorovich. According to him, the language of museums is objects; thus without objects there is no museum. This discourse on “actual stuff” continues through other interviews. Another notable instance of the “actual stuff” discourse that Misha began is in an interview with another Higher School of Economics student. Especially notable is the fact that Oleg agrees with the distinction that Misha makes between “actual stuff” (or actual objects) and the virtual.

There should be objects. Still the museum speaks through the language of objects. And a virtual museum, it’s all the same already a virtual museum. It’s completely a different type. A different type of concept, well, and we even call, the many that appeared, quasi museums. . . . That’s to say the word “museum” became defiled. Well [for example] the museum of *matrieshki*, that is to say that these museums, at the base of their concept, their construction hold what? They hold mass consciousness. They hold stereotypes.

This distinction between unmarked “real” museums and quasi-museums elucidates a complexity of the “actual stuff” discourse that Misha begins. The virtual cannot be physical inherently, but physicality lends itself to authenticity. The presentation of objects within the museum itself gives this authenticity, which harkens to Alpers concept of the “museum effect” (Alpers 1991). However, this effect does not completely explain this phenomenon, in which objects receive a higher value by being displayed within the museum. Rather, physical display

opposes virtual display. Authenticity in the contemporary world where information and images of objects, of places, and of almost anything is not dictated only by the authority of the museum embedded within objects by ease of access, but through being physical, or real in a world of virtual connections.

Another distinction that a different interview reveals was conducted with Alessa, who studies sociology with him.

And also connected with the museum, there were a lot of like old things, so it was really not made today in an old fashioned style. But it was really old.

In her conception of “actual stuff” it is inseparable from antiquity and from past usage. “Actual stuff” cannot be a replica and must have been made and used previously. This distinction is important because it also is a key location of contestation. When walking around the museum with one interviewee, Kirill, a first year art student. He stopped and closely inspected pieces of traditional clothing behind the large clear glass wall. We were discussing the number of people that were in the museum when he suddenly said that they were copies. I didn’t understand why specifically he said that, and the idea that the museum would display copies, or inauthentic objects, never crossed my mind. Instinctively, I said no. His next responses were, “It’s not an original” followed by “Well, look at the work”. I didn’t know what to say in response to him, and we kept walking. This occurrence was one of the few direct times that any interviewee directly questioned the authenticity of museum’s displays, but it was not the last time that he asserted that the museum displayed inauthentic objects. It also occurred when we were in the permanent Russian exhibition, where he commented on a displayed wooden calendar with depictions of the prescribed activities for each time of year by the specific month during which these activities should be accomplished. Each depiction is an example of folk art and invokes traditional Russianness with the goal of portraying authentic ethnic Russian life. This portrayal

and creation of authentic Russianness extends to the particular color selection and patterns of this exhibit since similar color schemes and floral patterns are often used to relay Russian folkloric and traditional meanings. Despite this reality, Kirill could not believe that this exhibit was authentic and contested its framing as authentic.



Fig. 3-3: Photograph of wooden calendar in the room on traditional Russian celebrations and rituals in the permanent Russian exhibition in the Russian Ethnographic Museum. Photograph by Kamal Kariem.

They made it not long ago that is it's a museum exponent... Well I looked at the work. There the lines from a pencil even remain.

Just as the first time, Kirill's confidence in his contestation surprised me. He did not allow for any other explanations, which noticeably annoyed the docent sitting right behind us as he questioned although she remained quiet. His beliefs also directly demonstrates the museum as a contested space and also the fact that not only do visitors re-narrativize exhibitions from past knowledge but also disbelieve what is displayed for the same reasons. Thus by extension, authenticity within the museum is created by affirming what visitors expect to see displayed and not only in physicality or in display itself. It relates to a collision between internal schemata for

navigating the world and visual signifiers that contradict these schemata. This idea is also present in comment book entries. Although the comment book entries combine this notion of affirmation with discourses on citizenship.

Authenticity and Citizenship: *Rossiskii's Russkii* Undertones

Affirmation of visitor's expectations offers a level of authenticity to the museum because it reinforces the narratives of the displayed (ideological scaffolding) that visitors internally hold. While this applies to displays and objects in general, it especially arises when ethnicities/nationalities are displayed. Similarly to affirmation of authenticity or the lack thereof in objects, visitors negotiate the authenticity of "actual stuff" and their depictions of ethnicities/nationalities, which ultimately have implications on notions citizenship.

Having seen all exhibitions I saw a few surprises. Why (I agree fully with the last author) is the department "Russians" very modest? And how is it possible to explain that there is only one large sign in an enormous museum and that with an inscription "History of European People". I hope that it's not discrimination of all the remaining (Russians, people of the Baltics, (...), Chuvashs, (...) people???) (... very and very!! Not embarrassed?

Irina
(Russian by nationality)

For this visitor, the museum's displays did not match her image of what the Russian exhibition should be, and the museum lost a degree of authenticity because of it. Specifically, this authenticity relates to the idea of the museum as a location where visitors go to learn information, but to this visitor, this information is tainted and the museum's workers should be embarrassed because of it. It is also important to note that this visitor felt the need to note her nationality within the comment book, which is significant because noting one's nationality is not required and throughout the book rarely occurs. In this case, Irina's mentioning of her Russian

nationality (Russian in the ethnic sense) relates to the specific reason that the museum's exhibition on Russians did not affirm her image of ethnic Russians because it was not grandiose enough despite the fact that this exhibition occupies the most space of any exhibition in the museum. Moreover, Irina's critique of the museum also engages in dialogue with a previous commenter by agreeing with their critique. However, this previous comment did not discuss the Russian exhibition in the same way since their critique was about the exhibition lacking enough lighting. Thus, this agreement demonstrates a semi-anonymous form of dialogue between museum visitors with other visitors and with museum workers. It also more importantly illustrates that when museum displays do not affirm visitors' notions of what should be displayed, then any "offense" (in this case lacking good lighting) can be taken as another aspect of this disaffirmation and a mode through which the museum uses its authority to display what visitors might deem inauthentic. It is important to note that the museum's authority is not questioned or contested. Rather, it is the narrative deemed inauthentic by visitors is interrogated. This disaffirmation that lessens the authenticity of a museum even extends to the ways, in which exhibitions are displayed.

The museum, of course, (...) attendance and mass excursion in this day. However, scientific work in the museum is conducted unsatisfactorily. The tough remnants of the dark, bolshevist, Lenino-Trotsky past are felt. The accomplishments of the Russian [*Russkii*] people through the organization of a strong, state, that managed to protect and to equip the lives of hundreds of different peoples are completely not noticed. For example... the Baltics became possible only after the freeing of these peoples from the Swedish "civilization"['s] dominion and transition under the protection and patronage of the Russian [*Russkii*] people. And still many examples of not enough scientific sector of the museum on the stand of the Russian [*Russkii*] department, where during the harvest "fade beard" of straw in honor of Nikolai the pleaser that ritual is explained as "remaining argoculture"... Russia fed Europe and America with bread. And the spiritual ritual – tribute to the root connection - between farmers and Earth, the feeder. Already ethnographers should know these elementary, book truths on ___ in the Russian [*russkii*] section in the compilation of signatures to the photo, it is casually stated that Cossacks existed from the 18th century!?? They erred [by] a few centuries, unfortunately

there aren't [only] a few errors that take away the impression of the good exposition in the entire museum. Now is the time to collect rock and it's especially needed to notice the creative and saving mission of the Russian [*russkii*] people, the builders, so there wouldn't be Maidans and wars on our territory. (note: capital and lower case "r" is used in Russian transliteration to show emphasis added by the comment writer).

- Ivanov (visitor)

As Ivanov's discourse illustrates, when the museum's displays and works are viewed as not relevant to today, even agreeing with past and undervalued narratives, then the museum's authenticity is put into question and the use of authority is interrogated. In this case, major aspects of the museum in Ivanov's view that undermine the museum are the frameworks that the museum uses and the elements of Russian history (ethnic Russian history) that are not included within the museum's displays.

An important aspect of this critique of the museum relates to citizenship and the ownership of history. This idea is present when Ivanov discredits the lens that he believes the museum is using, which in his words is "the dark, bolshevist, Lenino-Trotsky past". This framework in his conception undermines the necessity of the Russian people in the state building process that became the Russian Empire, which includes the idea that the Russian (*russkii*) people helped to develop other people and bring them into civilization even to the extent of helping Europe and America by feeding them. The Russian people are necessary for civilization within his discourse and are greater than the other peoples displayed within the museum because of this fact, which "the dark, bolshevist, Lenino-Trotsky past" disguises in his opinion. Within this conception, other ethnicities are necessary to show the greatness of the Russian (*russkii*) people, but more must be done to elucidate the specific greatness of the Russian (*russkii*) people within this museum nonetheless. Thus, while ethnic Russians were citizens of the Russian Empire, they were the source of its greatness, its development into empire, its multinational/

ethnic identity, and its builders (to use Ivanov's words). Furthermore, Ivanov believes that relaying this greatness of the Russian (*russkii*) people and their role will prevent turmoil such as that in Ukraine (through his reference of Maidan and wars). A key aspect of this conception is that Maidan is included within the territory of the Russian Federation despite being in a different country.

In this way, Ivanov believes that the lens that the museum uses in order to display the various ethnicities and nationalities of Russia has a detrimental effect on his imagination of Russia, which does not lessen the authority of the museum. Rather, Ivanov's questioning contests the motivations behind and authenticity of the museum's displays. This contestation occurs because of a conflict between the schematic scaffolding that create Ivanov's image of Russia disagreeing with the displays and semiotic messages that Ivanov reads in these displays. These two images of Russia and the role of Russians deal with differing conceptions of Russian citizenship. Within Ivanov's conception of citizenship, the Russian (*russkii*) people are above and not equals to the other citizens of Russia (from the Empire to today's Federation). However, the semiotic messages that Ivanov reads from the museum portray a conception of citizenship, in which the various ethnicities and nationalities of Russia are at least more equal than in his conception. Thus, within the space of the museum authenticity and citizenship relate through affirmation of previously conceived notions of citizens and their positions in Russia. When this affirmation does not occur, the museum's authenticity is questioned, while its authority remains intact. Ivanov and Irina reveal this fact by questioning the motivations behind the museum's displays but not the museum's right to display. It is important to stress that inclusion of the Russian (*russkii*) people into notions of citizenship was not being contested. Once this inclusion

within citizenship is called into question, it has detrimental effects on museum's authenticity and on the individual's sense of inclusion in citizenship.

These damaging effects can be seen in an online post about the museum on TripAdvisor by n0maddd (a username that is possibly a play on the nomadic lifestyle of the Kalmyk):

So, today I visited the Ethnographic Museum. After (leaving) this Museum made me really sad, and I'll explain why. I went to the museum in a wonderful mood, and I wanted to see the exposure of other Nations, to get acquainted with their everydayness/ daily habits and to see the beautiful national costumes. Yes, I saw quite a wide pavilions with exhibits of life the Russian people, separate rooms Armenians, Jews, Tatars, Chuvash, Bashkirs, Mordovians, Komi, Udmurts, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, etc. But I was looking above all for an exhibition with my people, and I am a representative of the glorious Kalmyk people. And from that moment it began to solidify negatively. It turned out that the Kalmyks in the Museum are not represented at all. It was not immediately apparent, someone of the employees tried to send me to Siberia [section], to the far North [section], one the employee was sent to the Volga region [section] (but there was nothing), one repeated and apparently quite unaware of the existence of my people. And it is in the Museum of ETHNOGRAPHY RUSSIA! In the end, after walking it became clear that the Kalmyks in the Museum were not represented, nor the Tuvinians, nor Buryats (exposition temporarily closed, found out later) that is the Buddhists are not represented at all. And all is not that bad, I would not be too upset if my small 300,000 person people any people do not was presented in one of the largest tomozei country (it is worth noting that there were presents and the peoples with up to tysyachi). Fully upset at the incompetence of the workers. Imagine you come in The Hermitage, asking how to find the artist the island, and different people you meet diametrically opposite, contradictory, some say that this the artist is not represented in the Museum. Is it acceptable? What impression do you have? So here will be remembered to me, this ethnographic Museum...

-n0maddd
Saint Petersburg
Russia
Visited in July 2015

Although there are some inaccuracies in n0maddd's comment, such as his claim that "the Buddhists are not represented at all" and some of the specific Buddhist people that he claims are not represented, his perceptions are still important, and the discourse the he creates relates to

inclusion and exclusion from various notions of citizenship. This idea directly relates to the politics of display and not of collection because n0madd was upset that he could not see his people represented (which the museum does have some exhibits of the Kalmyk people in their collection and displayed online in tandem with an article on them). Moreover, it is the lack of displays of the Kalmyk people that make n0madd question the authenticity of the museum by discussing the lack of knowledge that the museum docents on the Kalmyks and their attempts to help him find his people within the museum to no avail. In this situation, n0madd's conception of citizenship that were inclusive of the Kalmyk people conflicted with the notions of citizenship displayed within the museum to such a degree that he could name those included within the museum's notion of citizenship through who they displayed and who they did not. Here, the museum's authority to display people is not questioned, rather its authenticity as an ethnographic museum is interrogated and denied because it is not inclusive within n0madd's mind.

This distinction between authenticity and authority often arises when discussing museums. Many academics discuss contesting authority of the museum to display the objects that it shows, especially in relation to museums that have the authority to define citizenship through their displays (Lavine and Karp 1991: 1). However, not as much work has been done on the interrogation of authenticity in the museum while the authority of the museum remains intact in relation to imagination of citizenship. This negotiation frequently occurs at the Russian Ethnographic Museum. The claim of the museum as seen in the online portfolio²⁹) directly illustrates that the museum attempts to display the "all" peoples of the Russian Federation, the former Soviet Union, and the former Russian Empire. This claim is inherently about citizenship and who can be included within this notion in the current Russian Federation. The museum has the authority to make such a claim. As visitors make assertions about the museum that question its authentic

²⁹ <http://www.ethnomuseum.ru/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/files/listy.pdf>

portrayal of citizenship, they unknowingly accept its basic premise that the museum displays all the people of the Russian Federation, which makes its claims about citizenship invisible. When visitors question its authenticity in relation to its premise, they illuminate the museum's claims about citizenship and can contest these claims.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

Visitor negotiations of the Russian Ethnographic Museum espouse narratives of progress and interrogate notions of citizenship, showing that governmental museums play a societal role in Russian identity formation. The Russian Ethnographic Museum as an institution is conservative both in that it conserves objects and is politically conservative³⁰. It has its own purposes outside of display, such as academic research and the relaying of this research to various publics, but this conservative nature can be seen in the permanent exhibitions. This nature especially is seen in the omissions of its exhibitions and the descriptive rather than analytical nature of its explanations. The burden of analysis is put on visitors, whose analyses illuminate that the Russian Ethnographic Museum is a site where citizenship is reinforced or contested.

My Russian interviewees revealed the cyclic nature of this ritual of citizenship whenever they discussed attending this museum or similar museums with their families both current and projected, which is also supported by the comment books data and statistics that I collected. These data demonstrate that one of the few targeted audiences is children. This targeting of children largely deals with enculturation into “Russianness” (i.e. as ethnic Russianness), which is suggested by a number of factors including the museum’s increased attendance during the holiday season and the programs offered during this time, e.g. crafts, concerts, and a special temporary holiday exhibition. The crafts took place in both the Children’s Ethnographic Center and at stations set up nearby in the museum, and included constructing dolls wearing the traditional clothes of various peoples of Russia and the construction of “traditional” tools used by Russians: teaching identity both positively and negatively. These crafts do illustrate an

³⁰ Most national museums are conservative in both of these senses, so this phenomenon is not limited to Russia.

interesting aspect of ethnic Russian (*russkii*) identity: knowledge of other ethnicities/nationalities with citizenship. This idea is consonant with the museum's mission of "[showing] artifacts of culture of all 157 people, in different times that have lives on the territory of the former Russian Empire, former Soviet Union, and the current Russian Federation"³¹.

In reality, the display of the people of Russia aligns with the primordialist conception of nation and the ethnographic lens, which looks for tangible objects that can represent ethnicities and nationalities and differentiate them from others. This knowledge follows a pattern and is reproduced but not controlled by it. Here it is important to note the role of caregivers (teachers, parents, and the parents of friends), who play an instrumental role in the enculturation process. This process directly impacts both those included and not included in the museum's notion of citizenship, which is assessed by display. For foreigners, this fact does not necessarily have a negative effect on their identity. From some of my own thoughts and from those of others (generally from America or from the United Kingdom), foreigners generally focus on the virtual tourism aspect of the museum, i.e. the ability to travel around Russia without leaving one building. However, for Russian citizens who are not displayed, this lack of representation does have negative effects³². Narratives of progress and a lack of representation entwine to form a discourse of hierarchical citizenship. Different categories of citizenship become visible when visitors' learned schemata conflict with representations and when the spirit of tolerance is invoked. In these situations the museum's displays do not control the discourses; they do, however, influence them by providing information that can be freely interpreted. They are objects that not only create narratives but facilitate discourses that use these objects as evidence. My interviewees often did this type of negotiation, in which they used exhibits within the

³¹ Accessible at <http://www.ethnomuseum.ru/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/files/listy.pdf>

³² See chapter 3 for n0madd's post to Tripadvisor and my analysis of it.

museum to begin a discourse about the purpose of museums, the museum's displays, the cultures displayed, or progress and authenticity. What my interviewees revealed through their discourses were beliefs and prejudices concerning history, various ethnicities/ nationalities, and authenticity. These narratives dominantly assert two notions of progress: progress as unavoidable assimilation and progress as incomplete assimilation. Within the former, the march of time is unavoidable and all ethnicities/ nationalities are moving nearer to one another, albeit at different rates. This idea means that differences between ethnicities/ nationalities, while decreasing, still exist and can be explained. The unspecified similarity often implies that these ethnicities/ nationalities become more like "us" (i.e. *russkie*). In progress as incomplete assimilation, the march of time is still undeniable, but there are some exceptions to its progression. Generally indigenous peoples are excluded from the flow of progress for a number of reasons ranging from environmental conditions that are not conducive to modern technology, to indigenous populations who do not need modern technology because they have technologies that are better suited to their lifestyles. Neither of these two frameworks exactly matches reality. Rather, they essentialize and restrict social reality by making claims about the necessity of progress toward Russianness and a position of unredeemable difference from it.

Such claims about Russianness are not only propagated by the public but also by officials. Vladimir Putin is an example of this fact. An example of his usage of this discourse is when he spoke on the "ethnicity issue" in Russia while he was still Prime Minister in 2012 in the newspaper, *Nezavisimaia gazeta*. He places the ethnicity issue as fundamental problem in Russia because of its diversity and as a priority of any politician because "inter-ethnic harmony" is necessary for the existence of Russia (Putin 2012). Putin's introduction of this concept mainly was to state that the multi-culture project in most Western countries, mainly in Europe, has failed

because this project relies on the ethnic state. Then, he posits that Russia's current situation is inherently different than the rest of Europe because of the legacies of the Soviet Union and its collapse, which could have had catastrophic effects on Russia. However, this catastrophe is avoided because of the ethnic Russian people (*russkie*). Thus, within Putin's conception the Russian people act as the glue that hold Russia as it is together including the other ethnicities and nationalities that live within the borders of the country.

Any conception that removes the ethnic Russian people from this role denies Russians their historic role as a core of the nation and undermines the cohesiveness of the nation. Putin expresses this idea by stating that "The self-determination of the Russian people is to be a multiethnic civilization with Russian culture at its core" (Putin 2012). In his mind, "The Russian people are state-builders, as evidenced by the existence of Russia. Their great mission is to unite and bind together a civilization. Language, culture and something Fyodor Dostoyevsky defined as 'universal responsiveness' is what unites Russian Armenians, Russian Azeris, Russian Germans, Russian Tatars and others, in a type of state civilization where there are not ethnicities, but where 'belonging' is determined by a common culture and shared values" (Putin 2012). Linguistically, Putin uses the work *ruskii* (ethnic Russian) as the modifier before each of the nationalities that he lists, not *rossiskii* (Russian citizen), which is the standard way of discussing other ethnic/ national groups in Russia. This standard usage, however, is important to note. In this situation, Putin uses this nomenclatural convention, and then follows this statement by adding that "This kind of civilizational identity is based on preserving the dominance of Russian culture, although this culture is represented not only by ethnic Russians, but by all the holders of this identity, regardless of their ethnicity" (Putin 2012). Again, linguistically he uses the modifier of *ruskii* (ethnic Russian), not *rossiskii* (Russian citizenship). Thus, this civic identity that Putin

seems to discuss relates to all non-Russian ethnicities joining in the ideal and notions of Russianness and Russian history, which connects the nation and the many ethnicities/nationalities within it by creating a unified narrative of nationhood. Within this conception, the ethnic Russian people act as a type of core around which the Russian nation forms. The realities and narratives of colonialism within this conception cannot be ignored, which also arise within the Russian Ethnographic Museum's ethnographic displays. More importantly, this repetition and replication of narratives on Russianness across public and official spheres has meaning and implications on society as a whole. It is important to note that this phenomenon is cyclic: official discourses both guide and heed public discourses and vice versa. Since such discourses are produced even outside of the space of the museum, the museum itself can only act as a site where prejudices contest museum portrayal, which puts into question the role of museums (i.e. should museums relay or challenge these messages or do both?). Society as a whole produces these discourses and is their origin. The question that arises from the societal construction of prejudices is what role do museums play in the creation and subversion of Russian identities becomes how do museum make narratives of citizenship official, which itself begs the question of how these narratives of citizenship arose to be enshrined within the museum? Part of the answers to these questions relates to the various ways in which Russian nationhood has been imagined and historicized.

The legacies of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union are important aspects of this imagination; however, these legacies are not uniformly interpreted by all Russians. The discourse that Russia as a nation is inherently multiethnic with ethnic Russians act as the core and linchpin of this nation epitomized by Putin's article demonstrates a belief in the necessity of continuity with the past embedded with notions of progress. Within this belief, the Russia as a state at its

core has the same ethics, ideals, and character of the Russian (*russkii*) people. Thus, the other ethnicities and nationalities that also comprise citizens of this state must also embody these characters. Moreover, this belief seemed to be a dominant narrative in my interviews whether my interviewees explicitly agreed with the necessity of becoming more Russian. Their narratives often discussed assimilation without discussing into what. This framework is essentially what Putin discussed in his article without explicitly stating that ethnic Russianness is the core of the Russian (*Rossiskii*) state. This ethnic Russian identity that other ethnicities and nationalities assimilated into was often left invisible in their discourses as it times is for the entirety of the state's identity. Ultimately, this close connection between ethnic Russianness and the state means that citizens of non-Russian ethnicities and nationalities must become more like Russians (in many spheres of life). The Russian Ethnographic Museum helps to illuminate this idea by revealing the societal biases and prejudices that arise when a discourse on the objects displayed within its doors occurs.

This elucidation that analyses of and discourses on ethnographic knowledge reveal societal biases and prejudices demonstrate the utility of meta-ethnography. As an ethnographic investigation of ethnographic knowledge, such studies directly engage in discourse with the cultural assumptions that have attained scientific or authoritative status. These assumptions are the unquestioned narratives that inform opinions on self and on others despite the fact that aspects of these narratives or their portrayal may be interrogated. They build and reproduce the internal scaffolding that shapes how individuals of a society view their subject matter. Meta-ethnography is not designed to turn this status quo on its head. Rather, it aims to deconstruct the functions and purposes of knowledge within a society by acknowledging that ethnography itself is the product of humanity and assumes ideological functions, such as during enculturation.

Specifically, meta-ethnography acts as a method of deconstructing ethnographic knowledge represented both by ethnographic objects and ethnographic subjects in order to discover the biases and prejudices embedded within them. In this conception, the ethnographic knowledge represents both scientific and popular portrayals and expressions of ethnicity and nationality since these representations often relate and reinforce how individuals view the ethnographic. Thus, the ethnographic knowledge is at once always familiar and different and scientific yet public. It is comprised of our everyday lives and the lives' of all of ethnicities/ nationalities. It is the stories that we tell ourselves about both ourselves and others. Deconstructing this phenomenon, then, forces all individuals into being connected objects of ethnography: the products of imagination and the producers of official imaginations that must be individually negotiated. The navigation of narratives that occurs at the Russian Ethnographic Museum acts as an example of such official imaginations and their negotiation.

Appendix A:

Basic Interviewee Information

All interviews were conducted one-on-one and in Russian, unless were noted.

*indicates non-pseudonyms

[Name, Age, Occupation, Ethnicity/ Nationality, interview location, Date of Interview]

Museum Visitors

[The following two interviews were conducted together]

Masha, 18, art student, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (June 30, 2015)

Sveta, 18, art student, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (June 30, 2015)

Boris, 60, manager, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (June 31, 2015)

Kirill, 18, art student, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (July 26, 2015)

[The following interview was conducted one-on-one in Russian and English]

Ksenia*, 20, sociology student, Russian, hostel, (December 30, 2015)

[The following interviews was conducted one-on-one, but almost exclusively in English]

Misha*, 20, sociology student, Russian/ Belorussian, hostel, (January 8, 2016)

Alessa*, 19, sociology student, Russian, café, (January 9, 2016)

Museum Workers

Oleg*, 59, leading researcher in the Department of Ethnography of People of Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova , Russian/ Belorussian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (August 4, 2015)

[A partial interview was conducted on January 13th and completed on January 15th]

Dmitri*, 50, Head of the Department of Ethnography of the Russian People, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (January 13/ 15, 2016)

Core Interview Questions:

Preliminary Information:

- Name, age

- Place of Birth

- Nationality, citizenship

- Known languages, dialects
- Profession
- May I use your name to identify you in my research and in my writing? Would you prefer that I not use your name? (Only asked of curators since they are more or less public figures)

Curators:

- How long have you worked at the museum?
- If they have worked at the museum for a considerable time (over 1-2 years), what changes have you observed in the museum over your career?
- Why did you start working at the museum?
- What are the most popular exhibitions?
- Who generally frequents the museum?
- What do you believe is the purpose of museums?

Exhibitions (curators):

- Did you work on this exhibition alone?
- Did you make this exhibition for a specific reason? If yes, what reason?
- How did you pick which exhibits to present in this exhibition?
- How did you pick what not to present?
- Have you conducted research with this group of people?
- If they are depicted, does this group of people still live in this way? If not, what changes have occurred?
- Did you represent these changes in the exhibition? If yes, how? If no, why not?
- What do you desire for the viewer to experience or learn?
- Have you received any feedback about this exhibition from visitors or colleagues?

- Is there anything you would change about the exhibition at this point in time?

Museum guests:

-Why do come to the museum?

-Do you often go to the museum?

-What do you believe is the purpose of museums?

-Do you view exhibitions about people from different countries or about people that come from different regions of Russia?

-What do you think about exhibitions here in general?

Museum guests:

-What narrative/ story do the exhibitions tell you?

-Do you believe that the people depicted still live as they are depicted?

-When you look at this exhibition, can you tell that the depicted people are not ethnic Russians?

-Are the depicted people considered Russian citizens?

-What do you think of (insert name of group; example: indigenous populations of Russia)?

-Have you met people for this group? If so, are they similar to how they are depicted?

(specifically about indigenous populations of Russia)

-What do you know about these populations?

-Where do they live?

-How do they live?

-Do you know of how they have changed over time?

-How do they differ from ethnic Russians?

- What have you learned at this museum?

- Where else do you learn about such (indigenous populations) populations, if anywhere?

- Do you feel moved to learn more about these people?

About Family:

-Do you have a family?

-Which nationality does your partner consider themselves?

-Do you bring you children to the museum?

-Which nationality do they consider themselves?

-If you have brought you children to this museum, what did they think?

Debriefing:

-How did the interview make you feel?

-Were there questions from the interview that were difficult to answer or made you feel nervous?

-Which questions did the above?

-Do you believe that you gained anything from this interview?

-Do you believe that this type of research is important?

-Do you believe people will be interested in the data from this research? If so, who?

Appendix B

Selected Interviewee Information and Excerpts from Interviews

Masha, 18, art student, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (June 30, 2015)

Sveta, 18, art student, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (June 30, 2015)

Masha and Sveta were my first two interviewees. They are art students that I met while they were on practicum in the museum. Our interview was conducted in the room of the Exhibition, The Museum and Its First Collectors.

K: What profession do you have?

M and S: Future designers

K: Um...and we already...good

K: Um...and why do you come to the museum?

S: Um...we have practicum here, which occurs at college. We draw.

K: How often do you come to the museum?

S: As we need to.

K: What purposes do museums have in your opinion?

M: Well, to show probably something new.

K: Which exhibitions did you view? Each one in the museum?

S: I don't know which ones.

M: Well a lot of something. I don't even know. Each time they have new exhibitions.

K: What do you think in general about the exhibitions in this museum?

S: In this one?

K: Yes.

M: They are very interesting, in that here they show different peoples, cultures, and different practices.

K: (You) drew (them)? [pointing to drawing]

S: Yes!

M: Not only clothes but objects of *byt*.

K: What story do the exhibitions tell you?

S: No one told us anything. We ourselves walk, view.

M: Yes. We ourselves walk, view, read, and draw.

K: (Do) you think that the people displayed here, it's how they live now or...

S: No. It's how they lived before.

K: And in general are they Russian citizens?

M: Different cultures.

K: At some point have you gotten to know people of these groups?

S: What? Again?

K: Have you gotten to know people of these groups? Well, like have you gotten to know people, the Buryats?

S and M: Mhm...

K: You already said that you don't think that they live like this now.

S: Yes.

K: Do you know how they have changed over the years?

S: No, we don't know.

K: How do they differ from ethnic Russians?

M: Clothes, language, rituals with their own differences, talents.

K: Again, what have you found out in the museum?

S: Well, how who dressed. Every had jewelry, clothes. The objects of *byt* that every nationality had.

K: And where else is it possible to learn about these populations?

M: I don't know

K: A where is it possible to find out more about these people?

M: In the specific regions of some national cultures there.

Boris, 60, manager, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (June 31, 2015)

Boris was my third interviewee. I met him while we were both walking through the museum. Our interview was conducted in the room of the Exhibition, The Museum and Its First Collectors.

K: Why did you come to the museum?

B: Hmm?

K: Why did you come to the museum?

B: I specifically came to Peter, I've been here already a week. I came for 10 days to see Peterhof, [the city of] Pushkin, museums, the Russian (russkii) museum, churches, simply I'm resting and watching.

K: Churches?

B: Yes.

K: In general, do you usually come to museums?

B: Well, when I come [here] once a year, twice a year, I'm in Peter and go to museums.

K: What purposes do museums have in your opinion?

B: What did you say?

K: What purposes do museums have in your opinion?

B: Purposes or what?

K: Purposes?

B: Purpose? Purpose.

K: Yes.

B: Well, It's interesting to me. It's interesting to me to know the history of my country. Interest.

The purpose is interest, knowledge, expansion of horizons.

K: Which exhibitions have you seen today?

B: I saw the Russian Museum yesterday. Today, now I will see this. I will go the Church of Resurrection, the Church of the Savior on Blood, and then to Alexandro-Nevisky monastery .

K: What do you think in general about the exhibitions in this museum?

B: Well in principle, I know everything, but it's interesting to see. Simply interesting. To say that something is very strongly, no. Simply.

K: Thank you.

B: It's interesting.

K: And what story do the exhibitions tell you?

B: Who told?

K: To you.

B: Well I myself watch. To me a museum guide isn't necessary. There is enough, how to say, explanation. Everything to me...concretely no. I in general...in general. Everything is together.

K: Good.

K: For this exhibition, do you think that the people displayed, that they still live like this or no?

B: No, of course no. Now everything is globalization, in principle, now [everything] is even everywhere...Even I would say, even peoples far from each other. For example, India, Thailand,

and the like start to approach the same. That is called globalization. How people used to dress, is already history.

K: And have you at some time gotten to know people of these groups?

B: Yes. I know a lot of them. We have every nationality. In general the nationalities, with are displayed here. I know people contemporary, contemporary with whom I am familiar, with whom I am friends: Udmurts, Mordvins, Tatars, Maris, (and) that's all. I know them to today.

K: In general what do they do?

B: Today this is industrialization in general. Fundamental industry, its already such, like before, like craftsmanship. There is already industrial industrialization occurred already, it's happened throughout the world. And every... somewhere [they] collect cars, somewhere [they] collect refrigerators. Well, industrial goods. Such like before weren't.

K: And in general how do they differ from ethnic Russians?

B: Well, the erasure of borders is occurring. The erasure of borders is occurring, and of course assimilation of nationalities occurs. Nationalities amalgamate. Still there are differences, but...but already in comparison with what was before, a large assimilation occurred.

K: And in general where is it possible to learn more about these populations?

B: To learn more about these populations, well already in their republics, we in principle...we have republics, how would allotments. There is the Republic of Mari El, where the Mari live. There is Udmurtia, where the Udmurts live. There is Tatarstan, where Tatars [live]. In these concrete republics, you will learn more about each of their nationalities.

Kirill, 18, art student, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (July 26, 2015)

I met Kirill in the communal dormitory that I stayed in during my summer fieldwork. He agreed to come to the museum with me one day. Our interview was conducted while walking around the

museum together through each of the exhibitions. Note: “***” in the center of a page represents skipped dialogue and silence

Me: Okay. I’m ready [to Kirill]. Hello [to ticket collector]

Ticket Collector: Hello.

Me: Well...there are a lot fewer people than I thought [there would be]

K: What?

Me: There are a lot fewer people than I thought

K: [It’s the] time.

Me: Probably that’s yes. Because of...To the right [note: I said pravda not prava]

K: I don’t understand. What’s not right?

Me: Well in general...there are more people here...

K: Copies.

Me: No.

K: That’s not original.

Me: And how do you know?

K: Well, look at the work.

Me: Well, here it’s written, then it was collected by Rudenko

(silence)

(walking toward the Central Asian Exhibition)

Me: Are there doors like this in Apaziia? [note: I mispronounced Abkhazia in Russian repeatedly; I said Apaziia not Abkhaziia]

K: Hmm?

Me: Are there doors like this in Apaziia?

K: I don't understand

Me: Well, are there doors like this in Apaziia?

K: In Apaziia?

Me: Yes.

K: What does that mean in Apaziia?

Me: Where you live?

K: Ah...no. In Abkhazia there aren't. I simply know this carving. This...it's a main gate.

(silence)

K: Is it possible to sit here?

Me: Well yes, it's possible.

K: It turns out that I'm not interested.

Me: Well why not?

K: I didn't easily remember

Me: Well how are they?

K: Well they...they don't have culture.

Me: Well what does that mean?

K: Well they don't have culture as such...Well they have culture. It resembles Central Asian culture. But they and Central Asians, Kazakhs, Mongols. They well, they aren't similar to Mongols. They are more...Well every nationality has their own culture and someone's culture is high, someone's culture is low. And in general I understand culture in such a way. Some have [a] better [culture], some have [a] worse [culture]. Because culture depends on the people themselves. And Kazakhs have a disgusting culture simply. They don't have any culture.

Me: Hmm...

K: (inaudible)

Me: That...

K: (inaudible)

Me: Which people have low levels of culture in your opinion?

K: Tajiks, Kazakhs, well Mongols, Ukrainians, well that's it for now. Well you meant acquaintances. Well how I know people from there, who represent that culture. Well many say, that any person if well Turkmens, Tajiks, (inaudible), that's all Uzbeks, they are...shoot (inaudible) and Kazakhs shoot...they...those populations of Kazakhstan, Kazakhs don't have culture. And then someone would move with someone. I wouldn't converse with them. They aren't cultured. They forgot their culture. And culture, well it doesn't exist for everyone. They forgot it. Maybe it existed in the past, but it is weak and people weren't such. But they forgot it. And they, well, enter (inaudible), look at people. They, everyone from Kazakhstan, from Tajikistan, everyone from there. Well, they don't represent anything from themselves... (silence)

K: Let's go?

Me: Yeah, let's go.

Me: Exactly?

K: Yes. Well that's a Christmas carol. From a studio mummers approach you, [to your home], and you should have to give [them] some sweets, [some] money.

Me: Hmm...

K:...and if you don't give anything, then you'll have unhappiness. Don't trouble anyone shortly.

(silence)

Me: A calendar

K: Hmm...I even don't know what it is

Me: Yes. It's a calendar. [It tells] what [you] need to do in every month.

K: Well then why does it spin? Is it possible to spin the ring? They made it not long ago that is it's a museum exponent

Me: Well how do you know that?

K: Well I looked at the work. There the lines from a pencil even remain. The painting I don't remember which one or how it's called exactly. Which ones I don't exactly remember. We have a girl [who] on paintings did similar things. Well it's folk painting or similar to folk painting. Yes, similar to folk painting.

Me: Uhmm...

K: Excuse me. Is it possible to spin the ring?

Docent: In here, (inaudible), for this take and turn and read

Me: (laughter)

K: Thanks

Docent: Move closer to your eyes and read

Me: Yes. Bashkiria.

K: Bashkiria is interesting. I like Bashkiria.

Me: How is it interesting?

K: Well their culture is interesting. [My parents] read Bashkir stories to me. They are very enlightening.

Me: And Tataria [note: it properly is Tatarstan, but I modelled it from Bashkiriia quickly without thinking]

K: (inaudible)

Me: I can't hear. What?

K: I don't really like Tatars.

Me: Why?

K: I like Yakuts, Chukchis, Koryaks. I really like [these] people.

Me: Yes?

K: Yes. Because they, they live in such an eternal place, where winter rules, and I really like that. I want to travel there.

Me: Specifically the Chukchi?

K: Well Yakuts. In general people of that region.

Me: [ok]

K: Yes.

Me: How is that?

K: Yakutsk, Khavorobsk, Vladivostok. Yes. I would want to revisit the style of life now. In my opinion they, for them nothing differs from then. Well, that is, there are some insignificant changes. Well like in general they live in tents. [They don't have] any problems. Eat. They have the same diet of food.

Me: Yes, but they also live in cities.

K: Well their tribes remain. Very many tribes. Here so similar. There are few cities there.

Me: Yes, but they also have contemporary technology also now.

K: Meaning?

Me: Well like generators and such.

K: Well...[they have them] yes. But they still live there. It's just a replacement system. Fires, no one has changed them. I doubt that they have generators.

Me: Yes, [they have] them.

K: No. They don't have generators.

Me: Yes, [they have] them/

K: Have you been to the tribes?

Me: Well I saw. I haven't been, but I saw. The new and such.

K: Seriously?

Me: Well it's possible now [that they have] them. But I'm not sure.

Oleg*, 59, leading researcher in the Department of Ethnography of People of Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova , Russian/ Belorussian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (August 4, 2015)

I met Oleg through Dmitri. When I discussed with Dmitri my project and the fact that I desired to interview museum employees (curators), he suggested that I speak with Oleg and put us in contact so that we could figure out the specifics ourselves. Our interview was conducted in the Russian Ethnographic Museum's Exhibition on Ukrainians, Moldovans, and Belorussians, specifically in the room on Belorussians.

K: Thank you very much. That's very good. Is it possible to explain, well the process of building an exhibition?

O: Ah...to tell how we create exhibitions?

K: Yes.

O. Oyi that's very long. Ha. I myself now am writing a book. I have such a book coming about the museum space.

K: Yes.

O: Hahaha. Well how do we create exhibitions? Haha. Well the most simple that I can tell you, that of course all our museum expositions, we do two types. It's convention. But there are expositions, which we name permanent and there are expositions, which [we name] temporary. Here, when I tell students that permanent expositions are the like, which stand permanently. And temporary, [those] which stand temporarily. They always laugh. But they understand that I'm joking. Here's a problem with that. Yes. That is, permanent exhibitions, which stand for instance 5, 6, 7, 10 years. And there are temporary exhibitions, which we open for one month. In that, in that in essence these two processes. Yes. Two exhibitions. [Permanent exhibitions] reflect the level of development of the museum at that point of time. That is at the moment, permanent exhibition corresponds to the level of the collection of object[s], the collection reflects them, the level of their interpretation, and the level of the conceptual guidance of these objects of the museum. [And] that lays at the foundation of permanent exhibitions. Every museum have a conception. Right? There is direction of action. Well a mission, like sort of museum. The Ethnographic Museum, archeological, museum of art. They will each be different. Expositions.

K: Different conceptions?

O: Yes. Expositions of the Hermitage differ from them our museum. Right? There paintings are hung on walls, right?

O: In what is the problem? The problem is in that just we built a permanent exhibition, then we would create and exposition. [Exposition] here got old. Why did it get old? Well first , new exponents appeared. Not simply timely, new exponents appeared. What to do with them? And appeared some and appeared some new ideas. We became to know them deeper. Why in order with permanent exhibitions, we always have new expositions? Temporary exhibitions. And

temporary exhibitions, they, how would [you say], show the dynamics of development of the museum. Thus, temporary exhibitions can only have two types: it's either conceptual, which shows our new ideas, new interpretations and [it's the] exhibition of new entrances, where new exponents enter. Believable? Namely from these temporary exhibitions, right? Gradually these foundations will line up, these conceptual approaches, the methods of display, which then will lie in the foundations of permanent exhibition. My meaning is understood, yes?

K: Yes.

O: Well here. It's better [than some meanings]. Thus, when we build expositions, we create such types. And I built many expositions and exhibitions and conceptual and on contemporary art. And there for example, "Black Square" of Malevich, for instance, we did. I did, there, [an exhibition] dedicated to all Christian rituals, rituals [note* words used were obriad and ritual) of Easter. Easter in folk culture. Very many exhibitions. Here the field of activity of an ethnographic museum is enormous. But the one, main requirement, which the museum should obey, in the center of its attention should be the object. There should be objects. Still the museum speaks through the language of objects.

K: Yes.

O: And a virtual museum, it's all the same already a virtual museum. It's completely a different type. A different type of concept, well, and we even call, the many that appeared, quasi museums.

K: Yes?

O: Well, what is quasi? The museum of vodka, museum of beer, museum of games...

K: Well, museum of (inaudible)

O: Well, the museum of puppets, museum of shoes and all museums, museum, museum—there became a lot of them. Always whether... That's to say the word "museum" became defiled. Well [for example] the museum of matriyoshki, that is to say that these museums, at the base of their concept, their construction hold what? They hold mass consciousness. They hold stereotypes. (silence)

O: And stereotype—that's what? That which is swift-flowing. That which does not have roots in tradition. I had one student...My students did a course works...Course works—the project of expositions. And he relaxed by...he was a biker.

Ksenia*, 20, sociology student, Russian, hostel, (December 30, 2015)

I met Ksenia during a course on contemporary youth culture in Russia and America. There were two sections, one in America and the other in Russia. When I told her about my research, she agreed to go to the Russian Ethnographic Museum, and she also allowed me to interview her for my research. She went to the museum with Misha. Our interview began in a café not far from my hostel, but we completed the interview in my hostel because the café was too noisy. All italicized text in this interview was originally spoken in English. For this transcript, I use the word "me" to represent my speech because both of our names begin with the letter "K".

Me: Well, it's more like why there is every exponent old, in your opinion.

K: Aaa...umm...I don't even know. Aaa...you mean that there is not modern things? Not modern, but for example, in the recent century?

Me: Umhmm...

K: Hmm...I think [it's] true yeah...only very old thing[s], they are...maybe just...aaa...depend [on]...[the] main aim of the museum and...ahhh...There is different exhibition for...only twentieth century, for example, not...not this...this is very...conservation not...this is a style of this museum...like conservative museum, how to say...

Me: Aaa...of what old things?

K: Amm...

Me: Of old things...

K: I think, how to explain...now...

Me: Mhmm...it's possible [to say] in Russian...

K: [The museum] is very conservative and maybe, even a little closed [to] new exponents.

Me: Hmm...

K: [The museum]...I don't know, how...the history of how the museum exactly came to be, but to me it seems that there is such...If they conduct some master classes, then it is connected with something, for example, originally there, with Russian things...I remember that I ended up there...and they would show a span on machine such an old [one]...fabric how would...well how it is done.

Me: Yes, yes.

K: There and how would nothing...well such a thing is very old there...only, yes, maybe it's simply a specialization.

Me: Uhhh...Well, yes, it seems to me that it is their specialty, but I still don't know exactly why. I don't know, that ethnography have well means a lot...many different meanings...

K: Uhhh...

Me: Different meanings...The fact is well [everyone]...but I don't know, how exactly they understand ethnography and in general exactly, what they want to show.

K: Hmm...well simply maybe if [it's connected with] the 19th and 20th centuries, well something connected, then it's possible to see, how just the same in the museum of political history. Despite [the fact, that] it's political history, there are still some objects of byt and it's all, how would [you say], very closely connected. Maybe simply some how with the increased role

of politics in society, how would, a few switched to that...history, where to tell about byt, with pure ethnography, something of ancient museum to new political. Is it's something connected...

Me: Interesting...And everything there is connected with byt?

K: Hmm...But...in the political museum...

Me: No...aaa...in the ethnographic...

K: In the ethnographic...aaa...I think yes...maybe with work, with ahh...living with ahh...I think...don't remember with art...

Me: But there is a difference between the words byt and work?

K: I think...I don't actually know cause I understand byt like everything you...ahm...make every day...you need food, you go in to take this food anyway...where...how you take this food...ahh...how you cook it and this thing I think is ah...byt...All these understandings [of] everydayness to me it seem quite to myself put into the word byt.

Me: Very interesting.

K: It includes social life of people maybe...ah...physical and social...maybe not...economic life...it's very huge...ah...definition...a huge word I don't know...

Me: Category? Hmm...and if everything there is connected with the word byt, how do you think there, every people there displayed in the different exhibitions [that] they still live like that or no?

K: Hmm... of course not. It seems to me like globalization has strongly affected all nations displayed [in the Russian Ethnographic Museum]. However, there are of course exceptions [to that]. Northern People were probably interesting to me...

Me: Uhm.

K: Because they largely preserve such a way of life...*this type of life style...this is still like this...kind of in some part of, even Russia, far, far away from here.* Thus, it's partly interesting that it's not only history, but and someone's today, when we walk there with every gadget, technological stuff and there in the pure informational world, they live like that and it's interesting. Here...ah...what was the question?

Me: Haha...Aaa...how do you think, every people there displayed in the exhibitions...

K: No, [they] don't live like that now. But in the remaining, the remaining [people] to me it seems no. All [of the] assimilated...you know this part...

Me: Yes, I know.

K: It seems that you know better Russian than I English.

Misha*, 20, sociology student, Russian/ Belorussian, hostel, (January 8, 2016)

I met Misha during a course on contemporary youth culture in Russia and America. There were two sections, one in America and the other in Russia. He went to the museum with Ksenia after she agreed to help me with research. When I asked him, whether I could also interview him, he agreed. Our interview was conducted in my hostel.

K: And then in general, what do you think the purpose of museums are?

M: there is this word, this word that I can't remember. You know the time period in England from the I guess 18th C. It's it *prosveshenie* in Russian.

K: Enlightenment?

M: Yeah. I thought about it, but I didn't think that would be the word. Yeah, so I guess that's basically it. The availability of information that is not generally not available for people. Like you just can't find a book or whatever, well it changed with the internet, which changes the purposes and the fate of museums as well: the appearance of the internet. But I guess you know what I felt for example besides of the enlightenment stuff and outside of this can be this and that

can be that whatever happens in the world besides those feelings. I just thought about how my mind, how my brain reacts to the museum. Because it's generally, it's totally another kind of information from our everyday life. Our everyday life are emails and text and basically that's printed information and that's pictures and videos and stuff like that and people are totally adjusted to it: to read, to watch and basically that's it. But when I go there, I can see actual stuff. And that's actually quite interesting because it's not a photo from google pics. And it's totally another feeling like it's 3D.

K: It's the actual object that's being described so it's a bit more interesting, right?

M: And you can just spot little details of it

K: So objects are very important for the general purpose of the museum since they need to show them?

M: I guess that differs from museum to museum because many museums are like actually a lot of text as well and pictures. You know this museum night thing we have here? You know right?

K: Yeah, I know.

M: So I was over at Dostoevsky Place and I was reading *Idiot* back at that time. And that was interesting for me. And this museum, like many other museums of this kind, they have basically text about a certain personality or letters or photos or evidences from other people and stuff like that. So I guess it's different for different museums. Different museums serve different purposes.

K: Fair. On that note, what do you think the purpose of the Ethnographic Museum is?

M: Ethnographic? I guess. I just had this idea. I don't know when it was founded. But I think one of...It's actually a quiet interesting idea. Do you know when it was founded?

K: Originally it was founded in...The original conception was in 1902, but it ultimately opened in 1925 I think

M: [19]25 adds up to my idea because I thought that it would be about Russia but that goes for the Soviets too because it's a very large country and basically an imperial...

K: Empire

M: Empire. Yes. And you know The main color or flow of Empire is that you have to put it together somehow. And I think that the Ethnographic museum may have served actually that purpose so that people of different nationalities and ethnoses would learn about each other and would be adjusted to each other and like you know you go to another country you learn their traditions and you like understand them a bit better and that would be it exactly delivered to the kind of main nationality of Soviets, the Russian because you know it was the...

K: So what you just said is effectively that you think that the museum was a way of learning about the different people and parts of...

M: Of gluing it all up together because, you know, everyone is very different. That's it.

K: Cool. I've been thinking a lot about that as well. And I think from the things that I've read and that seen there, it may have had a similar purpose, if not exactly that purpose.

M: Well it might be actually. Well it can be actually a kind of show off as well. Because you know like the beginning of the 20th C there was this of race for exploring and settling for exploring and settling in the far north and quite a large part of the museum is dedicated to how native ethnoses

K: Umm...Ethnicities or native people

M: Yeah, of native people of far north. You know, how do they live. Like those carvings in bones of you know animals.

K: Yeah animal bones.

M: I don't know that word. Okay whatever. So like and like their houses and stuff like that I guess. I don't know. There must be some sort of thing like that in the US for Indians as well.

K: Museums and exhibitions or something like that?

M: Museums and exhibitions I guess.

K: Yeah. They have them

M: I guess those things might be kind of alike.

K: Interesting.

M: Yeah so in a way it's a show of that this people now kind of belong to us. They live in our country. So it's like can you see how good is that? All those people..you know

K: All a part of this one empire of sorts.

M: Yeah exactly. And exactly far north. Because you know during the Soviet's there was exploration of far north of the arctic. It was a very large part of the culture. So I guess that might actually be a part of it.

K: That would make sense. And then, I guess, keeping in mind this kind of comparison that you've started, what kind of purposes do you think that the museum might serve today?

M: Today?

K: Yeah.

M: I don't really know. That might be a part of tradition already, might be, you know, just part of history generally. I don't think that any of those purposes would be in the mind of the people who now in a way regulate it or decide what will happen to the museum and stuff like that.

Everything has already [been] explored. There's nothing like, you know, it's more like, it's more of a history. We just can see what was actual, what was interesting for people earlier. And I actually also have this feeling when I was over there when I would go over the [holes?] With the

far north native people stuff and I thought that it would be really ancient like beginning of the 20th C tops, but it was generally middle, middle of the 20th C and even later up to[the] 70s. I guess yeah like that. And you know they had all those carvings with Stalin and Lenin figures, which was actually funny.

K: Yeah I remember those

M: And that was surprising for me.

K: So then kind of on the note of history, what kind of time frame do you think that the museum actually shows?

M: The time frame? I guess it's end of 19th C into middle of the 2nd half of the 20th C.

K: Okay.

M: So it's about 100 years.

K: Thereabouts.

M: And I guess that might be actually the ethnographic museum itself can be in a way, might be continuing tradition of showing off all of this stuff because you know. I think, I don't know for sure, but I suppose that it was a thing when the first explorations of Russians in 1600s, and 17th C.

K: 17th C?

M: Yeah 16th and 17th C when Russians would go over and explore Siberia and settle there. I guess there [was] a lot of stuff coming from over there to here to St Petersburg to Moscow mainly back in that time, and I guess that they would also show all that foreign stuff, arrows of native people and furs and skins and native people themselves back in that time.

K: Yeah, interesting interesting. So then if the museum is showing history, how do you understand ethnography or what is actually ethnography in your opinion?

M: Ethnography? I don't really know. Ethnography. Well it's "ethno" - "graphy", then it's descriptions of different ethnoses. I guess. I didn't really give a thought to it ever, I guess, what ethnography might be. You know, I really liked the ethnography museum as a kid actually.

K: So you went there when you were younger?

M: Yes I did. A few times, but my main...you know...what I mostly remember from those times is they had those yellow cars you could ride in. So that was more interesting for me than the actual exhibitions. Yeah so..

K: Do you remember anything about the exhibitions from when you were younger?

M: Ah...the swastikas.

K: The swastikas?

M: You know some native peoples had swastikas in their urnans in their buttons on their clothes. And as a child, I was really fascinated by war stuff and by art history as well. You know the Second World War. And I would go, "woah what's happening, mom...mom what is that? Why would they have swastikas? And my mom would say, "that's just...they would mean it as a symbol of [the] sun and not as a swastika in the Third Reich way". And that would drive me kind of crazy

K: It's also used in...Buddhist cultures as well. It could have been related to that.

M: a lot, a lot. But I didn't know it back then. I was actually a fun part of this time as well.

K: Wait, I don't even remember any from the last times that I've been. Did you see any?

M: Swastikas?

K: Yeah

M: No not really. We didn't have much time so we tried to cover as much as we could, so that was it. Maybe there were some. I don't remember.

Alessa*, 19, sociology student, Russian, café, (January 9, 2016)

I met Alessa during a course on contemporary youth culture in Russia and America. There were two sections, one in America and the other in Russia. When I told her about my research, she agreed to go to the Russian Ethnographic Museum, and she also allowed me to interview her for my research. Our interview was conducted in a café not far from the museum. All italicized text in this interview is Russian transliteration and was originally spoken in Russian. They remain untranslated because they are partial words or phrases that are clarified immediately afterward in English. All bracketed text also was originally in spoken in Russian but translated because it adds ease in understanding the passage.

K: I guess my first question is do you often go to museums?

A:Ummm... I can't say that I visit museums often. Although, if to...like as often as I want to because of different things. But there's seasons, especially winter, when I , you know, have this uhh I don't know desire to...especially when it's cold, I have this wishes to go to museums.

Yeah. I try to go there once a month.

K: Cool. Which museums do you generally go to?

A: I love Russian Museum in St. Petersburg. Actually I love paintings, and um I usually go to some like museum where there are some paintings. But this year I realized that I love some architectural and some history museums also, and I now try more to visit some of these kinds.

K: Cool In your opinion what is the general purpose or are the general purposes of museums?

A: Well I think the main purpose is to introduce people to something different from their everyday life. And not just different but uhh...culturally important I think. So it helps you umm understand maybe different countries or different cultures. So through paintings and through architecture, through some exhibitions your vision of the world and even of your own life become wider. It's strange, but you develop yourself from inside and I think is like the main thing.

K: Ok Cool

A: I'm not sure that I tell this, like I express my idea in an appropriate way, but...

K: Also on that note, if you want to say anything in Russian at any point in time

A: Oh no that's okay, I believe that in [Russian] I wouldn't say it better.

K: Alright, so on the note of the purpose of museums, what do you think the purpose of the Russian Ethnographic Museum?

A: Oh, that's a great one I think. Because one of the important...most important things especially nowadays in my opinion is tolerance, and umm well we live in a huge world and we're all different and we have many many difference and sometimes those differences are... become...like a point of I don't know maddnesses. And well I think that such museums like [the Ethnographic Museum] they help us to understand that differences are not bad and they just exist and this is just a fact and we should...we should be respectful, and well such exhibitions show us these difference in a beautiful way. So we start to see beautiful and interesting sides of different culture and maybe even admire them and that's just great.

K: Cool very cool. And from our time there today, which exhibitions in your opinion are most memorable?

A: Umm...That's hard question. Because to be honest, every like topic every side of this museum for me was memorable because it should have its own...tiny things that I would like to go back and look at closer and remember. I love For example, in Russia's part, it's one of the biggest. It was surprising, well it wasn't surprising, but like umm...it would be memorable for me that there are so many differences depending on the area, temperature, culture, and geographically and weather, people have so many differences living in one country and that's that's so wonderful. I mean this is like what life is. It's not good or bad. It's just interesting. And

that was...differences even in colors, and I don't know shapes, and also umm...it was interesting that there were similarities between different countries and not countries but different cultures and that we all have traditions which are maybe different in details but in general they have the same ideas. And that also was... reminds me that despite we are different, we are still people and we are like in some ways the same. We have the same soul, if you believe the same in this way. And that's also...in some ways it denies...I feel like I'm like a part of something huge. And that was memorable for me.

K: And when you said that something was memorable about every exhibition.

A: Yeah (2x)

K:What are some other examples of memorable things?

A: I was interesting that in the South. For example, Georgians or Uzbeks, they have stuff probably so bright colors, so uh this reminds me of happiness. And it's actually you can see it everywhere. Like from the carpets to cloths and everything is so bright. And this maybe tells about like their character in some way. Like I mean usually when we thought about Georgians or like south nations, we usually think of warm temperament and they are very viviant. I don't know they are so I don't know in Russian we call it *goriachaia krov'* so like hot blood

K: Hot blooded

A: Yeah. Hot blooded. And umm of the north because of climate and because of different conditions surround it, but they are more calm. I mean the colors and the... I don't know, the decorations of the houses they are more wooden, more wool, more dark colors, and this was this like they have like more things made of bones. And again, I understand why, but it was like when you say this and you understand that this is reality that people live in. You understand that

it's all connected with geography ...geographical I don't know *osobennosti*. Okay. Like *posveshch*...like with your surroundings and your...it even could lead to your *kharakter*...

K: Character.

A: Character. Okay. Like that was for me main memorable surprise. And also also connected with the museum, there were a lot of like old things, so it was really not made to today in an old fashioned style. But it was really old. Again this line through history. You feel that people used this. IT was like there everyday life, and you didn't think that 100-200 years ago, we would learn something from these things.

K: I definitely agree. There a lots of things going on at the museum that you can learn from. And it's not necessarily new things that you're learning about. IT's definitely older objects showing how people were. So on that note, from the museum how do you understand ethnography?

A: You mean the term ethnography? Or?

K: the term, yeah.

A: I will be a little bit philosophical. I don't know ethnography for me is umm... differences, but different and same in one. So etnos and ethnography is like how, the way people used to express themselves you know. So this is not individually. We are not different because you know someone is better or someone is you know evolution theory. Yeah. That there was like more...umm...more

K: Well uni-evolutionary theory

A: Uh

K: Repeat of last

A: Yeah. So like some nations are more....

K: More advanced?

A: Yeah. Less advanced or more advanced, but this is just about how we umm connected with nature and how we connected with each other and our traditions. You know villages, people in villages they have some many festivals and so many things that we...they used to do together that's why in there was in museum a lot of photographs of ceremonies like marrying where people gather together and spend this...one whole family. And ethnography is about like the idea of I don't know how they, nature and people could born something unique. I mean You can feel it everywhere: from how people behave yeah, so how people use their clothes, what colors did they use, what crafts mostly did they like you know fishing or bees. And that's what to me is ethnography. Yeah.

K: So from that. At the beginning of that, you said that ethnography is linked with how people lived. Is it necessarily related to how people lived and not how people live? So kind of the past and not the present?

A: Of course not. This is because I was little bit impressed of...past exhibitions. This is just something always amazes me. How, how nowadays we can feel this connection with the past, but of course it's not this is not the finished touch. We still have [these] traditions, well they're probably different, but we still have it. And umm...yeah. I think yeah. It's like always. People describe our biological osobonosti ...features about gender and age and again other sides, like umm... more cultural aspects like how do we usually spend our holidays. This is for me a very interesting topic. Because We can compare people, well in a good way I mean about the differences about how people spend their holidays: separate or gather together even what colors they use. Still we have this differences and also something the same. I think it's like not the period like you said it's continuing actually.

K: Cool and then I guess also going back. You said that most things in the museum were old. Do you think that there is a particular time period that the museum is showing?

A: Umm...maybe it's because (loud noise) That's interesting. I think nowadays ummm, it's not that hard to, you know, know about...we are more unique in some ways and we have some like some sources from which we can understand colors or even see. So we travel more than previous times. Maybe this accent's on the past in the museum because we can't see now what was 100 years ago. But I would say that I I want to...wouldn't mind to see modern cultural aspects for example of even Russians because we still have some differences, traditions in different areas. I never thought about this actually why in museums maybe the accent is on the past. Well now I'm catching it. Well I understand why so many past exhibitions, well I mean about the past, but it would be also good. But that's the idea of the museums to meet people with something connected with these cultural aspects and it should not have these time borders.

K: Time frame?

A: Frame yeah

K: That makes a lot of sense. Since the museum only shows or mostly shows older objects, do you think that they're saying something about I guess what it means to exist today or something like that or were you saying that modern people are... with your last statement more closely related in terms of how they look, interact, think and things like that?

A: I think...I think it's like... both ideas. So First of course, we're just more close to each other in our traditions, but still you have to look in more detail to see the differences which are interesting to know, just to know because knowing helps us to understand and understanding leads to tolerance and to...umm...I just love this word tolerance because this means a lot for me. And um...yeah that's... that does make sense. On one hand we can nowadays learn about

tolerance and this is why we need museums, but on the other hand if the goal is to, to meet people with differences why don't we also learn about nowadays differences. That's really tricky question

K: I think it's difficult to answer for anyone, where museums have their own purposes and they can still be used to try to relay I guess, messages of tolerance and things like that, but then there's still that tricky question of why are we specifically showing this and nothing else. It's definitely a difficult question to answer. So then what would you say that you learned from the museum if anything?

A: I would say for me...umm...that well I can't say that I just learn it, but I just proved for myself that many, many, many actions that happen in history, which ell at first, they judge, they have so many past history like ground. Sometimes, I judge different nations or cultures because they are don't think the same that I did, but then when you realize that it's not because they want to make me unhappy but because (loud sound). But because everyone has their backgrounds and everything that leads to what people are used to. The way you think now, it so much depends upon his past and childhood, and so on and so forth and also this is also because of like my studying sociology. This is also very, very important to understand people and you should not only see his decisions but also why people do these decisions. And museums in some way help us to know because we can't understand people just by... through our culture, we need to learn other cultures to reach understanding. It makes your opinion wider.

K: Most definitely. So then do you feel that the museum, the Ethnographic Museum is doing something important?

A: I think yes. This is again connected with this idea that for example, for children...I think that childhood is a very important time, period of... people's...

K: Lives?

A: [Yes]. Yeah of people's lives. And museums, esp. such kinds like ethnographic museums, they use such way, like exhibition where you can visually not read it, but visually you can have a picture in your mind of how people lived and for children, even for adults, it's easier to understand, to compare and to make some ideas for yourself and opinions. I love the way this was made in this particular vein if you're like if you just like you forgot about your culture, like just everything. For example, small Ukrainian house and you see how people live there and you feel then okay maybe you even imagine how you would live there, and I think that this is a great way to really express this main idea of expressing other cultures and understanding other people.

K: Very cool. I definitely agree with that. I definitely think that it's very very important to learn about other cultures. IT's one of the main reasons why I study anthropology because I think that it's very important to do and I think that I feel generally equipped for how to deal with it. But going back to what you said, you said that it's especially important for children.

A: Right

K: So when you were younger, did you go to similar musuems?

A: Well my parents well sometimes they took me with them and they showed me... In my city where I was born that was not that big of a museum, not quite as big as St. Petersburg. I remember that my father showed me some Asian cultures and this was, it was... I didn't understand like in this philosophical way that these were differences in people. For me it was just like I knew that people could live not like I do. And these... this [was] honestly without any... jokes. It helped me to... Other times were when I'd see some cartoons for example and I saw something that I'd seen in the museum, my dad explained to me what it was exactly. And I haven't been shocked. It was like oh I know what is it. For example, that Mulan movie or

Pocahontas where you see this. You understand that it's real life and people live there like this. And this is like normal. And I think that this is important especially in this period to understand not just like the tolerance, but just like the idea that you are not unique. I mean that you are not the only like type of people, so there are also different and this is normal. And I think this idea, well children should get this idea, and of course parents play a huge role here. They should take their children to museums and explain to them that this is different cultures and this is different types of traditions to let them know.

K: And would you take children to the ethnographic museum?

A: yeah. Yeah Of course. I would take children to many types of museums. But this type is also very important, and I think that in St. Petersburg really...I love the way that they express it again that it's not just pictures and some ummm dishes on shelves and children maybe would be bored a little bit. This like um...instalatsiya ... installation umm of real live...of real people they do something they and these huge houses differences. And I think even adult people get more interested in this because yeah...it's also important the way museums show their idea. And in my opinion the ethnographic museum in St.Petersburg made this very good.

K: So then, you're saying that the specific arrangement of objects in the museum is also very very important, and you just said that you felt that the museum does this well as well.

A: Yeah yeah. I think yeah. For me it was...it worked. I imagined in my head how it could it happen if I were for example a Ukrainian girl or if I were a Jewish girl or Uzbek girl, Chukchis...it was touchable.

K: So then Because of the specific types of display it was easier to imagine

A: Yes

K: Nice.

(Silence)

K: Just checking over questions, sorry.

A: It's okay.

(Silence)

K: So then while I'm checking over. Earlier you said that especially now it's important to know about differences. Why do you say especially now?

A: Maybe in one way it is because of this tendency to, well I can be mistaken, but I think that especially young children they of some cultures like I know that for example in China some kids they, because they heard every time about American culture, they tend to love it. Because they get used to it. It's absolutely normal. As one sociologist said, Bourdieu, I forgot his name, Bourdieu, said that we love what we know. And I think that nowadays because we have so many sources to learn about different cultures, but also to make up some or especially one exact culture or for example people adore Japanese culture, it's like a cult, so people start, it's not bad, so people start loving this culture and feel that this something that is close to them. In Russia, for example, this question of tradition which were you parents lived with, your grandparents lived with, something natural to your ethnicity tradition, they became stigmatized at some times.

K: Okay

A: So it's like, it's a little bit tricky because I can't say this 100% but I feel that it becomes like a ranked. So some cultures are like tiny, the smaller, the less modern culture you have, again, this is like somehow connected with evolution theory. In my opinion, this happens because people usually do not know about culture in detail. They know just like that people in Russia 100 years ago would tend to, you know, spend time together and wear some strange clothes and that's all they know. I mean that's all they know. And this makes them feel that people nowadays

wouldn't do this because it's stupid for example or that we are so clever now that this is like all ancient. And I think that the more detail that people know. Like This idea that people didn't live there not because they were stupid like this way, but because they have this this because of nature and geographical topography and the close to the forest or close to the river and this turned into different types of traditional life. Like nowadays we have so many different information, and I think it makes us less detailed, so we know less details. We make our opinion just knowing three facts about people, about country, about nations, and rank them all the time like this one is better than this one because this has, I don't know, wifi and there is no wifi, and people are like this is level down and this is level up. And umm...this idea of ethnicity in general that this is just people and how they express their lives and how they connect with nature this is important because we start thinking like not in rank but as just like in one huge field. And you see that These differences are not because of one brain's ability, but because of... I don't know. This again relates to Tolerance and I think that in past time we had not so much connections. You know people who lived from south and lived with north there was not so much probability that they would ever meet or ever speak. But nowadays we meet with each other connect with each other every every day. And when we have this point, we should understand each other and not compare each other every, well we should not compare each other but in a right and appropriate way. And this ability, this skill to well make it in a right way without, you know, make this rank comparison this I think is very important nowadays. And certainly we can see some crazy incidents where people say you're worse than me, your religion is worse than my religion, that is why we can see some deaths, wars, and suffering. But, I strongly believe that when people have these desires to understand people and improving this desire for understand that this will level up for our people...for homo sapiens in general because this is very important.

And nowadays again. And nowadays why? Nowadays because we have many many many many points to connect to each other and that's why we should make it strong those connections. Yeah.

I hope you understand what I wanted to say. (laughter)

K: I was just about to ask a clarifying question.

A: Okay. Yeah. That's good.

K: So what you're saying seems to be that with our contemporary society and how many different places and times people from various locations whether it be from within the same country or even different countries can interact, it's very important to understand that differences exist and not to rank them, but to understand that they exist and that they have specific reasons behind them.

A: Yes yes exactly.

K: Cool. But with that does it mean that in your opinion people still look at these differences and then effectively still rank them?

A: Well maybe...this again, the idea of how do we understand the word differences... For example, I know that children born in St. Petersburg or born in a small town, for example in Irkutsk, they are different because they have different opportunities and views of self-worth. But I don't judge them. For example, you don't go to museums because you are stupid. Sorry this is like stigmatizing for me. This is like Very very important and tipping point, so you should understand that we are different and mostly you should know how to behave yourself. You should know that it's not a science, we shouldn't say about this in a machine way, it helps you too, I don't know. To not make it in a bad way, we can compare, even rank in some ways but not in a so strict and stigmat...how do you say that villages is bes..better...worse than cities because you know because living in commune is old-fashioned. So we should understand this word

differences is just should be positive not negative. I don't know. I just have this idea in my head that we should look for differences but we should have this like idea that differences is normal is just natural for us and I don't just start to... how should I speak with person who lives in different countries, so should I to kiss...I think that's what anthropology is trying to do realize what is the best way to to learn about each other should I start...start Jesus Christ this is so hard to express....should I try to think the way that he think and from this side and have a conversation or should I start from my side and have him understand me. And this is like what in my opinion makes us will lead us to...in my opinion we are not ready now to have this globalization because uhh...even in schools, I'm thinking of my brother, even in schools it's not such a big issue uhh....world history or world religion. So nowadays actually, during the past 2 years my brother had 3 different courses on world history and world religion. So maybe his generation maybe would be ready for this globalization. I should say that 5 years ago, I had no idea about even my country's traditions. I mean I could say okay I know that there are [Buryats] and [Yakuts] and so on. But who are they? And how do they live? It was like a tricky question. Then I realized that these people are alive nowadays and I want to know why or how do they live because I don't know. It helps me understand how people actually are. This is some philosophical questions. And museums are some of the source that people can actually understand it. I think that especially because we can travel. I can visit for example Muslim countries and know how should I to behave. We have in Russia it means ...uh...*so svoim uslovam v chuzhoi monistar ne khodi*. So you should understand people and in an appropriate way. Not just like I am better so

K: You should interact with people taking into account their own cultures and things like that.

A: Yeah. And these differences should not be ranked I mean in a bad way. I am From the skies to the ground to your people. It's just like we are different, I want to know who are you and show you who I am. I don't know I've confused my thoughts.

K: I think that you've said some great things with that. But I'm still wondering. You said that people shouldn't do it, in terms of ranking people and ranking differences I should say between people and things like. But are you saying that people do do that?

A: I'm sorry?

K: Are you saying that people do rank differences between people at least some people?

A: I think yeah. I think some more traditional countries, maybe yeah. For example, USSR, it was like cult of this particular type of life and traditions and it was like we are the best and poor people who live not like we are. And still you can feel this from the generation who lived there, you can still feel this, it's not exactly nationalism, but this is about, I don't know. Well you don't hate people who live in different ways, but you feel sorry, you know, that they don't live in the way you do. And this is just one of the examples, I mean how could people grant. I think some people still do this, so maybe in your allegiance, or some of them maybe people who very very believe in religion, but this is the true of it or not. And telling that people should not do this. I meant They can do this, if they want, but they should not *propogandirovat*' I mean. It should not become nationalism it should not became hate, people should not hurt each other because of it. You may think that our differences are ranked in some ways. Okay we have this *strana tret'ego mira, strana vtorogo mira*, like well it was like third world...

K: Oh da, da

A: You know it mean industrial, post industrial, so we can see there is a rank. And of course we can compare it so he's more traditional and I'm more post industrial. But there shouldn't be these

negative aspects. People should understand why this is happening you know because some countries have a lot of wars and maybe or maybe they are very very far from other countries. For example, some African countries they are far from you know this also and also separated by north and south, and north is rich and south is poor. And this has this negative aspect. And I think that when you understand why people are different. I mean why African countries or some small villages still live in this traditional well they live 100 years they live like they used to live and nothing changes, you should just understand it and say okay because they want to even I don't because they think its okay and you should understand it and even admire because this is like they do... this is like they understand their world. I love also Platon's Пещера, Cave, I don't know. Like Platon he wrote Pishyera. It's a story the guy who had lived in a cave and he saw also and he had a fire and all he see was shadows on the wall and he thought that this was real life. So he thought that shadows on the wall this is what life is. And Then he had freedom and he went like outside of this cave and saw how people behave and this is another type of life and this is just how we imagine. So everything happens in our head. So what we get used to is not the only right way to live in I think this was the idea that We're all people and we have backgrounds and these backgrounds are history. IT leads to our traditions and so on and so forth and Rankings should not be negative. I mean I don't like this evolutional theory where People from Papua in New Geuina are three steps lower than people from European countries just because they live in different ways. That was I wanted to express very very long story.

K: It's fine. Ranking has ,in terms of ranking peoples and societies, has something that has been done for a very long time and it's happened in lots of ways. IT's happened in Anthropology as well very early on

A: It happens in Sociology also.

K: And it still happens, and I think what you're trying to say is effectively that despite the fact that it still happens, we shouldn't do it rank them in negative ways. Like IF we're going to do it, we should understand why differences occur more so than saying this is good or this is bad.

Well this is why it is.

A: Exactly.

K: Do you think that the Ethnographic Museum does one of...what do you think that the Ethnographic Museum does within this?

A: Well I don't feel that they compare like...well they just don't say anything. They just give you the opportunity to analyze in yourself. I personally, today, just you know it was like just...it was like comparison differences but in just плоскость

K: level?

A: Level. Yeah exactly. Like ah...the colors, they fish, they are usually fishers, they are hunting. This is like just oh interesting they are different. Not like oh...these people, these women wear in paranja. And these are not and look at how happy these are. I didn't even think about things in a bad way, that some of them are more rich and some of them more poor. IT was just knowing they are different and it was exciting. I mean to just understand how huge the world, how many details that it has.

K: So the general approach that the museum took, you enjoyed in that it didn't rank them. It went like this is who they are

A: And this is how they lived, this is a house

K: this is what it was made out of, this is possibly how it was used, these are there tools, this is what they were used for kind without any further analysis so that the person can make it themselves

A: Exactly exactly

K: I think that might be everything

Dmitri*, 50, Head of the Department of Ethnography of the Russian People, Russian, Russian Ethnographic Museum, (January 13/ 15, 2016)

I met Dmitri through my internship supervisor at the European University at St. Petersburg, Mikhail Lurye. When I told him about the research project that I had and where I wanted to conduct my research, he put me in contact with Dmitri. From the first time that we met, Dmitri treated me as a colleague and helped me to access the museum resources and potential interviewees. Our interview was conducted in the museum.

K: Ah...now I...well...how much time? Three...four? Four questions now. What can you say about the attendance of the museum?

D: That's a hurtful question for our museum.

K: Yes?

Because...before there was a large attendance.

K: Mhm...

D: In Soviet times due to the fact that our museum was in the program of "Obligatory attendance for tourist", especially for foreign tourists of our museum.

K: Mhm...

D: There [were] such tours, which included obligatory attendance of the Hermitage, Peterhof, Kunstkammera, and our museum.

K: Mhm...

D: Then in the 90s, when they anew formed those packets of tours...our museum, I don't know due to some reason, became un-included. And then to return to the packet is hard. It's a lot of money. A whole lot. To return is hard, which means, it's hard to enter and thus...the attendance became lower. And...then... it is connected also with a lack of enough advertisements. But we

have statistics, you need to see them...aaa...that means our the excursion department has them, and they're by year, if you are interested, yes?

K: Yes.

D: It's possible to, how would, it means, with them talk about attendance. The one thing I can say it's that [we have] a problem and the problem is in that little about our museum is known.

K: Mhm

D: Few advertisements, few posters, banners, which would be on the street, in contrast to the Hermitage, to the Russian Museum, because many, who come to us, accidentally [come] to the museum. Well I mean the adult public...audio tours or even the same foreigners. They say, "why didn't I know about this museum. It's very interesting." Well because the Hermitage is understood. We go there, but this is interesting. And that, they also in general know the Kuntzkammera. But the Kuntzkammera, it's colonial, there are many capitals. There where [there are] masterpieces, there yes, and when to here to Russia [foreigners] come, then in general they [tourists] are also interested in the people of Russia. Yes, ethnography...

K: Yes. Of course.

K: Aaa...now...do you have, well a specific group according to the institute, for whom you orient exhibitions?

D: No. Actually, how would, it's assumed that sociological research is conducted, some visitors to us come, but normally we do exhibitions, that of course...we assume...that of course many school kids, who are organized, come to us, yes?

K: Yes.

D: Groups of foreigners come also there. Adults there, it's the only thing and such, are not organized like a rule. Thus, there is not such [group] that it is an orientated exhibition. There are children's exhibitions [that are orientated] on children. We have a children's center and there are very good programs. Master classes there all sorts of crafts, economies of all sorts, ethnographic theater, reconstructed rituals, it's on the weekends and on holidays. It was just Christmas, right? Baptism, yuletide, Russians, vacations. We had a festival of nativity. That's puppet theater, Christmas, those puppets. And...of Russia and from Ukrainian and from Belorussia artists came. The theater very well displayed. There were folklore groups, who used songs, very...in costumes.

K: Wonderful

D: In this meaning, well yes, we on children [in] large part are oriented, but in principle on everyone interested because ethnography, it's interesting to everyone. Those who lived in villages, in order to know, to see their roots, representatives of different nationalities. We here [in Russia] have many of all sorts of peoples. And Tatars, Uzbeks, Tajiks, [and] Germans, and Ukrainians, and they come here and search for their people for example. Thus, here also such internal, well, such motivation. But when we simply do exhibitions, we...we have...when you do an exhibition, then before we simply put it in a plan and we had more exhibition rooms. Now we have fewer. Now more competition between project-exhibitions, Because there are few rooms, less accommodations, less space. We have one...two...two rooms of exhibition. Thus...thus, [we] need to defend our projects, our conception of exhibition. We have little still on council [which is conducted] a few times in a year. We, workers, [to this council] present our conception of exhibition, and that's every department, regional [research], not the exhibition department. The exhibition department usually, it simply helps us to do that. A large technical

department, and conceptions of idea, it means ethnographs do it. A stage of defense occurs.

Presentations, right? And if it occurs...

K: And if no[t] it won't be arranged?

D: It occurred not long ago. Such practice occurs and the argument goes then the exhibition properly [will occur] next year by plan.

K: Ok.

D: But it doesn't always work because a lot happens above all...it's from different museum exhibitions beyond borders...

K: Mhm...

D: And it happens that [the exhibition] must be put on hold, or cancel the exhibition. Such also occurs. It's a problem for the museum. I think it's a large problem—few...few...rooms of exposition for temporary exhibitions

K: Mhm...yes. Two, three, like you already said. Well what are the central purposes of museums?

D: Purposes?

K: Purposes.

D: Purposes?

K: Yes

D: Ha...well I don't know. That in actuality is also a problem, that we don't have a unified conception of development. It got old, there was one before. A new conception hasn't been able to form. For that we also still need council because we have plan-charts [to build our own goals] for example...

K: Well yes

D: I can give you one for...so that you understand, how we work, will you be interested? Plan-chart, it every form of activity of the museum. It's a document, which we fill-out, every worker and register. I'll give you are clean plan-chart, but there is a rubric there...

K: Mhm...

D: Which forms of activity

K: Yes, yes

D: There are ten, in my opinion, eight forms of activity. And each [worker] fills them out. What there is scientific-research [component], expository-exhibition [component], expository...

K: Mhm...

D: That is collector [component]. Accounting [component].

K: Accounting?

D: Accounting-conservation [component]...aaa...then educational [component], methodological [component], scientific-editorial, etc. There are a few forms of activity and in every form, you take part. And everyone takes part. Well simply by different accents of arrangement. But normally by each of these direction, but, how to say, they represent their purposes. But here there should be balance between scientific component of research and public component because exhibitions and expositions that sphere of activity, which are orientated on the external world...

K: Well, yes.

D: And in that meaning, that form of activity depends on the public. And in that meaning, it is more vulnerable. It's presentation of you work in the museum. Well the public has its representation and its interests and it's necessary occasionally to conform. Because too scientific is not interesting. Too scientific-academic will not be so interesting...audiotour. Thus, here there should be some rational compromise. But now of course exhibitions claim selected budget, space

because simply place objects already is not interesting. A specific facility is necessary, some technology is necessary, virtual space. There...aaa...now a large role is allocated to artists.

Appendix C

Pertinent Museum Statistics

Российский этнографический музей

Отчет по всем продажам за период

Дата с 01.01.2015 по 31.12.2015

Цена	Наименование	Кол-во посетит.	Бланки	Сумма, руб.	Вид оплаты	
					Нал.(руб.)	Б/нал.(руб.)
Проданные билеты						
0,00	Входной билет	52571	17200	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Входной билет в составе экскурсионного обслуживания	41959	3438	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Приглашаем в гости)	411	24	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Обзорная экскурсия с посещением Особ.кладовой	112	44	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Особая кладовая с экскурсионным обслуживанием на русском языке	279	37	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам (Школа ремесел)	33	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное "Традиционная культура армян" (45 мин.)	8	4	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Архаичные верования" (45 мин.)	90	3	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Восточные славяне" (45 мин.)	45	3	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Евреи" (45 мин.)	35	2	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Звонкая монета" (45 мин.)	60	3	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Кавказская сказка" (45 мин.)	2410	83	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Когда приходит Новый год?" (45 мин.)	50	2	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Кость, рог, янтарь" (45 мин.)	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "МАСТЕР-КЛАСС ТОЛЕРАНТНОСТЬ" (45 мин.)	8680	298	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Кавказа" (45 мин.)	895	27	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Поволжья и Приуралья" (45 мин.)	50	4	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Северо-Запада" (45 мин.)	30	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Плат, платок, платочек" (45 мин.)	25	2	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Русские.." (45 мин.)	3714	130	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Сказки - торжи Поволжья" (45 мин.)	2846	103	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Традиционный русский костюм" (45 мин.)	48	6	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "У зайчика была избушка лубяная.." (45 мин.)	53	2	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Иудаизм (45 мин.)	30	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Северо-Запада (45 мин.)	385	13	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Сибири (45 мин.)	443	16	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Средней Азии (45 мин.)	405	15	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Средней Азии и Кавказа (45 мин.)	16	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Сказки Средней Азии и Казахстана (45 мин.)	2545	87	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Сказки Тундры (45 мин.)	2740	92	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Традиционные обряды и праздники русского народа (45 ми	2	1	0,00	0,00	0,00

Дата: 15.01.2016 14:51:05

Лист 1 из 9

Цена	Наименование	Кол-во посетит.	Бланки	Сумма, руб	Вид оплаты	
					Нап.(руб.)	Б/нап.(руб.)
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Христианство (45 мин.)	90	3	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание в сборной группе 45 мин.	2	2	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на иностранном языке. Обзор 1ч.30 мин.	14	2	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 1ч.30 мин.	421	28	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 45 мин.	889	64	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание тематическое Евреи (1 30 мин.)	10	2	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Жаворонки" (игровое занятие)	49	5	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Нитка тянется..." (игровое занятие)	60	4	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Беседа" (игровое занятие)	460	17	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "День рождения домового" (игровое занятие)	36	3	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Жили-были" (игровое занятие)	20	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Миссия: кладовщик" (игровое занятие)	20	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Ой-вы гости господи" (игровое занятие)	87	3	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Плачет хлебушек, когда его ест пятай." (игровое занятие)	79	4	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Приглашаем в гости" (игровое занятие)	60	6	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Масленица" (Детский праздник в музее)	40	2	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Беседа" (Детский праздник в музее)	35	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "В хороводе на горе..." (Детский праздник в муз.)	7	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Русская народная игрушка" (игровое занятие)	178	10	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Весна-красна" (Детский праздник в музее)	14	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия детская "Волшебная дудочка"	73	5	0,00	0,00	0,00
0,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Амулет, оберег, талисман"	10	1	0,00	0,00	0,00
30,00	Экскурсия инд. дидактический материал	187	150	5610,00	5610,00	0,00
35,00	Специализированное занятие (Школьная практика)	22	4	770,00	770,00	0,00
50,00	Входной билет (60 0011)	2225	1879	111250,00	99150,00	12100,00
50,00	Входной билет в составе экскурсионного обслуживания	178	11	8900,00	1500,00	7400,00
50,00	Входной билет на лекцию	57	3	2850,00	0,00	2850,00
50,00	Входной билет на лекцию (без стоимости входного билета в музей)	315	149	15750,00	15750,00	0,00
50,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Приглашаем в гости)	57	54	2850,00	2850,00	0,00
50,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Крошка - этнограф)	53	50	2650,00	2650,00	0,00
50,00	Специализированное занятие (Студенческая практика)	347	79	17350,00	5250,00	12100,00
50,00	Специализированное занятие (Школьная практика)	356	86	17800,00	17800,00	0,00
50,00	Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам (Студия этнопедагогики)	14	14	700,00	700,00	0,00
50,00	Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам Этностудия	1	1	50,00	50,00	0,00
50,00	Экскурсия детская "Жаворонки" (игровое занятие)	4	4	200,00	200,00	0,00
50,00	Экскурсия детская "Беседа" (игровое занятие)	2	1	100,00	100,00	0,00

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Цена	Наименование	Кол-во посетит.	Бланки	Сумма, руб	Вид оплаты	
					Нап.(руб.)	Б/нал.(руб.)
50,00	Экскурсия детская "Миссия: кладоискатель" (игровое занятие)	8	7	400,00	400,00	0,00
50,00	Экскурсия детская "Волшебная дудочка"	1	1	50,00	50,00	0,00
50,00	Экскурсия детская с игровыми элементами (Игровое занятие)	6	4	300,00	300,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное "Традиционная культура армян" (45 мин.)	14	11	840,00	840,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Белорусская сказка" (45 мин.)	39	36	2340,00	2340,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Войлок в культуре народов России" (45 мин.)	11	11	660,00	660,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Звонкая монета" (45 мин.)	74	68	4440,00	4440,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Кавказская сказка" (45 мин.)	27	25	1620,00	1620,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Когда приходит Новый год?" (45 мин.)	35	35	2100,00	2100,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Кость, рог, янтарь" (45 мин.)	17	17	1020,00	1020,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Музей и его собиратели" (45 мин.)	9	9	540,00	540,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Перя-богатырь" (45 мин.)	22	21	1320,00	1320,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Плат, платок, платочек" (45 мин.)	35	34	2100,00	2100,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Сказки - тюрки Поволжья" (45 мин.)	103	82	6180,00	6180,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "У зайчика была избушка лубяная..." (45 мин.)	37	33	2220,00	2220,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Что лучше доброй овцы?" (45 мин.)	15	15	900,00	900,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Делу-время (45 мин.)	16	12	960,00	960,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Сказки Средней Азии и Казахстана (45 мин.)	11	7	660,00	660,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Сказки Тундры (45 мин.)	34	21	2040,00	2040,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Традиционные обряды и праздники русского народа (45 мин.)	45	44	2700,00	2700,00	0,00
60,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание в сборной группе 45 мин.	118	78	7080,00	7080,00	0,00
80,00	Входной билет на лекцию (без стоимости входного билета в музей)	423	375	33840,00	33840,00	0,00
80,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Приглашаем в гости)	5	5	400,00	400,00	0,00
80,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Крошка - этнограф)	7	7	560,00	560,00	0,00
80,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание в сборной группе 1 ч.30 мин.	512	399	40960,00	40960,00	0,00
80,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание тематическое Русская трапеза (1 30 мин.)	16	10	1280,00	1280,00	0,00
80,00	Экскурсия детская "Миссия: кладоискатель" (игровое занятие)	28	25	2240,00	2240,00	0,00
80,00	Экскурсия детская "Уродилась копыда" (игровое занятие)	44	44	3520,00	3520,00	0,00
100,00	Входной билет	14925	13432	1492500,00	1492500,00	0,00
100,00	Входной билет в составе экскурсионного обслуживания	1020	97	102000,00	88500,00	13500,00
100,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Приглашаем в гости)	792	387	39600,00	39600,00	0,00
100,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Крошка - этнограф)	820	406	41000,00	40700,00	300,00
100,00	Пан - театр	472	458	47200,00	47200,00	0,00
100,00	Экскурсия детская "Жаворонки" (игровое занятие)	16	8	800,00	800,00	0,00
100,00	Экскурсия детская "Беседа" (игровое занятие)	8	4	400,00	400,00	0,00
100,00	Экскурсия детская "Миссия: кладоискатель" (игровое занятие)	60	30	3000,00	3000,00	0,00

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Цена	Наименование	Кол-во посетит.	Бланки	Сумма, руб	Вид оплаты	
					Нап.(руб.)	Б/нап.(руб.)
100,00	Экскурсия детская в сборной группе 45 мин. с игровыми элементами	10	5	500,00	500,00	0,00
100,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Открой для себя Россию!" (игровое занятие)	380	177	19000,00	19000,00	0,00
100,00	Экскурсия детская "Волшебная дудочка"	200	100	10000,00	10000,00	0,00
120,00	Входной билет (90 02.15)	4605	4296	552600,00	552600,00	0,00
120,00	Входной билет в составе экскурсионного обслуживания	220	46	26400,00	22800,00	3600,00
120,00	Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам (Школа ремесел)	652	277	78240,00	76440,00	1800,00
150,00	Входной билет (90 02.15)	45	45	6750,00	6750,00	0,00
150,00	Входной билет в составе экскурсионного обслуживания	31	1	4650,00	0,00	4650,00
150,00	Обзорная экскурсия с посещением Особ.кладовой	787	588	118050,00	118050,00	0,00
150,00	Особая кладовая с экскурсионным обслуживанием на русском языке	1686	1236	252900,00	236400,00	16500,00
180,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Приглашаем в гости)	36	9	1620,00	1620,00	0,00
180,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Крошка - этнограф)	92	23	4140,00	4140,00	0,00
180,00	Экскурсия детская "Жаворонки" (игровое занятие)	20	5	900,00	900,00	0,00
180,00	Экскурсия детская "Миссия: кладовщик" (игровое занятие)	12	3	540,00	540,00	0,00
180,00	Экскурсия детская "Волшебная дудочка"	8	2	360,00	360,00	0,00
200,00	Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам (Школа ремесел)	4865	1495	973000,00	849600,00	123400,00
250,00	Входной билет	26805	24526	6651250,00	6631500,00	19750,00
250,00	Входной билет в составе экскурсионного обслуживания	1705	248	426250,00	213750,00	212500,00
250,00	Единый билет выходного дня для семей с детьми	4	1	250,00	250,00	0,00
250,00	Особая кладовая с экскурсионным обслуживанием Ин.Яз.	24	12	6000,00	6000,00	0,00
350,00	Входной билет (90 02.15)	124	119	43400,00	43400,00	0,00
350,00	Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам (Студия этнопедагогики)	586	293	102550,00	102550,00	0,00
350,00	Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам Этностудия	314	157	54950,00	54950,00	0,00
350,00	Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам Этностудия ДПИ	22	11	3850,00	3850,00	0,00
500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на иностранном языке. Обзор 1ч.30 мин.	15	15	7500,00	7500,00	0,00
800,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Белорусская сказка" (45 мин.)	40	2	1200,00	1200,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Восточные славяне" (45 мин.)	32	2	1200,00	1200,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Еврейская сказка" (45 мин.)	20	1	600,00	600,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Как рубашка в поле выросла" (45 мин.)	67	4	2400,00	2400,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Поволжья и Приуралья" (45 мин.)	25	1	600,00	0,00	600,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Северо-Запада" (45 мин.)	29	1	600,00	600,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Обзор по жилищам" (45 мин.)	217	10	6000,00	6000,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Перя-богатырь" (45 мин.)	50	2	1200,00	1200,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Русские.." (45 мин.)	246	11	6600,00	5400,00	1200,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Сказки - тюрки Поволжья" (45 мин.)	45	2	1200,00	1200,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Традиционный русский костюм" (45 мин.)	20	1	600,00	800,00	0,00

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Цена	Наименование	Кол-во посетит.	Бланки	Сумма, руб	Вид оплаты	
					Нап.(руб.)	Б/нал.(руб.)
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "У зайчика была избушка лубяная..." (45 мин.)	189	10	6000,00	6000,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Янтарное море, янтарный берег" (45 мин.)	67	3	1800,00	1800,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Делу-время (45 мин.)	606	26	15600,00	15600,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Ислам (45 мин.)	25	1	600,00	600,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Иудаизм (45 мин.)	25	1	600,00	600,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Северо-Запада (45 мин.)	25	1	600,00	0,00	600,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Сибири (45 мин.)	25	1	600,00	0,00	600,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Сказы Тундры (45 мин.)	80	3	1800,00	1800,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Теремок (45 мин.)	85	4	2400,00	2400,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Традиционные обряды и праздники русского народа (45 мин.)	4	1	600,00	600,00	0,00
600,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 45 мин.	589	27	16200,00	12000,00	4200,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Архаичные верования" (45 мин.)	80	5	5000,00	5000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Белорусская сказка" (45 мин.)	275	15	15000,00	15000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Большая регата" (45 мин.)	292	25	25000,00	25000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Войлок в культуре народов России" (45 мин.)	15	1	1000,00	1000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Восточные славяне" (45 мин.)	225	12	12000,00	12000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Евреи" (45 мин.)	151	25	25000,00	20000,00	5000,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Еврейская сказка" (45 мин.)	80	4	4000,00	3000,00	1000,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Звонкая монета" (45 мин.)	15	1	1000,00	1000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Как рубашка в поле выросла" (45 мин.)	272	17	17000,00	17000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Когда приходит Новый год?" (45 мин.)	25	2	2000,00	2000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Кость, рог, ягтарь" (45 мин.)	20	1	1000,00	1000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Кавказа" (45 мин.)	110	6	6000,00	6000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Поволжья и Приуралья" (45 мин.)	114	8	8000,00	8000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Северо-Запада" (45 мин.)	332	18	18000,00	15000,00	3000,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Обзор по жилищам" (45 мин.)	1386	81	81000,00	72000,00	9000,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Перя-богатырь" (45 мин.)	140	7	7000,00	7000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Плат, платок, платочек" (45 мин.)	20	1	1000,00	1000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Русские.." (45 мин.)	1018	61	61000,00	54000,00	7000,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Сказки - торки Поволжья" (45 мин.)	92	5	5000,00	5000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Традиционный русский костюм" (45 мин.)	110	7	7000,00	7000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "У зайчика была избушка лубяная..." (45 мин.)	1276	78	78000,00	78000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Янтарное море, янтарный берег" (45 мин.)	308	17	17000,00	17000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Буддизм (45 мин.)	77	4	4000,00	4000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Делу-время (45 мин.)	1439	83	83000,00	80000,00	3000,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Ислам (45 мин.)	77	4	4000,00	4000,00	0,00

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Цена	Наименование	Коп-во посетит.	Бланки	Сумма, руб	Вид оплаты	
					Нап.(руб.)	Б/нал.(руб.)
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Иудаизм (45 мин.)	77	4	4000,00	4000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Северо-Запада (45 мин.)	75	4	4000,00	4000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Сибири (45 мин.)	17	1	1000,00	1000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Средней Азии (45 мин.)	84	5	5000,00	5000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Сказки Средней Азии и Казахстана (45 мин.)	13	2	2000,00	2000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Сказки Тундры (45 мин.)	87	5	5000,00	5000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Теремок (45 мин.)	650	37	37000,00	37000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Традиционные обряды и праздники русского народа (45 мин.)	253	14	14000,00	11000,00	3000,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Христианство (45 мин.)	131	7	7000,00	7000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 45 мин.	5038	317	317000,00	223000,00	94000,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание сказки Поволжья и Приуралья	105	7	7000,00	7000,00	0,00
1200,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 1ч.30 мин.	75	4	4800,00	3600,00	1200,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Архаичные верования" (45 мин.)	20	1	1500,00	1500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Белорусская сказка" (45 мин.)	141	5	7500,00	6000,00	1500,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Восточные славяне" (45 мин.)	105	4	6000,00	6000,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Евреи" (45 мин.)	84	3	4500,00	4500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Еврейская сказка" (45 мин.)	83	3	4500,00	4500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Кавказская сказка" (45 мин.)	83	3	4500,00	4500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Как рубашка в поле выросла" (45 мин.)	134	5	7500,00	7500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Когда приходит Новый год?" (45 мин.)	86	3	4500,00	4500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Поволжья и Приуралья" (45 мин.)	34	1	1500,00	1500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Народы Северо-Запада" (45 мин.)	137	5	7500,00	7500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Обзор по жилищам" (45 мин.)	1798	70	105000,00	100500,00	4500,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Перя-богатырь" (45 мин.)	133	5	7500,00	4500,00	3000,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Русская свадьба" (45 мин.)	27	1	1500,00	1500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Русские.." (45 мин.)	791	30	45000,00	43500,00	1500,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Сказки - тюрки Поволжья" (45 мин.)	105	4	6000,00	6000,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Традиционный русский костюм" (45 мин.)	52	2	3000,00	1500,00	1500,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "У зайчика была избушка лубяная..." (45 мин.)	193	8	12000,00	12000,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Янтарное море, янтарный берег" (45 мин.)	410	15	22500,00	21000,00	1500,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Благодарный тигр	30	1	1500,00	1500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Деду-время (45 мин.)	2176	84	126000,00	118500,00	7500,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Северо-Запада (45 мин.)	146	5	7500,00	7500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Сибири (45 мин.)	57	2	3000,00	3000,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Народы Средней Азии (45 мин.)	25	1	1500,00	1500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Русская трапеза (45 мин.)	54	1	3000,00	3000,00	0,00

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Цена	Наименование	Кол-во посетит.	Бланки	Сумма, руб	Вид оплаты	
					Нал.(руб.)	Б/нал.(руб.)
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Сказки Средней Азии и Казахстана (45 мин.)	81	3	4500,00	4500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Сказки Тундры (45 мин.)	83	3	4500,00	4500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Теремок (45 мин.)	55	2	3000,00	3000,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Традиционные обряды и праздники русского народа (45 мин.)	263	10	15000,00	13500,00	1500,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 45 мин.	4022	157	235500,00	151500,00	84000,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание сказки Поволжья и Приуралья	23	1	1500,00	1500,00	0,00
1800,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Приглашаем в гости)	363	21	37800,00	37800,00	0,00
1800,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Крошка - этнограф)	77	5	9000,00	9000,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Жаворонки" (игровое занятие)	130	6	10800,00	10800,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Нитка тянется..." (игровое занятие)	82	5	9000,00	9000,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Беседа" (игровое занятие)	284	17	30600,00	25200,00	5400,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Все по лавочкам сидят..." (игровое занятие)	286	15	27000,00	27000,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "День рождения в музее" (игровое занятие)	134	9	16200,00	16200,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "День рождения домового" (игровое занятие)	40	2	3600,00	3600,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Дорого яичко..." (игровое занятие)	285	16	28800,00	27000,00	1800,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Жили-были" (игровое занятие)	668	37	66600,00	66600,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Ой-вы гости господа" (игровое занятие)	195	13	23400,00	23400,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Плачет хлебушек, когда его ест лентяй." (игровое занятие)	712	42	75600,00	75600,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "По одежке встречают, по уму провожают" (игровое занятие)	125	6	10800,00	10800,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Приглашаем в гости" (игровое занятие)	5	1	1800,00	1800,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Егорий на порог" (игровое занятие)	37	2	3600,00	3600,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Едет Маслена..." (игровое занятие)	406	21	37800,00	37800,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Русская народная игрушка" (игровое занятие)	130	7	12600,00	12600,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Уродилась коляда" (игровое занятие)	891	47	84600,00	77400,00	7200,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Волшебная дудочка"	137	8	14400,00	14400,00	0,00
1800,00	Экскурсия детская "Учиться всегда пригодится" (Игровое занятие)	30	2	3600,00	3800,00	0,00
2000,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Приглашаем в гости)	30	1	2000,00	2000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Жаворонки" (игровое занятие)	30	1	2000,00	2000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Нитка тянется..." (игровое занятие)	120	4	8000,00	0,00	8000,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Беседа" (игровое занятие)	467	18	36000,00	20000,00	16000,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Все по лавочкам сидят..." (игровое занятие)	28	1	2000,00	2000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Дорого яичко..." (игровое занятие)	96	4	8000,00	8000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Жили-были" (игровое занятие)	1659	84	128000,00	124000,00	4000,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Ой-вы гости господа" (игровое занятие)	45	2	4000,00	2000,00	2000,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Плачет хлебушек, когда его ест лентяй." (игровое занятие)	284	11	22000,00	22000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "По одежке встречают, по уму провожают" (игровое занятие)	81	3	8000,00	6000,00	0,00

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Цена	Наименование	Кол-во посетит.	Банки	Сумма, руб	Вид оплаты	
					Нал (руб.)	Б/нал (руб.)
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Егодий на порог" (игровое занятие)	25	1	2000,00	2000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Едет Маслена..." (игровое занятие)	318	12	24000,00	24000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Русская народная игрушка" (игровое занятие)	86	3	6000,00	6000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Уродилась коляда" (игровое занятие)	639	24	48000,00	48000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Открой для себя Россию!" (игровое занятие)	106	6	12000,00	12000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия детская "Волшебная дудочка"	30	1	2000,00	2000,00	0,00
2000,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Амулет, оберег, талисман"	70	5	10000,00	6000,00	4000,00
2000,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Письмо на клыке моржа"	10	1	2000,00	2000,00	0,00
2300,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 1ч.30 мин.	408	35	80500,00	64400,00	16100,00
2300,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание тематическое Евреи (1 30 мин.)	24	3	6900,00	6900,00	0,00
2300,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание тематическое Кавказ (1 30 мин.)	19	1	2300,00	2300,00	0,00
2300,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание тематическое Русские (1 30 мин.)	80	6	13800,00	13800,00	0,00
2500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 1ч.30 мин.	171	7	17500,00	17500,00	0,00
2700,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Открой для себя Россию!" (игровое занятие)	92	5	13500,00	13500,00	0,00
2700,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Амулет, оберег, талисман"	187	12	32400,00	32400,00	0,00
2700,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Письмо на клыке моржа"	25	1	2700,00	2700,00	0,00
2900,00	Экскурсия детская (с игровыми элементами и дидактическим материалом) Этнографиче	30	1	2900,00	2900,00	0,00
2900,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Амулет, оберег, талисман"	133	5	14500,00	14500,00	0,00
2900,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Письмо на клыке моржа"	57	2	5800,00	5800,00	0,00
4750,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Именины хлеба" (Детский праздник в музее)	82	5	23750,00	23750,00	0,00
4750,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Масленица" (Детский праздник в музее)	663	29	137750,00	133000,00	4750,00
4750,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Беседа" (Детский праздник в музее)	102	6	28500,00	28500,00	0,00
4750,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "В хороводе на горе..." (Детский праздник в муз	87	5	23750,00	19000,00	4750,00
4750,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "День рождения в музее" (Детский праздник в м	511	31	147250,00	142500,00	4750,00
4750,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Весна-красна" (Детский праздник в музее)	40	2	9500,00	9500,00	0,00
4750,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "День рождения Домового" (Детский праздник в	95	4	19000,00	19000,00	0,00
4750,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Русские святки" (Детский праздник в музее)	272	13	61750,00	47500,00	14250,00
5000,00	Обзорная экскурсия с пос. Особ. клад. ин.яз.	4	1	5000,00	5000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на иностранном языке. Обзор 1ч.30 мин.	105	7	35000,00	35000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Именины хлеба" (Детский праздник в музее)	254	9	45000,00	45000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Масленица" (Детский праздник в музее)	170	7	35000,00	35000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Беседа" (Детский праздник в музее)	223	8	40000,00	40000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "В хороводе на горе..." (Детский праздник в муз	215	8	40000,00	40000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Пророк Наум" (Детский праздник в музее)	419	15	75000,00	75000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "День рождения в музее" (Детский праздник в м	53	2	10000,00	10000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Весна-красна" (Детский праздник в музее)	53	2	10000,00	10000,00	0,00

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Цена	Наименование	Кол-во посетит.	Бланки	Сумма, руб	Вид оплаты	
					Нап.(руб.)	Б/нал.(руб.)
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "День рождения Домового" (Детский праздник в музее)	60	2	10000,00	10000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Покров" (Детский праздник в музее)	30	1	5000,00	5000,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Русские святики" (Детский праздник в музее)	961	33	165000,00	165000,00	0,00
7500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на иностранном языке. Обзор 1ч.30 мин.	49	2	15000,00	0,00	15000,00
Итого по проданным билетам:		233642	76407	14971200,00	14192850,00	778350,00
Возвращенные билеты						
0,00	Входной билет в составе экскурсионного обслуживания	-31	-3	0,00	0,00	0,00
50,00	Входной билет	-1	-1	-50,00	-50,00	0,00
50,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Приглашаем в гости)	-1	-1	-50,00	-50,00	0,00
100,00	Входной билет	-3	-2	-300,00	-300,00	0,00
120,00	Входной билет	-2	-1	-240,00	-240,00	0,00
120,00	Входной билет в составе экскурсионного обслуживания	-1	-1	-120,00	0,00	-120,00
150,00	Входной билет в составе экскурсионного обслуживания	-31	-1	-4650,00	0,00	-4650,00
180,00	Детская экскурсия с игровыми элементами (Приглашаем в гости)	-4	-1	-180,00	-180,00	0,00
200,00	Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам (Школа ремесел)	-21	-2	-4200,00	-4200,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Обзор по жилищам" (45 мин.)	-20	-1	-1000,00	-1000,00	0,00
1000,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 45 мин.	-20	-1	-1000,00	0,00	-1000,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Обзор по жилищам" (45 мин.)	-26	-1	-1500,00	-1500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание "Перя-богатырь" (45 мин.)	-20	-1	-1500,00	-1500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание Русская трапеза (45 мин.)	-27	0	-1500,00	-1500,00	0,00
1500,00	Экскурсионное обслуживание на русском языке. Обзор 45 мин.	-43	-2	-3000,00	-1500,00	-1500,00
2900,00	Экскурсия интерактивная "Письмо на клыке моржа"	-30	-1	-2900,00	-2900,00	0,00
5000,00	Экскурсия детская с игровой программой "Пророк Наум" (Детский праздник в музее)	-25	-1	-5000,00	-5000,00	0,00
Итого по возвращенным билетам:		-306	-21	-27190,00	-19920,00	-7270,00
Всего:		233336	76386	1464400,00	14172930,00	771080,00

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Отчет по посещаемости и доходах по месяцам.

Дата с 01.01.2015 по 31.12.2015

Январь	Февраль	Март	1 кв.	Апрель	Май	Июнь	2 кв.	1 пол.	Июль	Август	Сентябрь	3 кв.	Октябрь	Ноябрь	Декабрь	4 кв.	2 пол.	За год
Посетители																		
Доход, руб.																		
Тип мероприятия: Экскурсия инд. дидактический материал																		
38	24	11	73	15	7	3	25	98	1			1	27	58	3	88	89	187
1140	720	330	2190	450	210	90	750	2940	30			30	810	1740	90	2840	2670	5810
Тип мероприятия: 1.1 Входные билеты																		
11545	8598	8039	28182	6720	5614	11172	23506	49688	6346	4856	7032	18234	6584	11937	15127	33648	51882	101570
731340	683370	895290	2320000	733950	642300	864700	2040950	4361010	796950	664900	520050	1881400	776350	1083100	722750	2582200	4543600	8904610
Тип мероприятия: 1.2 Входные билеты в составе экскурсионного обслуживания																		
3203	4800	6302	14305	4040	1983	1788	7811	22116	958	365	3935	5258	6493	6645	4538	17878	22934	45050
31160	28770	56050	115880	57750	54700	80300	192750	368730	65150	54100	58450	177700	15100	28200	33700	77000	254700	563430
Тип мероприятия: 2.1 Экскурсия детская с игровыми элементами																		
1400	1126	1103	3629	987	314	509	1790	5419	313	10	1354	1677	1843	2401	1435	5679	7356	12775
84660	81790	84320	250770	60200	22900	38650	122890	372820	18880	500	100600	120880	142140	181060	106500	429700	550860	923500
Тип мероприятия: 2.2 Экскурсия детская (с игровыми элементами и дидактическим материалом)																		
	65	44	109	50	58		108	217		78	94	172	190	471	20	681	853	1070
	8700	6000	14700	4900	7400		12300	27000		3800	11200	15100	28900	37500	5400	89800	84800	111900
Тип мероприятия: 2.3 Экскурсия детская с игровой программой																		
803	610	645	2058	215	143	75	433	2491		13	120	133	649	724	364	1737	1870	4361
161750	121750	127500	411000	48500	38500	8750	98750	507750		9500	29250	38750	122000	133750	78000	334750	373500	881250
Тип мероприятия: 3.1 Специализированные занятия по цикловым программам (с НДС)																		
678	565	1145	2388	763	294	99	1156	3544		7	352	359	1116	1028	419	2563	2922	6488
66010	106030	226900	418840	148600	58100	13200	220900	639540		1400	70400	71800	217550	200750	79500	497800	599600	1209140
Тип мероприятия: 4.1 Экскурсии																		
939	863	2440	4242	1896	973	1317	4186	8428	1067	507	1113	2677	1401	1577	1174	4152	6829	15257
46770	70260	156960	273880	114300	74370	112450	301120	675010	127860	62930	101140	291930	99040	107010	82000	288050	579980	1154980
Тип мероприятия: 4.2 Экскурсии тематические																		
2255	2527	6297	11079	8536	7567	600	16703	27782	118	380	3705	4203	5239	4864	2982	13095	17298	45080
63360	111500	138880	315740	60080	36160	38280	152520	466280	14100	28000	151980	194080	179720	158080	105100	440900	634880	1181220
Тип мероприятия: 5.0 Лекции (с НДС)																		
88	131	67	286	91	59	128	278	564	19		22	41	50	72	68	190	231	795
5210	8440	4730	18360	6530	4330	6940	17800	36180	950		1760	2710	3640	5040	4870	13550	16260	52440
Тип мероприятия: 9.2. Практика																		
266			266		54	303	357	623	47	1	9	57	20	6	19	45	102	725
12970			12970		2700	15150	17950	30820	2350	50	450	2850	1000	300	950	2250	5100	35820

25
 25.01.2016
 Зина, Мария
 от Зина

Дата: 15.01.2016 14:56:15

Январь	Февраль	Март	1 кв.	Апрель	Май	Июнь	2 кв.	1 пол.	Июль	Август	Сентябрь	3 кв.	Октябрь	Ноябрь	Декабрь	4 кв.	2 пол.	За год
Посетители																		
Доход, руб.																		
Всего по музею:																		
21215	17308	28088	64617	23283	17066	16094	98383	128870	8858	7817	17736	32812	23812	28783	28188	79954	112368	233336
124370	123130	1698820	4182320	1256280	941070	878410	3176740	7328080	1027170	884880	1045280	2897310	1888290	1914630	1218880	4718940	7818980	14844010

Дата: 15.01.2016 14:56:15

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