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Jewish Museums as Migration Museums. Case Studies from Denmark and Norway

Muzea żydowskie jako muzea migracji. Studia przypadków z Danii i Norwegii

Summary

This article argues that Jewish museums can be considered museums of migration. The Danish Jewish Museum in Copenhagen presents the 400-year history of Jewish immigration to Denmark and the integration process of different waves of Jewish immigrants into Danish society. The Jewish Museum in Trondheim presents the immigrant history of a community whose founding ancestors came from a compact territory on the border of present-day Poland and Lithuania. The activities of both museums showcase the broader context of current social situation in Scandinavia, which is the destination of newcomers, refugees and asylum seekers. These museums show both positive experiences (successful integration) and difficult experiences (resentment against the "foreign", "other" leading to genocide). The examination of Scandinavian case studies is presented in this text in connection with the activities of migration museums.

Keywords: migration museums; Jewish museums; contemporary migrations; history of migration; Denmark; Norway

Streszczenie

W niniejszym artykule dowodzę, że muzea żydowskie mogą być odczytywane jako muzea migracji. Danish Jewish Museum w Kopenhadze ukazuje historię 400 lat imigracji Żydów do Danii oraz proces integracji z duńskim społeczeństwem przedstawicieli różnych fal imigracji żydowskiej. Jewish Museum Trondheim ukazuje imigrancką historię jednej wspólnoty, której przodkowie-założyciele wywodzą się z jednego zwartego terytorium na granicy dzisiejszej Polski i Litwy. W aktywności obu tych muzeów bardzo ważny jest szerszy kontekst dzisiejszej sytuacji społecznej Skandynawii, która jest celem podróży nowych migrantów, uchodźców i azylantów. Muzea te ukazują dobre doświadczenia (udanej integracji) i trudne doświadczenia (niechęć wobec „obcych", „innych" prowadząca do ludobójstwa). Rozważania dotyczące wybranych muzeów skandynawskich zaprezentowano w powiązaniu z działalnością muzeów migracji.

Słowa kluczowe: muzea migracji; muzea żydowskie; migracje współczesne; historia migracji; Dania; Norwegia

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Introduction. Jewish museums and migration museums

The roots of Jewish museums date back to the 19th century. Today they constitute a thriving category, forming networks such as the Association of European Jewish Museums (AEJM)[1] and the Council of American Jewish Museums (CAJM).[2] Many Jewish museums are significant centres, greatly contributing to social and cultural life and changes in museology. Additionally, several recently opened or modernized Jewish museums occupy architecturally distinctive buildings. Such museums of supra-local importance, housed in unusual buildings, include the Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich POLIN (POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw, Poland)[3] and the Jüdisches Museum Berlin, Germany[4] (Jewish Museum Berlin, Germany). In the context of this article, it is important to emphasize that many Jewish museums carry out projects (research, exhibition, education) on various aspects of Jewish history, maintaining significant publishing activity as well. Moreover, growing literature examines Jewish museums, exploring exhibition narratives in these museums[5] or analysing the meaning of particular institutions.[6]

Migration is currently one of the most significant social, cultural and political issues. Research indicates that in the future migration processes may become more prevalent due to factors such as climate change. Historical migrations, on the other hand, have significantly shaped the world today. A notable example was the mass economic (settlement) emigration from Europe to North and South America, which lasted from the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, which was stopped only by World War I and the Great Depression. These processes shaped the society, particularly in the United States. The complex issue of historical and contemporary migration has been recognised and actively addressed by museums — which is also reflected in a growing number of publications devoted to work with migrants in museums and to educational initiatives about migration undertaken by museums. Of particular interest in this context is the activity of specialized migration museums,[7] the most well-known being the National Immigration Museum on Ellis Island (New York, USA). Many of these museums collaborate within international networks of migration museums and migration research institutes. It is significant for our times that new migration museums are constantly being established. As a historian and museologist specializing in migration museology, I have argued in a separate academic article for recognizing migration museums as a distinct category[8] and proposed a typology that classifies them into types, distinguishing the following: museums comprehensively addressing the issue of migrations, museums in historical migration infrastructure, open-air migration museums, migration museums dedicated to specific events, museums established by immigrant communities, and virtual migration museums. It was also important to acknowledge the presentation of migration in other types of museums, such as maritime, ethnographic, and art museums. The presence of the migration topic in Jewish museums is a noteworthy phenomenon for museologists and migration researchers.

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[1] Association of European Jewish Museums, https://www.aejm.org/ [accessed: 18.11.2023].

[2] Council of American Jewish Museums, http://www.cajm.net/ [accessed: 18.11.2023].

[3] POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, https://polin.pl/pl [accessed: 18.11.2023].

[4] Jüdisches Museum Berlin, https://www.jmberlin.de/ [accessed: 18.11.2023].

[5] See footnote number 32.

[6] For example, the previously cited Jüdisches Museum Berlin, whose opening generated not only media interest but also discussion in both academic and cultural publications.

[7] It is important to emphasize that migration museums address migration in a broad sense. The article uses the broad understanding of the term "migration" as exemplifies by The Emigration Museum in Gdynia, Poland. Its permanent exhibition begins with the Migration Period (circa 300 to 600 AD), then explores the issues of agricultural settlers brought to Poland in the Middle Ages and the modern era, the multiculturalism of the lands of eastern Poland, and the journeys (migrations) of notable individuals (e.g. artists). The core of the permanent

The Danish Jewish Museum — 400 years of immigration

Of the three Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Sweden, Norway), Denmark has the longest history of Jewish presence. The exhibitions and publications of the Dansk Jødisk Museum (Danish Jewish Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark; hereafter referred to as DJM)[9] effectively illustrate the concept that the Jewish museum is a migration museum.

In its narrative, DJM addresses various dimensions of migration, both in its permanent exhibition and in its temporary exhibitions and publications. The museum has published a book with a meaningful title *A Story of Immigration. Four Hundred Years of*

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exhibition focuses on the period from the 19th to the 21st century, explaining phenomena such as: rural-urban migration, economic migration, settlement migration, political migration, forced migration, refugees, asylum seekers, repatriates, re-emigrants. The the 19th-century section extensively discusses emigration from Europe to North and South America, whilst the 21st-century section focuses on emigration within the European Union (from newer to older member states) and the ongoing emigration crisis that began in 2015. Therefore, the concept of "migration" in migration museums provides a wider range of phenomena than terms such as "diaspora" or "exile" which often appear in the narrative of Jewish history.

[8] M. Petelska, *Migration Museums. A Proposed Typology*, "Muzeologia a Kulturne Dedicstvo", 10 (2022), no. 4, pp. 27–45. This article includes numerous bibliographic references on the issue of migration in museums.

[9] Dansk Jødisk Museum, https://www.jewmus.dk/ [accessed: 18.11.2023]. This article examines the publications /exhibitions/activities of the Danish Jewish Museum at a certain point in time. Although a new exhibition is currently under development (see e.g. DJM Strategies 2021–25, https://www.jewmus.dk/en/om-museet [accessed: 2.07.2024]), it is important to note that the way of presenting the history and the idea of the DJM's activities does not change. The DJM's focus remains on the discussion around Danish identity, in the context of minorities and immigration (as highlighted by researchers, e.g. H. Nissimi, *Danish Museum, Jewish Museum. The Danish Jewish Museum as Discourse on a Minority's Integration*, "Journal of Jewish Studies", 71 (2020), no. 1, pp. 161–186).

Jews in Denmark. It is a particularly significant publications for this institution. While not a catalogue of the first permanent exhibition,[10] it serves as a manifesto of DJM. It contains reproductions of many photographs and objects presented at the permanent exhibition, and the texts, which are more extensive than the exhibition labels, allowed for a broader development of the topics discussed. Therefore, the article will be focused on book rather than the exhibition itself. The narrative is conducted on two levels. The first is the story of the Jews: showing the history of their presence in Denmark, exploring the relations between Danes, the Danish state and church and Jews, and explaining the role of tradition and religion in the social and cultural life of the Jewish community. The second level of the narrative relates to the universal dimension of migration and the social context of Denmark.

Jews came to Denmark in specific, easily identifiable, waves of immigration. In 1617, King Christian IV founded the city of Glückstadt on the Elbe River to compete with Hamburg. To develop trade, he allowed Jews to settle there. This date marks the beginning of the Jewish presence in Denmark. Initially, only Sephardic Jews were allowed to come to Denmark (with some exceptions). During the 17th and 18th centuries several congregations were established in Denmark, the largest of which was in Copenhagen. The next stage of the immigrant history was marked by the arrival of a large group from Eastern Europe:

> Between 1882 and 1914 an estimated 10,000 to 12,000 Eastern European and Russian Jews emigrated to Denmark. Roughly 3,000 stayed in Copenhagen, while the rest continued westward, in particular to the United States.[11]

What is more relevant to the story of the various scopes of migration is the commentary on these numbers:

> The new arrivals were poor Jews who spoke Yiddish and had a completely different culture and other values than the old Jewish families in Denmark, who received them without any particular enthusiasm. The older group worried about what this exotic version of Jewish culture might mean for attitudes towards Jews in Denmark; they feared an outbreak of latent anti-Jewish sentiment in the population.[12]

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[10] DJM was opened in 2004. In 2022, a new entrance designed by Daniel Libeskind was added, along with new exhibitions. In the context of this article, it is necessary to emphasize that the DJM's traveling exhibition entitled "Danish-Jewish life for 400 years", presented in many locations, is described by the museum as an "exhibition focusing on tolerance and immigration". https://www.jewmus.dk/en/udstilling/dansk-joedisk-liv-i-400-aar [accessed: 18.11.2023].

[11] C.F. Stokholm Banke, S. Bergman Larsen, J. Laursen et al., *A Story of Immigration. Four Hundred Years of Jews in Denmark*, København 2018, p. 25.

[12] Ibidem, p. 25.

In the work cited above, much space is devoted to introducing the reader to the internal diversity of Judaism. The authors also explain the significance of successive waves of immigrants with particular beliefs and traditions for the functioning of the Jewish community as a whole and their relationship with Danes.

Further migrations, both permanent and temporary, were enforced by the policies of Nazi Germany. Denmark, despite its restrictive refugee policy, accepted about 4,000 Jewish refugees from Germany between 1933 and 1939.[13] Ninety-nine percent of Danish Jews survived World War II, mainly due to the action referred to in Danish as *Oktober'43* or *Jødeaktion'43*. Thanks to the help of Danes and the openness of Swedes, Danish Jews escaped by sea to Sweden via the Sound. On the one hand, it is the only episode in the history of the Jews of their country that is widely known among Danes, seen as beacon of hope during the traumatic events of the Holocaust. The uniqueness of these events and the atmosphere of night cruises through the Sound made *Jødeaktion'43* also become the subject of films — and thus found its way into mass culture. On the other hand, for the Danish Jewish community, these were difficult experiences that also affected the post-war fate of the community. These events occupy an important place in the DJM's narrative, highlighting its role as a migration museum. The period of World War II is present at the DJM permanent exhibition and the immediate post-war period at a special temporary exhibition entitled "HOME. A special exhibition about the effects of war and persecution".[14] The DJM's narrative concerns, among other things, the escape to Sweden in 1943, separation of some families (parents staying in Sweden and children hiding in Denmark), the stateless (Jewish refugees who arrived in Denmark in the 1930s but did not obtain citizenship until 1943), the difficult returns from Sweden to Denmark after 1945 (some of the returnees turned out to be homeless — their property had been seized in their absence); and further emigration (many of the surviving Danish Jews left after World War II for, among other places, the USA and Israel).

Another immigration wave is presented at the DJM permanent exhibition and in the presented book: "The next larger immigration of Jews to Denmark occurred during the period of 1969–73, when close to 3,000 Jews fled from Communist Poland to Denmark".[15] It is important to remember that welcoming such a large number of immigrants at once was significant for a small country like Denmark — and even more significant for a small Jewish community. The DJM curators explain how the admission of this group affected congregational life and the formation of new Jewish associations.

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[13] Ibidem, p. 30.

[14] The exhibition is accompanied by the catalogue: S. Bergman Larsen, J. Laursen, S. Fredfeldt Stadager, *HOME. A Special Exhibition about the Effects of War and Persecution*, København 2020.

[15] C.F. Stokholm Banke, S. Bergman Larsen, J. Laursen et al., *A Story of Immigration. Four Hundred Years of Jews in Denmark*, p. 32.

As demonstrated above, the history of Jews in Denmark can be understood as a history of immigration. The DJM permanent exhibition and the book's title, *A Story of Immigration. Four Hundred Years of Jews in Denmark* prove that this is not only the interpretation of the author of this article, but also the interpretative key proposed by the museum itself.

The above-mentioned second dimension of the book's narrative, i.e. the story of the Jewish arrival and growth into the Danish society, is subtly connected to the present. Throughout the book, there is no direct mention of Denmark's contemporary migration policy. However, the Foreword states:

> The history of the Jews in Denmark is about people who themselves, or whose forefathers, immigrated to Denmark in the course of the last four hundred years […]. At the same time, it is a narrative about Danish society, which had to make room for the "Other": a completely new group of people with another religion, culture and language.[16]

In the Epilogue, following the presentation of the history of immigration, assimilation, anti-Semitism, a more direct reference to contemporary challenges appears:

> Jews in Denmark live to varying degrees with a double affiliation — they are at one and the same time Jewish and Danish. However, they are not alone in this. There are also other Danes who experience ambiguity when it comes to a sense of belonging […] Denmark today contains many other minorities than the Jewish one, and these groups face challenges similar to those the Jews have faced. Four hundred years of Danish Jewish history embraces much experience with immigration, cultural encounters, tolerance and its opposite, much experience with accommodating a minority and with being one. We have tried this before in Denmark, and there is still much to delve into and learn from.[17]

This final phrase ("We have tried this before in Denmark") is particularly significant in the context of contemporary immigration to Europe, including Scandinavia. Jews constitute a long-established minority in Europe. In the current public discourse "strangers" are not primarily Jews, but rather immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Whilst Jewish museums are primarily focused on the history, culture and religion of Jews, the DJM narrative demonstrates that curators and researchers from these institutions also recognise the social role that the collective experience of Jews can play in the current geopolitical situation.

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[16] Ibidem, p. 12.

[17] Ibidem, p. 173. Mirjam Gelfer, one of the founders of the Dansk Jødisk Museum, wrote that this line of thought was one of the reasons the museum was founded: "Among the reasons for establishing a Jewish museum two stand out. The demography of Europe has changed, with the immigration of relatively large groups of people with a different ethnic and religious background creating conflicts in society and being a constant subject of debate on national and political levels. This has persuaded the Danish Jewish community — admittedly far fewer in number than the new minorities — to conclude that the time has come to show how a population group, which in certain aspects was different, was integrated without becoming assimilated" (M. Gelfer, *At Last — a Jewish Museum in Denmark*, "European Judaism", 36 (2003), no. 2, p. 59).

The Jewish Museum Trondheim — the immigrant history of one community

Jewish museums also operate in two other Scandinavian capitals: Stockholm and Oslo. As mentioned above, Jews were first permitted settle in Denmark. Until the 18th century they could only enter Sweden if they converted to Lutheranism. Over the course of the 18th century, the conditions for Jewish settlement in Sweden gradually expanded. The increase in Sweden's Jewish was linked to the immigration of Ashkenazi Jews from the Polish territory and Russia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and subsequently to further immigration waves in the 20th century, related to political events in Europe. In Norway, a specific date marks a turning point in Jewish presence. The Norwegian constitution of 1814 prohibited Jews and Jesuits from entering this Lutheran kingdom. This prohibition was not repealed until 1851. Most Jews who arrived in Norway in the 19th century originated Polish and Lithuanian lands.

The subject of further analysis, however, will not be the Jewish museums of Stockholm[18] and Oslo,[19] but the Jødisk Museum Trondheim (Jewish Museum Trondheim, hereafter JMT),[20] the northernmost of all European Jewish museums. It is a small museum, created in 1997 by the community. JMT began as a semi-amateur museum. Now it is expanding its projects, temporary exhibitions, and organizationally it also enjoys support from local and central government, as do other Norwegian museums. A strong connection to the community and a small organizational framework are great strengths of the museum.

One of the exhibitions on display (in the basement of the building, which is also a synagogue — the farthest North in Europe) presents the history of immigration, settlement and further life of Jews in Trondheim. This gallery is entitled "Fra Shtetl til Stiftsstad".[21] This title is noteworthy for its semantic and linguistic significance. *Shtetl* in Yiddish literally means a city or town. However, its cultural meaning is far more important as it signifies a town inhabited mainly by Jews and therefore represents a community, its traditions and a characteristic rhythm of life determined by the Jewish liturgical calendar.[22] Shtetls functioned in the 19th century in the Polish lands under partitions and in the Russian Empire's Pale of Settlement, i.e., the western part of the Empire, where Jews were permitted to reside. "Stiftstaden" literally means "diocesan city", an old term for Nidaros (now Trondheim), which has been the seat of the diocese since 1152. The symbol of the city is the Nidaros Cathedral (Nidarosdomen), which remains the site of coronation in Norway (the last time being that of Harald V in 1991).

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[18] The theme of migration is also present in the Swedish museum. In the permanent exhibition at Judiska Museet Stockholm, 19th century Jewish migration is contextualized within the broader phenomenon of the Great Migration (including the emigration of one million Swedes). Importantly, some of the Jews immigrating to Sweden in the 19th century came from the Suwałki region, the same region from which many of the Jews of Trondheim, Norway, originated. This is stated in an excerpt from the text: "A new wave of Jewish immigration: Many of them came from the Suwalki region in what was then Tsarist Russia. It was a case of so-called chain migration, as friends and relatives followed the first migrants from the region to Sweden". Further sections of the exhibition explore additional migration themes, including the immigration of Jewish survivors after 1945 and the emigration from post-war Sweden to Israel (based on a visit to Judiska Museet Stockholm in 2019).

[19] I refer directly to the activities of the Jødisk Museum i Oslo in footnotes 24 and 25.

[20] Jødisk Museum Trondheim, http://jodiskmuseum.org/ [accessed: 18.11.2023]. I visited the museum before the pandemic, in August 2019. The museum has not issued a permanent exhibition catalogue. In this article, I refer directly to the exhibition texts, noted while visiting the museum.

Although shtetls no longer exist, the term is recognized and understood in contemporary Poland, but not in Scandinavia. Therefore, in Trondheim, the exhibition begins with an explanation of what a shtetl was. As there is no adequate equivalent in Norwegian or English, this section of the exhibition is titled in three languages: "Mein shtetele/Min landsby/My village". The accompanying text *The Old Country* introduces visitors of the Norwegian museum to the role of the rabbi in the shtetl community, the situation of Jews in the Russian Empire and the occurrence of pogroms against Jews. Consequently, many Jews decided to emigrate:

> […] many of them packed their few belongings and travelled westwards to seek a better life. Many headed to the USA, others went to England, South Africa, Belgium and Netherlands. Some of them came to Trondheim.

The exhibition provides further information about the *little homeland* of the Jews who immigrated to Trondheim:

> Østjøder.[23] The Jews who immigrated to Norway in the last decades of the 19th century had their Jewish ancestry in the so-called Ashkenazi Judaism, one of the two main cultures in Judaism […] The first Jews in Trondheim fled here from Lithuania and Poland due to the persecution of Jews in their homeland. They came from small shtetls, most of them came from Latskova, Raczki and other small towns in the Suwalki and Łomza gubernias. Their language was Yiddish, and by profession they were itinerant merchants, watchmakers and musicians.[24]

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[21] Other exhibitions: *Homecoming 1945–47* and *Home. Gone. Holocaust in Trondheim* are located on the first floor of the Museum building.

[22] See e.g., the project *Virtual Shtetl. Sztetl, sztetlech, Virtual Shtetl*, https://sztetl.org.pl/en/glossary/sztetl-sztetlech [accessed: 18.11.2023].

[23] This exhibition text is available in Norwegian only. Østjøder corresponds to the German word Ostjuden, in English: Eastern European Jewry.

[24] At the exhibition: "Østjøder. Jødene som hadde innvandret til Norge i løpet av de siste tiårene av 1800-tallet hadde sin jødiske bakgrunn i såkalt askenasisk jødedom, en av to hovedkulturer innen jødedommen […].

Latskova (Polish: Łacków, Lithuanian: Leckava) is currently located in Lithuania. Raczki and Suwałki are now in Poland; Suwałki is a city and Raczki is a village twenty kilometres from Suwałki. In the 19th century, Congress Poland (formally the Kingdom of Poland) — as part of the Russian Empire — was divided into gubernias. Suwałki and Łomża gubernias were adjacent to each other as both were situated in the north-east of the country.

The aforementioned place names appear frequently in the exhibition. The great strength of this small museum is its creation by the local community. Thus, the exhibition focuses not on an anonymous collective of Jews, but of specific families that immigrated to Trondheim. While this article will not recount all the individual stories portrayed in the exhibition, one particular text is worth noting:

> Who were the first to settle?
> 1883 Schalem Berr Slotnick was the name of the first Jewish individual who settled in Trondheim. He came from Suwalki in Poland.
> 1885 Then came Asriel Berl and Hirsch Dworsky through Sweden from Ratsji in Lithuania, Israel Paltiel, born in Sweden, Israel Lankelinsky through Sweden from Kalwory in Poland, Hillel Wolfsohn, through Sweden from Suwalki in Poland and Samuel Krasnipolsky also from Suwalki.

Kalvory mentioned in the above text, refers to Kalwaria (formerly Kalwary; Lithuanian: Kalvarija), located just 40 kilometres from Suwałki. The town is now within Lithuanian borders. "Ratsji" is a distorted transcription of the village of Raczki (identified in the above quotation as being located in Lithuania, though in other texts Poland is correctly indicated).

In addition to exemplary family stories, the exhibition presents a fragment of a broken *matzeva* (i.e., a traditional Jewish tombstone) from the destroyed Jewish cemetery in Raczki.

When considering the Jewish Museum as a migration museum, it is worth noting not only the history of immigration, but also two other aspects: demonstrating the process of integration into the local community and highlighting the enduring customs (religious regulations) that constitute the community. Both themes are present in the JMT's activities (in the exhibition and in education). Referring again to the exhibition, the following passage from the text "Religious life" is noteworthy:

> All children who belonged to the community attended cheider or the religious school every day after ordinary school. Many social activities were initiated, among them a women's charity organization, a youth organization which ar-

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De første jødene i Trondheim flyktet hit fra Litauen og Polen på grunn av jødeforfølgelser i deres hjemland. De kom fra små shtetler (landsbyer) der de fleste kom fra Latskova, Raczki og andre småbyer i guvermentene Suwalki og Lomza. Deres språk var jiddisch og av yrke de omreisende handelsmenn, urmakere og musikere".

> ranged annual cabarets and the annual skiing competition which arose early and remained a tradition up to today.

Active outdoor recreation and winter sports are characteristic of Norwegians and absent from traditional shtetl culture. The adoption of Norwegian leisure activities, including skiing, evidenced the successful integration of Jews in Trondheim. The exhibition entitled *Fra Shtetl til Stiftsstad* could alternatively be entitled *From Shtetl to Skiing.*[25]

JMT can therefore be considered a museum of the immigration for a community that has become an integral part of Trondheim. However, a question arises — and I will return to this in the conclusion — why the Jewish community of Trondheim, understood as an immigrant community, with a strong emphasis on its place of origin, has not been the subject of greater interest among Polish historians and museologists.[26]

While examining the narrative of DJM and JMT, we can see that they are both different and similar. They both present history, but DJM covers the whole country, including the principalities of Schleswig and Holstein, where Jewish immigration to Denmark began. JMT focuses on the local community. As a result, the memory of the place of origin of immigrant ancestors is also different. It is a specific territory, and for many families even a specific city or village (Suwałki, Raczki).

During my visit to JMT, my guide was a student volunteer. She is a direct descendant of one of the men seen in the archival photographs in the exhibition, who played a significant role in the history of the community. In a way, she was telling her own story as she toured the JMT permanent exhibition. The guide-narrator began with the history of the Jewish immigration to Norway and then presented the lives of several generations. In this way, the narrative of the exhibition, the narrative of the guide, and the family story were fused. The experience of visiting JMT with such a guide is worth contrasting with two strategies often used by migration museums. The first is the use of personal stories of migrants in the narrative (e.g., video recordings in exhibitions or objects donated to museum collections by migrants, along with the story associated with the object). In this way, visitors to the museum learn about the stories of specific people rather than just migration statistics.[27] The second strategy is to operate a migration museum as a meeting space between host societies and immigrants. Migration museums organize numerous participatory projects, discussions, meetings, and even events where visitors can sample traditional food prepared by immigrants from different countries. When the JMT was described as a "semi-amateur" museum at the beginning of this paragraph, it was therefore not a pejorative term. Rather, it emphasizes the power of the local community to create and maintain a museum. At the JMT an authenticity can be experienced—an authenticity that is often lacking in large, institutionalized museums.

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[25] The theme of integration through sport and the sporting achievements of Jews and people of Jewish descent was explored by a 2014 temporary exhibition at the Jødisk Museum i Oslo. This exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue: *Heia Jødene! En utsilling om idrettsglede og integrasjon*, Oslo 2014. See the review in Polish: M. Petelska, [rev.], *Heia Jødene! En utsilling om idrettsglede og integrasjon*, "Argumenta Historica", 2020, no. 7, pp. 165–167. The exhibition and the catalogue address not only Jews from Oslo, but from all of Norway, including Trondheim. The exhibition has since been moved to the museum in Trondheim: Utstillingen "Heia Jødene!", Jødisk Museum Trondheim, https://www.jodiskmuseum.org/sections/utforsk/utstillingen-heia-jodene [accessed: 18.11.2023].

[26] Among Polish museums, the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews also collaborates with the Jødisk Museum i Oslo. The result of this cooperation is, among others, the virtual exhibition *Journey to the North. From Shtetls to Fjords* (https://fiordy.sztetl.org.pl/en/ [accessed: 18.11.2023]).

The previous paragraph also highlighted the second level of the DJM narrative: its connection to the contemporary social situation of Denmark and other minority groups. The JMT shares similar goals, as presented on its website:

> The museum's goals:
> To share Jewish culture, rites and traditions.
> To tell of how Jewish immigrants integrated and created a place for themselves in society, and with that share knowledge which is transferable to other minority groups.
> To put a spotlight on racially motivated genocide in general through descriptions from the Holocaust.[28]

Of the three listed goals of the JMT's activities, only one is exclusively Jewish-related. Two of the three demonstrate that a visit to a Jewish museum can be helpful in finding solutions to contemporary socio-political challenges.

Conclusions.
Connections between migration museums and Jewish museums — memory and contemporary migration

In 2016, Christhard Hoffmann published an article *Jewish History as a History of Immigration. An Overview of Current Historiography in the Scandinavian Countries*[29]. In this article, he thoroughly analysed Scandinavian historiography (not only contemporary, but also its origins), but he did not analyse other methods of creating historical narratives, including museum narratives. I argue here that the same applies to Jewish museums in Scandinavia.

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[27] See for example: H. Lenart-Cheng, *Personal Stories in Migration Museums and our Notions Of Hospitality. A Case Study from France's National Museum of the History of Immigration*, "European Journal of Cultural Studies", 25 (2022), no. 2, pp. 622–639.

[28] About Us, *Jødisk Museum Trondheim*, https://www.jodiskmuseum.org/en/sections/education [accessed: 18.11.2023].

[29] Ch. Hoffmann, *Jewish History as a History of Immigration. An Overview of Current Historiography in the Scandinavian Countries*, "Jewish Studies in the Nordic Countries Today. Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis", 27 (2016), pp. 203–222.

Is every Jewish museum a migration museum? Yes and no. Or, to put it differently: every Jewish museum is a migration museum, but to a different extent. Yes, because Jews have lived in the Diaspora for 2,000 years (since the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 70 AD). So many Jewish museums show the history of Jewish settlement and integration into a given country. No, because there are museums like POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews. The permanent exhibition of this museum presents 1000 years of shared history between Jews and Poles. Within the millennium-long narrative, there is space not only for stories of migration, but also for those of persistence and continuity.[30] This text examines case studies from Scandinavia. These cases are unique because the Jewish presence in the North has a much shorter history than in the Eastern and Western Europe. This "shorter" history also implies a greater reliance on collective memory and oral history sources related to immigration (Trondheim).

Treating Jewish museums as museums of migration provide valuable insight for historians (who study the history of migration), sociologists (who study modern society), and researchers with a particular interest in memory studies. Jews and people of Jewish origin emigrating from Eastern Europe (including, to a large extent, from Polish lands) contributed to the emergence of Jewish communities in three Scandinavian countries. However, this is not a topic commonly present in Polish historical consciousness or education. The awareness of Polish emigration, especially the Polish diaspora in America, is widespread in Poland. Why? Should this be related to the broader context of the (non)presence of Jews in the Polish collective memory and in the contemporary landscape of Polish cities and towns?

Migration museums, including those focused on historical migration (as the theme of their permanent exhibition), often touches upon the subject of contemporary migration (refugee crisis, climate migration, labour migration, etc.). This creates a platform of common interest with Jewish museums, as some, starting from the Jewish migration experience, link it to a broader context. In 2019, the Jüdisches Museum Augsburg

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[30] It is crucial to acknowledge Polish anti-Semitism and pogroms perpetrated by Poles, as well as the Holocaust carried out on Polish soil by Nazi Germany. These topics are also present in the permanent exhibition and temporary exhibitions of the POLIN Museum. However, as the museum's creators emphasized, the main objective was to present the complete history of Jewish presence in Poland and their heritage. In the broader context of museology, the creation of such a museum was and remains vital, particularly because many Jews and international visitors come to Poland to visit the Memorial and Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau (the Former German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp). Before the establishment of POLIN, Poland was primarily associated with the Holocaust and not with the thousand-year Jewish presence in the Polish state.

Schwaben (Jewish Museum Augsburg Swabia, Germany)[31] presented a temporary exhibition Across Borders, Beyond Limits. Children on the Run 1939/2015. The curatorial message was presented as follows:

> In 1938/39, more than 10,000 Jewish girls and boys were rescued from the German Reich by Kindertransporte. Alone in a foreign country, whose language they often did not speak and without knowing the fate of their parents and siblings, the new beginning was difficult and burdened by fears, feelings of guilt and trauma […]. Together with the stories of Jewish Kindertransport-Children from Augsburg and Swabia, the exhibition deals with the lives of unaccompanied underage refugees in Augsburg today. They are all children on the run.[32]

Soon after, at the turn of 2019 and 2020, the same Jewish Museum organized an exhibition *The City Without. Jews Foreigners Muslims Refugees.*[33] Presenting migration as a universal experience of humanity, exemplified through the case of a Jewish museum, is a narrative strategy often employed by migration museums.

The interpretation of Jewish museums as migration museums is valuable for museology (theory, typology) and for museum professionals, especially educators, who can engage in joint projects of migration museums and Jewish museums. As shown above, migration museums and Jewish museums are connected by active educational activities concerning building relationships in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies.[34] Starting from the experience of emigrants and refugees (in migration museums) or the experience of persecution and the Holocaust (in Jewish museums), these museums show the consequences of the lack of mutual respect and the growing hatred of the "other" or "stranger". These activities aim to highlight the processes of assimilation, community building, the consequences of hatred, and the search for a new, safe homeland. This is particularly crucial in times of growing social and political tensions in Europe related to ongoing immigration.

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[31] Jüdisches Museum Augsburg Schwaben, https://jmaugsburg.de/ [accessed: 18.11.2023].

[32] *Across Borders, Beyond Limits. Children on the Run 1939/2015*, Association of European Jewish Museums (AEJM), https://www.aejm.org/exhibitions/across-borders-beyond-limits-children-on-the-run-1939-2015-2/ [accessed: 5.08.2022]. This temporary exhibition is one of the elements of the analysis in the article: A. Williams, B. Niven, *Memory of the Kindertransport in Britain and Germany, and the Current Refugee Crisis*, "Diasporas. Circulations, Migrations, Histoire", 36 (2020), pp. 109–121.

[33] "The starting point of the exhibition is the movie *Die Stadt ohne Juden* (*The City Without Jews*, 1924), which is based on Hugo Bettauer's novel and visualizes the stages of a process of exclusion. This development is not only located in the 1920s, as the anti-Semites demanded the exclusion of the Jews, but told up to the present day, in which foreigners, Muslims, refugees but also Jews continue to be marginalized. The exhibition thus asks the question of whether and to what extent the social polarization and division during the years of the rise of National Socialism can, should, or even must be compared with the current situation of our time." (Association of European Jewish Museums (AEJM), https://www.aejm.org/exhibitions/the-city-without-jews-foreigners-muslims-refugees/ [accessed: 5.08.2022]).

[34] David Clark's remarks on this issue are interesting (only in relation to Jewish museums — he did not compare them with migration museums). In the context of Scandinavia, he wrote: "This theme is also taken up outside Germany as well. Thus, the Swedish central government is not only lending financial support to the Jewish museum in Stockholm, but has also embarked on larger scale initiatives to use the lessons of the Holocaust to inculcate greater tolerance towards ethnic minorities in present-day Sweden" (D. Clark, *Jewish Museums. From Jewish Icons to Jewish Narratives*, "European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe", 36 (2003), no. 2, p. 10). See also T. L. Freudenheim's remarks: "And the glamorous new Moshe Safdie-designed Skirball Cultural Center in Los Angeles is about asserting a prominent cultural role for Jews in a community that not only has an immense Jewish population, but also one that is filled with other strongly competing, highly visible ethnic gropus […] Jewish museums in the States have provided significant models for other ethnically-based

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museums; certainly, African-American museums owe a great deal to the experiences of Jewish museums (T.L. Freudenheim, *The Obligations of the Chosen. Jewish Museums in a Politically Correct World*, "European Judaism. A Journal for the New Europe", 34 (2001), no. 2, pp. 84–87).

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