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Kintanti praeitis:

ISTORIJOS (RE)KONSTRUKCIJOS
NUO 1945-ŪJŲ IKI DABAR

The Past is Still to Change:

PERFORMING HISTORY FROM 1945 TO THE PRESENT

International conference

October 21-23, 2009

Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas

KINTANTI PRAEITIS: istorijos (re)konstrukcijos nuo 1945-ųjų iki dabar

THE PAST IS STILL TO CHANGE:

Performing History from 1945 to the Present

International conference

The conference is focused upon an important issue for contemporary society – that of interpreting the past and writing its history. The subject of the conference refers to critical historiography, proposing that history is not a stable body of fact(s) but a shifting range of meanings produced by different cultural, social and political practices (such as rituals of public memory, historical re-enactments, museums, memorials et al.) and that the general images of the past are substantially affected by art (literature, visual arts, theatre, film, performance). The conference will open a discussion concerning the performative means of (re)constructing the past, going beyond a passive interpretation of historical texts, activating a participation in the 'performing' of history. The act of performing history also describes history as an academic discipline which is involved in (re)construction and (re)interpretation of the past. Consequently the conference will discuss the problems of research and evaluation of the past as it is faced by researchers of the legacy of the Cold War, especially in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Baltic region.

One of the major aims of the conference is to discuss these problems on an interdisciplinary basis, to reveal the complex multidimensional significance of the concept of performing history. Contributions are invited from different fields and disciplines – history, political science, social sciences, culture studies, literary research, theatre studies and visual art studies – both concerned with the past and the forms of remembering the past in contemporary society.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21

Opening Session

PERFORMANCE AS INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Aula Magna, 1st floor, Gimnazijos g. 7

Moderator: Jurgita Staniškytė

11.00-11.10 Welcome speeches

11.10-11.50 Keynote speaker **Freddie Rokem** (Tel Aviv University, IL). “The rustle of the leaves”. Theatrical Re-enactment from the Perspective of the Dead

11.50-12.10 **Małgorzata Sugiera and Mateusz Borowski** (Jagiellonian University, Krakow, PL). Historic History. The Stage as a Medium of Historical Discourse in Wolfgang Hildesheimer’s “Mary Stuart” and Liz Lochhead’s “Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off”

12.10-12.30 **Valda Čakare** (Latvian Academy of Culture, Riga, LV). Between Drama and Epic: Memories of World War II in “The Grandfather” (2009) by Vilis Daudziņš and Alvis Hermanis (The New Riga Theatre)

12.30-12.50 **Matthias Naumann** (Goethe-University of Frankfurt am Main, DE). What does ‘Our History’ Look Like Today? Political Theatre in Postwar Germany Performing Histories of National Socialism and the Holocaust

12.50-13.10 Discussion

13.10-15.00 Lunch break

Afternoon session I

PERFORMANCE AS INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Aula Magna, 1st floor, Gimnazijos g. 7

Moderator: Rūta Mažeikienė

15.00-15.20 **Anneli Saro** (University of Tartu, EE). Memories of the USSR in Estonian Theatrical Representations

15.20-15.40 **Andra Rutkeviča** (The New Riga Theatre, LV). Temporal and Spatial Aspects in the Theatrical Representation of the Historical Past. “Four Days in June”

15.40-16.00 **Annalisa Sacchi** (Università di Bologna, IT). False Recognition: Pseudo-history and Collective Memory in Alvis Hermanis’ “The Sound of Silence”

16.00-16.20 Discussion

16.20-16.40 Coffee break

16.40-17.00 **Marija Skara** (University of Helsinki, FI). Re-evaluating Finland on Two Finnish Stages

17.00-17.20 **Vitalija Truskauskaitė** (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, LT). Reconstructions of Sacral History: Mnemonic Strategies in Lithuanian Religious Theatre

17.20-17.40 Discussion

Afternoon session II

MEDIATED MEMORY: HISTORICAL RESOURCES AND ARTISTIC PRACTICES

Lecture Room No. 206, 1st floor, Gimnazijos g. 7

Moderator: Iwona Kurz

15.00-15.20 **Kastytis Antanaitis** (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, LT). The Mirror of Foreign Media: Lithuanian National Liberation Movement in Post-Soviet Russian History Textbooks

15.20-15.40 **Martins Kaprans** (University of Latvia, Riga, LV). Manifestations of the Soviet Generations within Latvian Autobiography

15.40-16.00 **Olena Haleta** (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, UA). The Anthologizing of Tradition: Lviv as the Imagined Ukrainian Literary City of 1930s

16.00-16.20 Discussion

16.20-16.40 Coffee break

16.40-17.00 **Agnė Narušytė** (Vilnius Academy of Arts, LT). (Re)collections: The Imperfect Photographic Constructions of History, Identity and the Present

17.00-17.20 **Ildikó Sirató** (National Széchényi Library, Budapest, HU). Remembering the Act. Films and Theatre Performances on the 1956 Revolution. From Document to Musical

17.20-17.40 **Helena Hammond** (University of Surrey, UK). Sokurov’s “Russian Ark” (2003) and Gergiev’s “Sleeping Beauty” (1890/1999): Towards a Politics and Poetics of the St. Petersburg Total Art Work as Representation of the Historical Past

17.40-18.00 Discussion

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22

(RE)MAPPING THE PAST I: PLACES OF MEMORY

Aula Magna, 1st floor, Gimnazijos g. 7

Moderator: Edgaras Klivis

10.00-11.00 Keynote speaker **Svetlana Boym** (Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA). Performing History in an Off-Modern Key

11.00-11.20 Discussion

11.20-11.40 Coffee break

11.40-12.00 **Malcolm Miles** (University of Plymouth, UK). Remembering the Unrememberable: “Harburg Monument Against Fascism” (1986-93), Jochen Gerz

12.00-12.20 **Iwona Kurz** (University of Warsaw, PL). Museum KL Auschwitz – a Mise en Scène for Horror, Tears, and the Touristic Gaze

12.20-12.40 **Erzsébet Fanni Tóth** (Sigmund Freud University, Vienna, AT). From the Glorious Red Army to the Heroic Swedish Man – Changing Interpretations of the Memory of the Budapest Jewish District

12.40-13.00 Discussion

13.00-15.00 Lunch break

Afternoon Session I

(RE)MAPPING THE PAST II: SITE-SPECIFIC PRACTICES, MUSEUMS, AND MONUMENTS

Aula Magna, 1st floor, Gimmazijos g. 7

Moderator: Malcolm Miles

15.00-15.20 Janis Jefferies and Nela Milic (Goldsmiths University, London, UK). (Re)mapping the Past: Site-specificity, Historical Mediation and the Visual Arts

15.20-15.40 Rūta Mažeikienė (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, LT). Animating genius loci: Historical Memory and Site-specific Performance

15.40-16.00 Knut Ove Arntzen (University of Bergen, NO). Alongside the Meridian Bow of Struve: Reflections on the Borderlines between East and West and their Memories in Performance

16.00-16.20 Discussion

16.20-16.40 Coffee break

16.40-17.00 Daiva Citvarienė (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, LT). Performing History: a Case of Four Monuments

17.00-17.20 Anna Lyubivaya (School of Social Science Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw, PL). Do Museums Distort History and Memory? Representation of the Soviet Past in Modern Russian Historical Exhibitions

17.20-17.40 Linara Dovydaitytė (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, LT). Which Communism to Bring to the Museum? A Case of Memory Politics in Lithuania

17.40-18.00 Discussion

Afternoon session II

RE-ENACTING THE PAST: WITNESSING, SPECTATORSHIP, PARTICIPATION

Lecture Room No. 206, 1st floor, Gimmazijos g. 7

Moderator: Stephen Wilmer

15.00-15.20 John Keefe (London Metropolitan University, UK; Queen's University, CA). Play it Again: Recycling as Memories, Histories, Theatres

15.20-15.40 Heather Sutherland (University of Reading, UK). 'For an Irish actor, doing the Troubles is like doing Lear': Acting the Real in Troubles Docudramas

15.40-16.00 Pirkko Koski (University of Helsinki, FI). "The Night after the Last One"

16.00-16.20 Discussion

16.20-16.40 Coffee break

16.40-17.00 Ryszard W. Kluszczynski (University of Lodz, PL). Strategies of Re-enactment. From Artistic Appropriation to Cultural Critique

17.00-17.20 Milija Gluhovic (University of Warwick, UK). Once More, With Feeling: Re-enactment, Ethics, Politics

17.20-17.40 Heike Roms (Aberystwyth University, Wales, UK). Performing the History of Performance: Re-enacting 1960s Performance Art

17.40-18.00 Discussion

20.00-22.00 Opening of the exhibition "Nostalgic Technologies: The Off-Modern Show" by Svetlana Boym. Gallery 101, Ground Floor, Laisvės al. 53, Kaunas

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23

CARNIVAL OF HISTORY: MEMORY AND MASS CULTURE

Aula Magna, 1st floor, Gimmazijos g. 7

Moderator: Milija Gluhovic

10.00-10.40 Keynote speaker **Padraic Kenney** (Indiana University, Bloomington, USA). The Carnival of 1989: Where did the Performers Go?

10.40-11.00 Stephen Wilmer (Trinity College, Dublin, IE). Staging Dissensus: the Baltic Way as a Performative Act to Reframe the Geo-political Sphere

11.00-11.20 Jurgita Staniškytė (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, LT). *Let's Celebrate!* Performative Commemorations, Historical Re-enactments and the Invisible Theatre

11.20-11.40 Discussion

11.40-12.00 Coffee break

12.00-12.20 Gintautas Mažeikis (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, LT). The Industrial Recreation of the Past in the Contemporary Creative Industries and Propaganda

12.20-12.40 Triinu Mets (Tallinn University, EE). 'May the Latvian Sword Never Rust': the Blending of the 20th and 13th Century 'Fights for Independence' in the Context of Latvian Medieval and Prehistoric Military Re-enactment and Folklore Groups

12.40-13.00 Kristel Rattus (Tartu University/Estonian National Museum, Tartu, EE). Performing Traditional Technologies: the Manifestation of Values

13.00-13.20 Discussion

13.20-15.20 Lunch break

Afternoon Session

AESTHETICS AND THEATRICALITY OF POLITICAL REGIME(S)

Aula Magna, 1st floor, Gimmazijos g. 7

Moderator: Linara Dovydaitytė

15.20-15.40 Anja Klöck (Hochschule für Musik und Theater, Leipzig, DE). Systemic Bodies? Actor Training and the Performance of History as 'Technique' in Germany after 1945 and after 1989

15.40-16.00 Gediminas Karoblis (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, LT). Ballroom Dance – a Spectre of the Bourgeoisie in a Communist Society

16.00-16.20 Linda Kaljundi (Tallinn University, EE). Folk Costumes and Warriors: Appropriating and Re-performing Nationalist History in Stalinist Estonia

16.20-16.40 Discussion

16.40-17.00 Coffee break

17.00-17.20 Vilius Ivanauskas (Lithuanian History Institute, Vilnius, LT). The Projection of the 'Blossoming of the Nation' among the Lithuanian Cultural Elite during the Soviet Period

17.20-17.40 Edgaras Klivis (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, LT). The Future Is to Stay the Same: Nostalgia in the Soviet Regime

17.40-18.00 Discussion

Kastytis Antanaitis

Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania

THE MIRROR OF FOREIGN MEDIA: LITHUANIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

In textbooks of Russian history, the subject of Lithuania is most often discussed only in terms of two specific topics: World War II and the destruction of the Soviet regime. Even taking into account the fact that the subject of Lithuania might be of greater or lesser significance to these events, some conclusions about the trends in Russian historiography can be made. It is possible to detect that a number of major changes were made to Russian historiography four or five years ago. Until that time, most Russian histories were similar to many of the national histories of other European countries. Historians were in almost no doubt as concerned the facts of the occupation of Lithuania in 1940, and the national Lithuanian movement of 1988-1991 was described as a positive phenomenon.

In these “new histories”, the fall of the USSR is described as a Russian national tragedy or catastrophe. Even the regained suzerainty of the Russian Federation and the downfall of the communist regime are described as historical accidents caused by the personal confrontation between M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin. It is hard to avoid the impression that these texts are very often written using obscure or ambiguous expressions, especially when some of the events do not depict the KGB or the Soviet regime in a particularly good light. For example, one might find such a description of the failed Soviet coup d'état in Vilnius 1991 January 13th: “some people” tried to attack Vilnius TV Tower and then some other people were killed, many “different eyewitnesses gave different opinions about what had happened”.

The geographical setting of the historian's narrative is also very interesting. Even in histories of the World or Europe, the liberation movements of the Baltic States and the fall of Communism in the USSR is never described in the context of German unification or the liberation of Eastern Europe. In history books it is almost always the case that it is the ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus or the ethnic cleansing carried out in the Asian republics of the USSR that are always used as the backdrop for the anti-Soviet and nationalist movements of the Baltic nations. Another method used is to mix events in Asia, the Caucasus and the Baltic countries and to describe them as somehow interconnected events – in one paragraph of a textbook you might find that the fight for self-government led to bloody national pogroms in Fergana, Uzbekistan, then that the fear of ethnic clashes with Soviet soldiers led to peaceful demonstration in Tbilisi, Georgia, which then culminated in the attacks on the TV center in Vilnius. At the same time you might discover that the Massacre of Vilnius in January in 1991 is not mentioned at all in some textbooks, or is described merely as a conflict between Lithuanian nationalists and supporters of the USSR which accidentally caused human casualties. In such a situation, the KGB “Alpha” killers and the Soviet Army tanks become simply forms of peacekeepers. The confrontation between the political centre of the USSR and the national republics, if it is mentioned in the histories at all, is described as a series of mistakes made by the centre of the USSR: they allowed ecological organizations, allowed Baltic nationalists to support democrats in Russian, or even the “export of the Baltic model” to Russia. The final conclusion that might be made by the readers of such histories is this: that almost all of the problems in the USSR at that time could have been solved by the use of brute military force.

In these three history textbooks we can even detect the existence of some form of global conspiracy theories; one which is based mostly on the ideas of the last KGB leader V. Kriuchkov. The historical narra-

tive provided is also questionable as regards its logic – all of a sudden and almost at the same time, nationalist organizations are established in The Baltic countries, A. Jakovlef then emerges within the political scene and he manages “to deceive” M. Gorbachev. Meanwhile, as A. Jakovlef rules the “moral terrorist” nationalist organizations of the Baltic countries, his “student and friend” V. Landsbergis, along with M. Gorbachev plots the murders in Vilnius in 1991. The final conclusion of this theory is that the USA destroyed the USSR in such or similar a fashion. Another conspiracy theory is the theory of the elite conspiracy. According to this theory, the Lithuanian split from the USSR was not the result of a mass movement for Lithuanian independence but rather the consequence of the reaction of the local soviet nomenclature, who, disillusioned with the ineffective rule of Moscow “split from” the Communist party organization in Lithuania and removed themselves from the USSR.

This analysis is based on 34 different Russian histories written in the last ten years, mostly focusing on universities students’ history textbooks. I can state, that during the decade of Vladimir Putin’s reign history writing in Russia has been transformed from scientific discussion or reconstructions of the past into some instrument of political agitation and ideological indoctrination.

Knut Ove Arntzen

University of Bergen, Norway

ALONGSIDE THE MERIDIAN BOW OF STRUVE: REFLECTIONS ON THE BORDERLINES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND THEIR MEMORIES IN PERFORMANCE

The Russian geophysicist and astronomer Friedrich Georg Wilhelm Struve (1793-1864) spent 39 years, from 1816 to 1855 accomplishing the project of measuring the meridian from the Black Sea to the Barent’s Sea (which was subsequently named after him). The monument to his endeavor in Hammerfest, Finnmark, is one of the few memorials of the past to have survived the destruction of The Second World War in this, the most northernmost city in the world. Struve’s meridian reflected Norway’s entry into international cooperation, and from a geocultural perspective this meridian symbolized the borderline in Europe between East and West from The Black Sea, through Ukraine, White Russia and Lithuania, connecting with Finland and the Nordic Countries, and ending up in the polar region. My contribution will be a reflection on this borderline and an investigation into some of the performative and artistic expressions that have been made in this region that lays between the subarctic and the lower part of “The European Prairie”. The “Vernacular” can be used as a metaphor to describe the analogies inbetween art, science and story telling in sophisticated performances, shamanism and cultural activities. History can thus be understood with regard to the geocultural as a metaphorical mapping of cultural and artistic expression dealing with memories of the history of the Post Second World War period.

Svetlana Boym

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA

PERFORMING HISTORY IN AN OFF-MODERN KEY

This lecture will discuss strategies of performing history and various forms of nostalgia for the future that might have been following 1989. Hannah Arendt called the experience of public freedom, “the miracle of infinite improbability,” and compared it to a performance on a public stage which can easily become a “forgotten heritage” written out of the official historiography. I examine different strategies of performing history that engage with or censor such experiences of public freedom in cinema, architecture and popular theater. Starting with the mass spectacles of the October revolution (commemorated in Eisenstein’s “October”) I move to their post-Soviet recreations in the St Petersburg carnival (1996-1997) a short-lived “phantasmagoria” of unconventional urban archeology which mobilized the alternative cultures of late socialism and the art of dissent and restaged the October revolution in an off-modern key, and then to two architectural and cinematic performances in the space of the museum: Alexander Sokurov’s film “The Russian Ark” (2002) and Rem Koolhaas’ project “Hermitage 2014” and at the end offer my own phantasmagoric performance.

Daiva Citvariėnė

Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania

PERFORMING HISTORY: A CASE OF FOUR MONUMENTS

Following 1988, the process of reclaiming and reconstructing national and local history intensified. Projects relating to historical reclamation were witness to a mixture of both national and local pride, nostalgia, guilt, a sense of “loss of history”, and so forth. The intensification of historical consciousness in 1988 encouraged the remains of the Soviet epoch to be called into question and for the search for heroic examples in the remote history of the state to be initiated. In the years 1989-1993 a drive for the re-erection of monuments swept the country. Memorials were reconstructed which were of questionable or little artistic value, yet had extreme significance to the society: it was not the aesthetic qualities of a monument that counted but the very fact of its re-erection.

In post-Soviet Lithuania, the monuments of the pre-war period have obtained a new political importance, they have become signs of identity and power. By citing the case of 4 monuments of the pre-war period (constructed by famous Lithuanian sculptor Robertas Antinis Sr. in the years 1927-1931) and reconstructed by the contemporary artist Robertas Antinis Jr. in the years 1989-1991, the paper follows the dramatic history of public monuments in Lithuania during the 20th century. The case study analyzes the construction, demolition and re-erection of Independence monuments in four Lithuanian towns (Biržai, Kretinga, Rokiskis, Širvintos) and focuses on the efforts made to rewrite local historical narratives during three historical periods: the pre-war years, the Soviet occupation and the post-Soviet period. In this study the political and cultural elite plays an especially significant role: it is very important to observe how the rhetoric of construction, demolition and re-erection of the monuments conform to the visions of newly empowered social groups – new elites – and how this process helps these groups to establish their own political-historical heritage; how history is activated to support the constitution and confirmation of place-based identities. On the

other hand, the manner in which the terrains of past political eras combine with more contemporary efforts to shape landscapes of memory and create a multiple and even conflicting narrative of different elements of the past is of no less importance. The debates surrounding the monuments and the motives behind their restorations, be they personal, collective or political, are analyzed in this research, as is the nature of the rhetoric and iconographic materials that followed in the wake of these initiatives. The case study allows a closer analysis of the evolution of social change and ideological constructs of Lithuanian society of the 20th century, and the reflections of these processes in the landmarks of politics of memory.

Valda Čakare

Latvian Academy of Culture, Riga, Latvia

**BETWEEN DRAMA AND EPIC: MEMORIES OF WORLD WAR II IN
“THE GRANDFATHER” (2009) BY VILIS DAUDZINŠ AND
ALVIS HERMANIS (THE NEW RIGA THEATRE)**

Epic was ranked by Aristotle as second to tragedy. The Greek theorist declared tragedy to be a higher form of art than epic because of its economy, greater concentration and unity, let alone its music and spectacle. However, in the history of theatrical representation we can see that the “dramatic” has been contaminated by “narrative”. In the 1920s, Bertolt Brecht, reacting against the emotional fever of the expressionists, began to develop ideas for a new type of drama and created an epic theatre that relied on narrative rather than plot. The German playwright and stage director wished theatre to embrace the larger social context of the epic.

The first decade of the 21st century has been marked by further changes to the relationship between theatre and epic. The New Riga Theatre’s production “The Grandfather” (2009) performed by Vilis Daudzinš, the play’s author, and directed by Alvis Hermanis may well serve as an example. Not only is the theatrical representation of memories of World War II in “The Grandfather” supplemented with epic conventions, it is also complemented by the techniques of oral performance, where authorship and performance, language structure and meaning, plot structure and characterization work together within the story being told by the actor. Consequently, the human being is regarded as the only potential repository for oral narratives, myths and tales. Unlike Brecht’s epic theatre, “The Grandfather” can be characterized as a theatrical epic.

This paper will consider the way in which epic conventions and the techniques of oral performance contribute to the staging of memories of the past.

Linara Dovydaitytė

Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania

**WHICH COMMUNISM TO BRING TO THE MUSEUM?
A CASE OF MEMORY POLITICS IN LITHUANIA**

By referring to the American sociologist Barry Schwartz, we could argue that the types of objects chosen for museum and the manner in which those objects are displayed changes with every generation and is

dependent on the social and political needs of the present. Schwartz claims that during the years of national political crises, collective memory is constructed from ‘safe’ events of the past on which public opinion is agreed. During periods of national political stability, however, more varied forms of memory are explored and they represent different aspects of the past. After 1989, the ‘safe’ heritage of the past in Eastern Europe was, first of all, the history of the resistance against the Soviet regime. The story of the resistance movements allowed not only for the commemoration of the memory of the victims of the historical events of the 20th century, but also assisted in the formation of a heroic historical narrative which helped to mobilize the society and created support for a new collective identity which was based on the idea of nationalism.

Such a principle of selection characteristic to the ‘memory politics’ is particularly evident in Lithuania. The Museum of Genocide Victims was opened earlier in Lithuania than in the other Baltic States, with its purpose being the disclosure of the crimes of the Soviet regime in Lithuania and the countries struggle against the occupation. Similar museums were also eventually opened in other cities and towns of Lithuania.

In contrast to the heritage of ‘resistance’, the heritage of both the ‘official’ and ‘daily life’ of the Soviet past poses more problems. In the case of Lithuania, this statement is supported by the fact that the majority of the material heritage of Soviet ideology can be found not in a public institution, but in a private museum – the theme park in Grūtas. Meanwhile, Soviet daily life is not represented in museums at all, or it is shown in a fragmentary manner in museums which focus on other subjects, such as the history of technology. According to the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, the political narrative of history is essentially selective; it ‘remembers’ certain events of the past and ‘forgets’ others. Yet according to the laws of psychology, ‘forgotten’ or ‘blocked’ memories do not disappear, but are deposited in the collective unconscious, thus becoming a threat to that society’s health.

Milija Gluhovic

University of Warwick, UK

ONCE MORE, WITH FEELING: RE-ENACTMENT, ETHICS, POLITICS

In my paper I will address a video work by the Polish visual/performance artist Artur Zmijewski entitled “80064” (2004) and the ethics of the (failed) encounter between Zmijewski and the Auschwitz survivor featured in the film who Zmijewski persuaded to “renew” the prisoner number tattooed on his forearm. I will argue that, in “80064”, the empathetic recovery of the voice of the traumatized testifier is at the expense of those for whom trauma criticism claims to speak. The object of Zmijewski’s quest in the film is the incarnation, reliving, or compulsive acting-out of the past – particularly its traumatic suffering – in the present. Situating my analysis in the context of re-enactment in contemporary art and culture, I will examine the ethics and politics of the film, the model of subjectivity it posits in relation to theories of trauma, referentiality, and representation, and its aesthetic risks.

Olena Haleta

Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine

THE ANTHOLOGIZING OF TRADITION: LVIV AS THE IMAGINED UKRAINIAN LITERARY CITY OF 1930S

The meaning of “anthology” is quite different in English and Ukrainian. In the Ukrainian literary tradition, an anthology is an individual literary collection which represents a national literary canon, some literary period or phenomena, but not usually a textbook for university courses.

The anthology “Twelve” that came out in 2006 in Ukraine was recognized as the best book of that year. The volume presents the work of a literary group of young writers formed in the 1930s in Lviv. Two subtitles, – “the youngest Lviv literary Bohemia of the 1930s” and “anthology of urban prose” – sound very promising to the readers: the Bohemian life of Lviv in the interwar period and its reflection in an urban text (or discourse) is of particular interest. Lviv, as represented in the anthology, is very special. Back then Lviv was not a Ukrainian city, even though it was a Ukrainian centre: what happened here was important for Ukrainian culture on the whole.

But the “Twelve” could be seen rather as an attempt at a collective novel in which these 12 writers of the Lviv of the interwar period transform into characters that inhabit an entire urban text. Four authors in the anthology are supplied with biographical data only. Urban life is depicted only in the works by Bohdan Nyzhankivskiy and Zenon Tarnavskiy. But all the works by Tarnavskiy that were included in the anthology were written in exile, as was the story “I returned to my city” by Nyzhankivskiy. An imagined city composed of both lost and imaginary remembrance takes much more prominence in the literature of “Twelve” than the real Lviv of the 1930s. Absence gives birth to the text; it weaves a tissue of remembrance and desire. Memory is selective, it highlights one thing but overlooks another, it shows the details it needs and hides those parts of the historic scene that do not match the ‘nostalgia project’.

In the 1930s the group “Twelve” lost its future (with the advent of the Soviet and German Nazi forces), and at the beginning of the 21st century the anthology “Twelve” seeks to re-create that lost past through Ukrainian Lviv; the city that expresses itself through this urban prose in such a fully-fledged manner. The result of creative nostalgia is the invention of tradition (Eric Hobsbawm) – turning to the past, re-creating and re-living it in accordance with the needs and wishes of contemporaneity.

The project “Twelve” is much more (and in some respects something different) than the collected works of twelve authors from Lviv, written in the 1930s. The characters of the anthology are representatives of Bohemia themselves, who through their way of life and through the process of creation were testimony to the existence of a Ukrainian interwar Lviv and to the urban dimension of the Ukrainian literature of the interwar period.

The authors and compiler, on their own level and in their own particular way, mention the Lviv of the interwar period as both a space for life and a space for literature. Literature, according to Walter Benjamin, is an attempt “to build the picture of your own self”, “to come to possess your own experience”. Memory withstands history, it conducts a dialogue with the past which is based on the interests of contemporaneity: not only does the anthology show, it also completes the creation of the Ukrainian urban literary tradition that was only in its inception in 1930s Lviv.

Collecting and arrangement is not only the accumulation of certain things (memories, – in the case of Nyzhankivskiy and Tarnavskiy; works, – in the case of Vasyly Gabor), it is also an intellectual action that displays the world and accordant values as selected by the Compiler.

Helena Hammond

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SOKUROV’S “RUSSIAN ARK” (2003) AND GERGIEV’S “SLEEPING BEAUTY” (1890/1999): TOWARDS A POLITICS AND POETICS OF THE ST. PETERSBURG TOTAL ART WORK AS REPRESENTATION OF THE HISTORICAL PAST

“Russian Ark’s” repatriation of history, as a post-Soviet vision of the pre-Soviet Russian past, has been the subject of considerable comment with scholars quick to stress the film’s conservative – reactionary, even – highly partial and Hermitage-bound monarchic history of the Romanovs. This paper illuminates the co-option of St. Petersburg in official, post-Communist performances of Russian history by exploring an ignored dimension of the film: how it operates intertextually with another key project to repatriate St. Petersburg’s Romanov history to the contemporary city – the Mariinsky Theatre’s 1999 ‘old/new’ recension of the original 1890 St. Petersburg production of “Sleeping Beauty”, a culminating work in the Imperial Russian ballet canon.

Dance is an overt conduit through which to access the city’s Imperial past in “Russian Ark’s” ball scene – ‘I’ve forgotten all the steps but now it’s [sic] all coming back, now I remember’ observes the Marquis de Custine as he retrieves the politesse and sociability of Romanov court society through the dance steps archived in his embodied memory bank. Later he joins ball-goers in applauding the Mariinsky Orchestra’s rendition, under the baton of its director, Valery Gergiev, of the mazurka from Glinka’s “Life for the Czar”. In saluting Gergiev, the courtiers implicitly acknowledge his role as chief architect of the 1999 recension of “Beauty”, itself originally conceived as a key vehicle of tsarist cultural patronage, and preoccupied, as this speaker has demonstrated elsewhere, with representing a highly particularized vision of the historical past.

Even if a century ultimately separates ballet and film, myriad connections link their approaches to, and privileging of, history. Both understand history as Romanov history, cast by the ballet in the historicized image of the early modern French alpha-monarchies. As a hybrid fusing the French *féerie* with balletic traditions apparently more indigenous, “Beauty” shares the film’s anxiety over Russian art’s innate Russianess; its perceived imitative quality, vis-à-vis French culture especially. Its choreographer was French. Its librettist/costume designer, Ivan Vsevolozhsky, noted Francophile, previously a diplomat in Paris, was eventually director of the Hermitage, another link to the film. Most significant are their perceived status as total art works, and the concomitant historicizing dimensions. Alexandre Benois quickly identified, as “Beauty’s” most striking aspects, its status as ‘genuine *gesamtkunstwerk*’ and ‘another trait’, crucially understood as ‘epochal quality’ or ‘*passé-ism*’. The total art work qualities of “Russian Ark”, shot in one continuous take and fusing museum, music, dance, and dialogue, are self-evident.

I identify “Beauty’s” close identification with French Romanticism’s historicist dimension as bringing ballet and film into close dialogue. And in re-evaluating the Russian *gesamtkunstwerk*, and by demonstrating that its priority was not a Wagnerian erasure of history in favour of myth but rather a mobilization of the fullest historical vision, I expose the post-Soviet total art work’s politics as an ongoing, potent vehicle for performing history. And the co-option, in the intervening century, of the same totalizing strategies as part of ‘synchronic Marxist installations’ (my emphasis) in Stalin’s anti-religious [history] museums, which further complicates these politics, suggests they are particularly worth pursuing.

Vilius Ivanauskas

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THE PROJECTION OF THE 'BLOSSOMING OF THE NATION' AMONG THE LITHUANIAN CULTURAL ELITE DURING THE SOVIET PERIOD

While the ideology of Marxism-Leninism was central to Soviet politics and economic performance, the idea of progress became a central factor both in the implementation of various social, economic and technological development projects and within the rhetorical environment responsible for the presentation of the goals and achievements of all the spheres of public life.

These achievements were closely tied not only to the progress and advantages of the Soviet system, but also to national discourse, taking into account the fact that the Soviet state was a multinational entity that consisted of 15 Soviet republics. The ideas of internationalism complied with the ideas that the Soviet state provided the best opportunities and conditions in which to preserve and promote ethnic/national cultures – including customs, traditions, languages and identities. Conversely, the enshrining of national culture carried its own logic: 1) national cultures were tied to a traditional (pre-modern) style of life; 2) Soviet modernization was presented as a new stage in their development; 3) this development and internationalism was presented as a premise for their natural friendship and convergence (sblizhenye).

All those ideas were actually covered by the Leninist concept 'blossoming of nations', which illustrates the formal position of local Soviet officials, encompassing their ability to produce some national values within the Soviet system, along with their ability to take pride in this. Such authors as T. Martin and Y. Slezkine observed that the national policy of the Soviet Union allowed for the strengthening of ethnic national identity and 'folklore nationalism', and provided additional opportunities for local candidates to promote national values and national language.

As regards the case of Soviet Lithuania, the focus might be concentrated on the activities of cultural elite, which consisted of republic and party officials or cultural intelligentsia, i.e. such groups ('culturists'), who were responsible for the spread of different ideological and cultural ideas.

By taking into account archival and interview (made with 'culturists') material, an analysis of the actions of the cultural elite (in their creative work or administrative decisions) leads us to an examination of the different types of 'culturists' and their strategies. These approaches differed in the manner in which they accepted the 'blossoming of nations' perspective and adapted it within their working or private environment. In other respects, the interpretations of Soviet cultural elites in Lithuania suggest connections with rival scientific or political explanations of the Soviet past, especially if those interpretations are based on interview materials or memoirs.

Janis Jefferies and Nela Milic

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(RE)MAPPING THE PAST: SITE-SPECIFICITY, HISTORICAL MEDIATION AND THE VISUAL ARTS

The question of documentation, by which the current shift from artwork towards art documentation can be traced, is outlined by Boris Groys in "Art in the Age of BioPolitics, From Artwork to Art Documen-

tation". (In: Documenta11_Platform 5: Exhibition Catalogue, Germany: Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2002, p. 114). Groys claims that art documentation is now the only possible form of reference to an artistic activity that cannot be represented in any other way. The space, which provides the context for the installation, is a form of life even as it refers to artistic intervention and a politically motivated activity that happened elsewhere. The move from art as activity in so far as it can be reinstated in another location brings the original action into close proximity with our viewing experience; it brings it 'home' by another route.

What is the story to tell and to whom should it be told?

This visual presentation and paper looks at the issue of (re)mapping the past: site-specificity, historical mediation and the visual arts through the lens of a video work "Etui" by Maja Bajevic and accompanying photographs that document a site-specific event. The project was commissioned by Constance Howard Resource and Research Centre in Textiles, Goldsmiths, University of London, UK in 2005/06. A group of leather workers created a dress designed to fit and cover the outside of a small house in the 'Old Town' (the Turkish quarter), in the city of Bajevic's birth, Sarajevo. The work was viewed outside its site of production, mediated by images that bore witness to an event where history was performed elsewhere and for a very different community.

Together with the exhibition, "Balkanising Taxonomy", also held at the CHRRCT in 2009, "Etui" problematises the impulse to create a stable taxonomic account of a 'Balkan' subject. How does the skin of experience at a personal and political level trouble artistic activity that cannot be represented in any other way through exhibitions, images and performance? What might it mean to live under the construction of what is possible and feasible to express? What are the configurations of everyday's life, both on the periphery and at the centre of contemporary art and its relationship to politics? Can the tangle of symbolic geographies and interwoven histories that begin to map personal experiences and the construction of an Eastern European subject, be unraveled? The problematic processes at work behind studying and representing the other questions the space from which the Balkan subject is formed from within a post-Soviet society.

Linda Kaljundi

Tallinn University, Estonia

FOLK COSTUMES AND WARRIORS: APPROPRIATING AND RE-PERFORMING NATIONALIST HISTORY IN STALINIST ESTONIA

The start of the Soviet regime in Estonia did not bring with it a radical transformation of historical representation regarding the periods prior to the 1917 Revolution. History writing, both scholarly and popular, used the 1930s' nationalist historical discourse, which relied on ideas concerning the continuity of the indigenous socio-cultural sphere, as well as on the narrative pattern of an eternal fight for freedom, and was against the German elite. To a significant extent, the Stalinist public presentation of history also appropriated the forms of the earlier, nationalist pedagogical historical culture: a banal nationalism mediated by visual culture and performances of the timeless national past in festivals, theatre, etc.

In this paper, the concept of 'performance' is defined in a weaker sense; including not only formal rituals, ceremonies, festivals, and staging, but also less clearly defined scenarios, acts and displays that likewise play a part in the creation of the conceptual world and in the communication of knowledge and attitudes towards life. The first part of the paper briefly looks at the different mediums through which the distant and

timeless national past was made manifest, vocalized and visualized in Stalinist Estonia. What are the similarities and variances of this history-as-spectacle through which the past is not only looked at or shown, but also embodied? How are these transfigurations linked to the will to power and dominance, yet also styles (most notably, of course, 'socialist realism'), genres, and mediums?

The paper elaborates these questions by focusing on re-enactments of medieval uprisings in post-war historical culture. Not surprisingly, the adaptation of historical anti-German narrative had already begun during the Second World War, when, in particular, the 600th anniversary of the uprising of St. Georges Night (1343) was utilized as a visual and narrative symbol of the fight against the Germans. Thus, the second part of the paper looks at how the violence and splendor of the distant past was made manifest, used and discussed in poetry, visual arts, and in performances, especially in the operas and ballets of the 1940s and 1950s.

In conclusion, on the one hand, the paper considers the writing of the nationalist view of the past into the Soviet-Marxist scheme of things. Through which, also stylistic, strategies did this 'national in form, socialist in content' representation give the past a substantially new meaning and organize it into a new kind of coherence? Moreover, did Soviet exoticism and the colonial gaze it fixed on primitive ethnic culture, influence those performances? On the other hand, the question regarding which kind of patterns of power and memory, as well as identity and gender, revealed themselves, by way of the spectacular, on the horizon of the early Soviet Estonian habitat, is of particular importance. In addition, what was the position of the 'who' in such activities; in which the self was supposed to dissolve into a new identity? And last but not least, can one also discern a concern for ritual purity in the performing of these acts of worship, a concern which, instead of creating an interior union with Marxism, would appear more likely to slide the people back into the primitive magicality of nationalism?

Martins Kaprans

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MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SOVIET GENERATIONS WITHIN LATVIAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The dissolution of the Soviet Union occurred hand in hand with the adaptation of new conditions which demanded the condemnation of the Soviet experience and the reframing of it as part of a negative social identity. Consequently, these new conditions supported the concealment of the experience acquired in the Soviet era. However, starting from the middle of the 1990s, there has been a crucial growth in the number of autobiographies published in Latvia which reflect the Soviet era. Thus, I suggest that this increasing number of biographical messages show the Latvian's "will to remember" (Nora).

The aim of my paper is to scrutinize such autobiographical narratives, thus demonstrating how particular Soviet generations are represented through them. Such research will provide us with a new knowledge of the symbolic resources which are being utilized for the social categorization of the Soviet period.

As generational identity has largely been questioned by sociologists (Manheim, Schuman & Scott) and psychologists (Conway), it is no doubt a challenge to apply this concept to written autobiographies. The researchers have postulated at least three generations who lived through the Soviet time, nevertheless, in terms of my paper, it's important to understand how salient these generational identities are and if they

should be accepted as an important determinant when researching a contemporary textual representation of the Soviet past.

The analysis of 25 Latvian autobiographies is carried out on two levels. Firstly, I examine the explicit expressions of the autobiographers towards these generations. This provides me with a reason to discuss social categorization on a generational basis. Secondly, I investigate the relations between autobiographers and those public events recalled from Soviet times. Using a questionnaire form of approach, I test the hypothesis regarding the 'formative period', which is accepted by many researchers. In doing so I also check the so called 'period effect' hypothesis, which proposes that each generational group has a diverse attitude towards common, memorized episodes; the differentiating factor being measured by the closeness between particular episodes. As there can be many such episodes, I have selected just two, which appear constantly within autobiographical narratives: 1) the attitude to the repressive system and 2) the comparison of the Soviet times to contemporary life.

Gediminas Karoblis

Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania

BALLROOM DANCE – A SPECTRE OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN A COMMUNIST SOCIETY

During the Great Divide of Europe, the authorities of those countries under the influence of Communist parties exercised ideological and practical encouragement of staged folk dance (Giurchescu 2001; Ilieva 2001). In contrast, the movements of modern theatrical dance, which were strongly based on free individual expression, were not favored by Communist regimes (Uralskaya 1998/2005). These value settings in Communist countries were intuitively predictable. What seems less predictable is the fact that the development of modern ballroom dance (dancesport) was tolerated by the Communist authorities. How can we explain this fact if we accept the claim that the genre is "rooted as it appears to be in class divisions and in the promotion of bourgeois conventionalities" (Uba 2007)? The Communist ideology was clearly opposed to bourgeois imagologies, but it embraced a style of dance which was obvious in its "promotion of bourgeois conventionalities." My thesis is that this phenomenon might be explained by the overwhelming self-confidence of the Communist regimes, which resulted in a belief that modern ballroom dance, was, in contrast to politically engaged modernist aesthetics (at least in dance) interpreted as too fairytale-like, a-political and not in any way dangerous to the establishment. The consequence of this attitude is the dominance of Eastern European dancers in the arena of dancesport.

John Keefe

London Metropolitan University, UK; Queen's University, Canada

PLAY IT AGAIN: RECYCLING AS MEMORIES, HISTORIES, THEATRES

In 2008, Knut Ove Arntzen, myself and colleagues at the Norwegian Theatre Academy launched a project on the concept of 'recycling' in the theatre and the academy. This paper is a further development of the concept, explored as the recycling of spectatorial memory and knowledge. To adopt Brecht, does the fami-

liar remain familiar and the strange remain strange or is the familiar made strange and the strange made familiar such that we re-look at what we think and feel we know? In this sense, I see all theatres as forms of histories both past, present and changing that still to come.

Predicated on Baudrillard's concept of 'cultural recycling' (1998), I will argue for a material spectatorial dramaturgy as an axiom of our theatres, as these are part of our histories. I propose that cultural recycling is at the heart of our being as agents in a social and cultural framework that we both inherit but vary and thus re-structure and re-construct and re-define. Re-cycling is the mechanism and process(es) by which we, acting both personally and collectively, frame and reframe the world, order and re-order the world, and thus inhabit and change the world.

I will argue that such re-cycling of history and memory is genetic and material. I will argue that such re-cycling is social and cultural. From these, I suggest that theatre stands for a particular performing of memory and history, predicated on those axiomatic principles and tropes of human culture I call the diachronic stave lines and synchronic bar lines of culture and material being. I will argue that every theatre production is a palimpsest of those before and those to come, marked by opaque shadows, half-hidden spectres, memories and knowledge that inscribe each staging and each spectatorial experience. The knowing spectator draws on, is reminded of, and thus mediates what they are watching, by what has gone before. The performance text is formed and deformed and reformed as a spectatorial process. We bring our own ghosts – personal, cultural, social – to what we see and experience as agents inhabiting a shared world. I propose these ghosts become the frames and lens that shape – change – our present and immanent dramaturgies of theatres and histories.

Padraic Kenney

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THE CARNIVAL OF 1989: WHERE DID THE PERFORMERS GO?

The fall of communism in East-Central Europe in 1989 was the culmination of activity by a network of oppositional movements across the region. This event was carnivalesque in a number of senses. First, it was marked by variety, in an almost bewildering pluralism of movements. Not only did they range widely in their orientation, but they also found little difficulty in working with one another, across cultural or ideological barriers which had once been an obstacle. Most had as their goal the end of communism, but often it was just as important to articulate a new style, and thus to change the social or natural environment. Second, this revolution was joyful. Where once opposition had been largely a weighty business, matching the grimness of life in the slowly-decaying Soviet Bloc, the new opposition in the carnival years never took itself, nor the regime, too seriously. The soundtrack (sometimes reggae, sometimes punk) seemed, sometimes, to be as important as the actions themselves. Demonstrations were for the most part neither angry nor desperate, but entertaining; they were as much celebrations as anything else. And third, it was a carnival in a Bakhtinian sense, breaking down borders, both within society and between countries. This kind of carnival forces a suspension of the usual rules in society, issues a challenge to the existing order, and tries to reverse social and political hierarchies. And indeed, social movements in East-Central Europe in the second half of the 1980s appeared to disregard the fear that held others back, and to act almost with impunity. It didn't matter to them if the police detained participants in a demonstration, because that was part of the game, too. In

fact, they were exhibitionists, who knew that even their nonconfrontational antics were threatening to the established order.

Where did the carnival go, though, after 1989? Post-communist Eastern Europe is a safe place for politics as usual. The disappearance of the performers of late anti-communist opposition raises the question of whether there is any space for the carnivalesque in political practice (or any place else), and could even call into question the very existence, or import, of the carnival of 1989. Some consideration of the transformation of East-Central European politics and society, along with a look at directions in performance art since 1989, should allow us to understand the relationship between carnival, revolution, and change.

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THE FUTURE IS TO STAY THE SAME: NOSTALGIA IN THE SOVIET REGIME

Although official representations often depicted the Soviet Union as a revolutionary country of social experiments, immense industrial projects and a progressive belief in the future, the society of this country was, more than we presently believe, inclined to nostalgic yearning for the past. The Marxist Utopia of a "Bright Future" was accompanied by the no less significant attachment of the people to the "remains" of the pre-industrial past and an ardent mass identification with romantic images of rural communities and ethnic culture. Interestingly enough, nostalgic nationalist sentiments were maintained and even encouraged by the representatives of the state and the Party nomenclature. For example, events such as public rituals, mass celebrations, popular leisure activities and art, all received support.

But what was the function of reified nostalgic representations of the past in official Soviet culture? What did the regime of the revolutionary communist country gain from it? In this respect we should probably view these nostalgic images from the point of view of imperialist rather than socialist or communist politics. Although the Soviet regime operated in the name of history and class, it was forced to implement its authority in a geographical sense and direct it towards the nations, ethnic groups and territories in which their subjects lived. This gave birth to an ambivalent economy of difference between international ideals, a radical vision of history and the multiethnic geographical reality of the empire. As a compromise between two contradictions – the political idea and the imperialist desire – nostalgia had to ensure that the future of the Soviet state remained the same.

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SYSTEMIC BODIES? ACTOR TRAINING AND THE PERFORMANCE OF HISTORY AS 'TECHNIQUE' IN GERMANY AFTER 1945 AND AFTER 1989

After the fall of the Wall in Germany in 1989, the concepts of a warm, feeling actor and that of a cold, thinking actor were increasingly used with respect to the two political systems that had co-existed in Europe for 40 years: actors trained at public acting schools in the FRG were supposed to emotionally identify with the fictive characters they impersonated on stage, while actors trained in the GDR were supposed to be more technically versed and distanced from the characters they enacted. These stereotypes governed both

the reviews of theatrical productions and interviews with actors and directors that appeared in print and in the visual media during the 1990s. They implied that the political system within which the actor's training program was situated affected his or her use of the body, voice and his or her concept of re-presentation, that he or she continued to perform history in terms of how a certain technique was ideologically played out (or not) on his or her body. These dualistic concepts imply that acting techniques separate, construct and mediate between the actor as a person in everyday life and his or her being on stage differently, depending on the cultural-political paradigm in which they are situated. Starting with this binary construction of the warm Western German and the cold Eastern German actor within the pages of the two leading German theatre periodicals "Theater heute" and "Theater der Zeit" after 1989, I will investigate its contemporary construction and historiographical depth by looking at specific examples of theatre-discourse and actor training practices in Germany after 1945.

Ryszard W. Kluszczyński
University of Lodz, Poland

STRATEGIES OF RE-ENACTMENT. FROM ARTISTIC APPROPRIATION TO CULTURAL CRITIQUE

Re-enactment has become one of the most important and dynamic strategies of contemporary art. Recognized originally as form of artistic practice typical of the postmodern period and as the sort of activity which interfaces distanced positions, styles, or artworks, re-enactment has recently come to be considered one of the most important aspects of cyberculture and one of the favorite strategies of new media artists. In the digital era, when working from scratch has become increasingly less popular than building artworks out of found material, re-enactment has come to play an extremely important role.

In my paper however, I do not want to limit the field of observation to digital art only. I want to stress the quality and the special position of new media re-enactments, from digital reconstructions to virtual repetitions to interactive participations, but at the same time I want to show the development of traditional forms of re-enactment. The focus of my paper is on the variety and variability of strategies of re-enactment. The analysis of these strategies will lead towards a reflection on the transformations occurring within contemporary art and culture, transformations from representation to participation.

I want to present also the idea that the most important forms of re-enactment nowadays, both digital and analogue, have the character of cultural critique. In developing this idea, I will be referring to the artworks of different artists, e.g. Bruce Checefsky, Eva and Franko Mattes, Zbigniew Libera, Artur Zmijewski and Lodz Kaliska Group.

Pirkko Koski
University of Helsinki, Finland

"THE NIGHT AFTER THE LAST ONE"

In Lajos Maroti's play "The Night after the Last One", performed at the National Theatre of Finland in 1976, the protagonist, based on the model of Giordano Bruno, is given the chance to live an extra night in

prison, as his sentenced auto-da-fé has been delayed by one day. The day of punishment is the point-of-attack in the play. Giordano Bruno died in 1600.

This play came to my mind when I recently met the actor who played Bruno. He recalled the ideas which were in the character's mind during that last night, among them Einstein and his theory of relativity (not known to the historical Bruno). My own memories of the performance include the fact that it made my son, still a very young schoolboy, interested in theatre, and did so because of its especially exciting historical story.

I will survey this production at the crossroad of differing discourses. I will use Bruno's and Einstein's meeting spot as a kind of a metaphor, which refers to both the producers' and the researchers' position. In this production, the 16th century Bruno was created by artists of the 1970s and Einstein symbolized the relativity of experiencing life, and the performances met spectators in their presence. This same pattern is equally relevant to today's researcher. In this case, the researcher's "point-of-attack" takes place in 1976. I aim to clarify the structures which affect the differing strategies and discourses which fed into the production of, and research into, this play and other historical plays in general.

My sources consist of the text of the play, the Theatre's archive material, reviews and interviews. Through them I want to test in practice the strength of historical images in theatre and trace past experiences. I will speak about mediated memory, but also about the parallels and methods of historical event / theatrical event.

Iwona Kurz
University of Warsaw, Poland

MUSEUM KL AUSCHWITZ – A MISE EN SCÈNE FOR HORROR, TEARS, AND THE TOURISTIC GAZE

The museum KL Auschwitz plays many different roles at the same time: a memory site, a cemetery, a museum, a monument, a reserve, and – formally since 2005, when The International Center for Education regarding Auschwitz and the Holocaust was created – a centre for education (see more at <http://en.auschwitz.org.pl>). All of them seem more or less problematic as concerns the deep meaning ascribed to the place as the site of the crime perceived to be the largest atrocity in Western history and the core of post-war consciousness. It is a memory site without any consent as regards to whose memory it should represent (Jewish? Polish? Perhaps German? Generally human?); a cemetery without any graves; a museum without artefacts, a collection of mundane things which are, nevertheless, treated as relics; and a collection that we owe to the first collectors: Nazis. Its ontological status seems especially suspicious if one considers that the museum was formally made in 1947 (two years after the so called "liberation" of the camp), that a lot of buildings have been reconstructed, that most of its staff is permanently conserved and that the crematory ruins require a lot of attention to maintain them in the state that they were discovered in 1945. Hundreds of thousands of relics require full attention in order to maintain their unchanged appearance, and/ or – in opposition to the practices of natural reserves – trees, grass and plants have to be trimmed every day to actually preserve the site. The past changes? Not here; huge efforts are made on the site to pursue the aura of its original state, in the pretence that it is not a representation but history itself. Most of us already have some knowledge of it, from films and comic books, and can recognize a mock-up of it which has been reduced to a few simple elements (barbed wired, a horse barrack, guardian posts – and the two famous gates).

At the same time this complex, multi-layered space makes an appropriate setting for different social performances, both individual, and social: prayers, roll calls, Marches of the Living, bursts of hysteria, speeches, workshops and conferences, tourist trips, including the practices of making photographs and posing for them. What is lacking here is history itself – the past events can't be performed and can't be repeated there (for obvious ethical reasons, but also on the basis of the assumed uniqueness of Auschwitz). Thus, the camp site becomes the scene of an event that remains obscene.

Anna Lyubivaya

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DO MUSEUMS DISTORT HISTORY AND MEMORY? REPRESENTATION OF THE SOVIET PAST IN MODERN RUSSIAN HISTORICAL EXHIBITIONS

The main intention of the presentation is to attempt to answer the question of to what extent new Russian historical exhibitions concerning the Soviet past perform and present the history and influence of the formation of cultural memory.

It can be stated that at the dawn of the 21st century, Russia still cannot cope with the agonizing experience of the 1920-1930s and cannot accept the oppressive character of Communism. People prefer not to bear responsibility for the past, banishing difficult recollections and plunge them into oblivion. This has led to the situation in which expanded nationalism has overwhelmed liberal values. The refusal to acknowledge the great trauma of twentieth century Russian history is one of the main sources for the “memory turmoil and disarray” that Russia is currently experiencing in trying to make sense of its own past.

Citing the theory of Yuri Lotman and Boris Uspenskii concerning the cultural dynamics of Russian history, cultural memory could be seen as “the dynamics governed by a sort of binary opposition that has operated in Russia for the past several centuries...the opposition between old and new”. From this perspective, the key to understanding the mechanisms for generating new forms of memory is that every new period in Russian culture is orientated towards a decisive break with the past, with re-writing and revision, but that at the same time we can find strong regressive forces which do not present any possibility for the exclusion of previous narratives/discourses in the midst of these great changes. It could be defined as “the regeneration of archaic forms” – a kind of “narrative dialogicality” between past and present narratives. This type of interference of past narrative templates into the modern text is very visible in Russian museums exhibitions which represent Soviet history. This history of re-writing/remaking relates especially to the former museums of the revolution/Lenin's memorials. Today it is hardly possible to find any stable, logical and more or less objective/unambiguous exhibition about Soviet history in Russia. Therefore, their transformation from museums which propagated and promulgated “official Soviet history” to museums of the post-Soviet society, seems of great importance when studying contemporary Russian cultural memory.

I will present personal research I conducted in the Saint-Petersburg and Moscow Central historical museums (which are both especially dedicated to modern history). For this presentation I wish to select the central museum, which has entirely changed its permanent exhibition during the last 5 years. The difference between the museums of Saint-Petersburg and Moscow as regards their approach to history is of particular interest. What kind of history can museums offer to Russian people today? Can their interpretations of history influence people's attitude towards the past or only distort it?

Rūta Mažeikienė

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ANIMATING GENIUS LOCI: HISTORICAL MEMORY AND SITE-SPECIFIC PERFORMANCE

Site-specific performance can be considered to be one of the core practices of contemporary theatre seeking to explore and uncover the historical and cultural memory of a particular place. In its abandonment of conventional theatre spaces and questioning of traditional artistic strategies, site-specific performance can be called a performance-as-study that researches and exploits the socio-cultural context of a given site. This paper presents, as a case study, the performance “Pro Memoria Šv. Stepono 7” (Pro Memoria St. Stephen's street 7) created by the environmental theatre group “Miraklis” (Miracle), and examines how this piece demonstrates the way in which site-specific performance can (re)construct the historical memory which is embedded in a particular place and animate genius loci.

On the one hand, this paper deals with the possibilities of any site-specific performance to awaken the cultural and historical atmosphere of a particular place; how it allows for the animation of local memories, stories and legends and permits the places to reveal themselves and transform the past into the present.

On the other hand, it explores how the multilayered performance “Pro Memoria Šv. Stepono 7” – which is grounded in the history of the specific place (a deserted, neglected house in the old Vilnius Jewish quarter) – animates many layers of the locus, works as a multidimensional link between place, memory and identity, and enables spectators to perceive the historical past of a multi-cultural site.

Gintautas Mažeikis

Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania

THE INDUSTRIAL RECREATION OF THE PAST IN THE CONTEMPORARY CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND PROPAGANDA

According to T. Adorno and M. Horkheimer cultural industries were an important part of Nazi, Soviet and American propaganda. Cultural-industrial propaganda presupposes the mass production of schemes and the main symbols of desire, thinking, memory, feeling and action. The industrial mass production of propaganda movies, novels, monuments and pictures serve the purpose of constructing the ideological subject of propaganda. Contemporary creative industries serve commercial, artistic, as well as political and even persuasive purposes. Creative industries use similar instruments for the development of consumer and ideological subjects in postmodern heterogeneous society.

Heterogeneity presupposes a more developed consumption of diverse, deep content and the complicated organization of symbols. Contemporary creative industries have to develop technological and technical possibilities through which they can satisfy ethno majorities and minorities, religious diversity, neotribalists and subcultures, as well as the ideologies of different nongovernmental organizations and game groups. This means that not only state and national history but also the memories of local communities have become a locus of interest for the contemporary institutions of persuasion.

The development of post-industrial creative industries has created the possibility for the re-creation and regulation of an imaginable and desirable past. The desire for memory is an important issue for the free

market, contemporary historical businesses and the economy in general. At the same time, it holds especial significance for industrial political propaganda, manipulation, indoctrination and brainwashing. Ordinary cultural memory is constructed on three main levels: long time history, memorable state persuasion campaigns and micro public policy.

Historical movies and textbooks, as well as ideological novels are developed on the historical level and are distributed and disseminated between all people of the state. Propaganda campaigns use massive and repeated forms of documentary and documentary, persuasive activities and the writings of political leaders. Micro propaganda is responsible for incarnation: the embodiment of ideology within the structure of everyday life and the practices of our activities. This weak or brutish micro propaganda leads to the alienation of the propaganda process from real life; from the rituals, beliefs, and hopes of local people. Live memory, which is a result of successful micro propaganda actions engaged within the social, education, energy and health spheres, produces an ideologically oriented nostalgia about a promised past and transforms it into a consumption demand.

In the case of the post-soviet propaganda, the memory of kindergartens, health and educational guarantees and the other local elements of everyday life have become more important and more powerful than anti-soviet persuasion. Post-soviet memory demands an industrial re-creation of the imaginable past as unconscious body desires, as subconscious needs. This might take the form of the industrial recreation of soviet memory in gastronomy, of ethnic ritual memory in wedding rituals, of imaginable heroic dreams in contemporary paintings or hippy's feelings in CD records. Only diversity and the radical plurality of ideas and the industrial recreation of the past in free market conditions are a guarantee of contemporary democracy.

Triinu Mets

Tallinn University, Estonia

'MAY THE LATVIAN SWORD NEVER RUST': THE BLENDING OF THE 20TH AND 13TH CENTURY 'FIGHTS FOR INDEPENDENCE' IN THE CONTEXT OF LATVIAN MEDIEVAL AND PREHISTORIC MILITARY RE-ENACTMENT AND FOLKLORE GROUPS

Recent social scientific research in Latvia (e.g. Skultans 1997; Eglitis 2002; Schwartz 2006) has highlighted the dominance of the topics of history, memory and heritage in everyday practices and discourses in contemporary Latvia. The past has become a rich reservoir for the political elite in the creation and maintenance of collective national identity, with some monuments, texts, symbols, acts and persona being celebrated, while others have become marginalized. In parallel and in interplay – at times in unison, at times in opposition – with the creation of canonized versions of history, a creative appropriation of the national past has taken place in the field of personal identity construction. The historical Latvian struggles for independence – against the Crusaders in the 13th century and then the 20th century wars (the Independence War and the Second World War, followed by the guerilla action carried out in the forests against the Soviet power) are particularly (if not the most) significant moments of the nations past and are drawn on continuously by both communal and individual levels of identity-creation and (re)presentation. Some of the most fascinating examples of the heterogeneous uses of the heroic past that may be encountered in connection with those three pivotal independence struggles are the versions of gendered nationalism developed in the

highly performative context of historical re-enactment and folk singing. Drawing on theories of performativity both in the context of gender studies and heritage research (e.g. Butler 1997, 1999; Bagnall 2003; Tivers 2002 etc), the current paper, based on 10 years of intermittent fieldwork among Latvian medieval and prehistoric military re-enactors, will look at the ways in which nationalism, militarism and masculinities are negotiated both in the context of historical re-enactment and in everyday lives.

Malcolm Miles

University of Plymouth, UK

REMEMBERING THE UNREMEMBERABLE: "HARBURG MONUMENT AGAINST FASCISM" (1986-93), JOCHEN GERZ

What is unrememberable differs from what is simply unmemorable. Many things pass us by without remark. Many public monuments, also, recede into the urban landscape: the countless statues of nineteenth-century men on plinths, erected so that the public of the time might remember the values to which they were required to subscribe; or, more recently, the film stars and literary figures in bronze at street level, in time becoming yesterday's forgotten icons. But some historical events are not open to the process of commemoration because they undermine rather than affirm the values on which the idea of society is based. After 1918, few sculptors could find appropriate forms through which to remember a scale of slaughter beyond imagination. After 1945, efforts to find appropriate forms for memorials to the Holocaust faltered. No visual language or vocabulary could carry this burden. For Adorno, to simplify what he actually wrote, it was no longer viable to write lyric poetry after Auschwitz. When annihilation is total, there is nothing to remember because what is remembered is usually a trace, a residue, something which retains the past in the present: hence, it is unrememberable. What can be done, then, to ensure that such histories are not forgotten? The case of the "Harburg Monument Against Fascism" by Jochen Gerz – a column of lead designed to sink slowly into its site in a suburb of Hamburg between 1986 and 1993 – is cited as one of a number of buried memorials for a buried history in post-war Germany. But it is also remarkable as a performative monument, on which passers-by were invited to inscribe a message or comment, or their name. Many of the inscriptions, like licensed graffiti, were racist – verbal attacks on Turkish migrant workers, for example. The racism which took an extreme form in Germany in the 1930s reappeared in a more generalized form. For Gerz, this showed the efficacy of the monument in revealing a particular relation between past and present socio-cultural realities. But this could only happen in a performative monument. Today there is only the empty site, under which the column is buried, and an explanatory plaque.

Agnė Narušytė

Vilnius Academy of Arts, Lithuania

(RE)COLLECTIONS: THE IMPERFECT PHOTOGRAPHIC CONSTRUCTIONS OF HISTORY, IDENTITY AND THE PRESENT

Photography as a 'tool of memory' is a constant subject of theoretical and philosophical debate. The common approach is to explore photography as a means of recording events and experiences – as a passi-

ve medium. Contemporary photographic practice, however, offers a different perspective on the function of photography as an active agent of the present which shapes it at a particular moment, while life becomes memory as it is lived. Here memory is rather recollection, thus emphasizing its performative aspect, its constructive effects and perceptual mechanisms. Photographers show how the present is constructed through the process of constantly (re)collecting experiences and insights and thus regaining control of the self. This process is not so much guided by conscious strategies but rather by emotion, intuition, chance, context and similar contingencies. On the other hand, in the contemporary world, individual memories are increasingly encoded by the photographic medium. Yet photographs are worryingly random as a means of storing memory and what they preserve might not coincide with what is really experienced. Thus, a photographic exploration of the work of memory inevitably questions the relevance of photography as a collector of memories from the flow of the present. Through the case studies of the latest work by three Lithuanian photographers, Arturas Valiauga, Ugnius Gelguda and Gintautas Trimakas, the paper will present three ways photography (mis)constructs history, identity and the present.

Matthias Naumann

Goethe-University of Frankfurt am Main, Germany

WHAT DOES 'OUR HISTORY' LOOK LIKE TODAY? POLITICAL THEATRE IN POSTWAR GERMANY PERFORMING HISTORIES OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE HOLOCAUST

An important aspect of political theatre in German theatre after World War II was the undertaking it made to 'perform history' – or, more exactly, to perform aspects of the recent national history of National Socialism, the war, and the Holocaust. In modern politics, the idea of history as a political collective's narration of the inception and development of its contemporary form (and thus its current potential for political actions), plays an important role in the delimitation of the socially accepted realm of self-representation and hegemonic ideological manifestations, of the willingness of the 'collective identity' to act politically.

A cultural discourse about the past's transformation into history, or histories, thus forms collective identity in important aspects of its political self-conception. Political theatre's performance of history participates in this, be it in a manner which foments attack on hegemonic history, or in an integrative way to re-write it, or in a politicizing way which creates 'engaged thinking'. In my paper, I want to analyze how theatrically performed history worked politically in German theatre after World War II, especially when dealing with aspects of National Socialism and the Holocaust. A short history of the changing approaches to performing history politically is offered, with attention paid to plays and performances as diverse as e.g. Carl Zuckmayer's "The Devil's General" (1946/7), Rolf Hochhuth's "The Deputy" (1963), Heinar Kipphardt's "Joel Brand" (1965), or Elfried Jelinek's "Rechnitz" (The Exterminating Angel), staged in 2008 by Jossi Wieler.

Kristel Rattus

Tartu University / Estonian National Museum, Tartu, Estonia

PERFORMING TRADITIONAL TECHNOLOGIES: THE MANIFESTATION OF VALUES

The present paper focuses on the performance of traditional technologies in present-day Estonia. Some of the events are tourist based enterprises, some are organized as local events, and some are carried out as workshops and courses. All of them have been undertaken in the form of citizens' initiative and all of them use the (re)construction of a traditional technology as a central element. I treat the events as performances or representations of heritage that are characterized by conscious choice and the emphasizing of particular elements. This paper is based on ethnological fieldwork carried out by myself as a curator of the Estonian National Museum in 2003-2008.

Performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and sense of identity through reiterated behavior. While treating the performance of traditional technologies as a process of exhibition, the implicit meanings and relevance of these practices for present-day participants are explored. On one hand, I intend to observe what kind of values were being pursued and what kind of needs were met by these performances. On the other hand, I will pay attention to the aspects that were highlighted as valuable by the audience of these events. In the paper, I place importance not so much on the form or functions of the activities, but rather focus on the ways in which these events function as identity factors or means of communication.

Theoretically, I draw from the ideas of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, and David Lowenthal that heritage industry is a mode of cultural production that has recourse to the past but produces something new, and the fact that heritage is continually in the process of being re-animated is vital for the maintaining of its relevance (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Lowenthal 1998). Methodologically, I proceed from Aleida and Jan Assmann's theory of cultural memory and Diana Taylor's concept of performance (A. Assmann 1999; J. Assmann 1995; Taylor 2003).

Freddie Rokem

Tel Aviv University, Israel

"THE RUSTLE OF THE LEAVES". THEATRICAL RE-ENACTMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE DEAD

When history is performed we see and hear somebody who has lived and is appearing again on the stage talking about the life that she has lived as a ghost or a revenant or as an individual who is still actually living her life. These forms of re-appearance are generally caused by some form of urgency in the present to examine that particular past again. In my presentation I will explore how the encounter between the private and the public spheres serves as the basis for bringing out the pressing importance or imperativeness of certain events from the past in the present. The complex dialectics between the private and the public spheres serves as the perspective through which the urgency of the theatrical re-enactment of the historical past is brought out.

Heike Roms

Aberystwyth University, Wales, UK

PERFORMING THE HISTORY OF PERFORMANCE: RE-ENACTING 1960S PERFORMANCE ART

Performance as an historiographic method was long dismissed as lacking academic rigour. Lately, this dismissal has been critiqued as arising from the dominance of writing in Western epistemologies. Performance theorists such as Diana Taylor (2003) and Rebecca Schneider (2001) have instead emphasized the history-making qualities of performance itself, or what Taylor has called the ‘repertoire’, that is an embodied, performative manner of historical transmission. This theoretical re-appreciation of practices such as re-enactment, reconstruction and restaging is matched by the current pre-eminence of such practices in contemporary art (see Lütticken 2005).

Re-enactment as a form of historical engagement has also, not surprisingly, gained currency in reference to the history of performance art itself. Well publicized examples of recent restagings of historical works of performance art include Marina Abramovic’s “Seven Easy Pieces” at the Guggenheim Museum in New York in 2005, in which the artist, herself a pioneer of the genre, re-enacted seven seminal works by her peers dating from the 1960s and 1970s; and the restaging in 2007 of Allan Kaprow’s “18 Happenings in 6 Parts” from 1959, the first-ever “happening” and one of the groundbreaking events of 20th century art.

Placing itself within the context of the current debates and practices surrounding re-enactment, this paper will discuss a particular instance of “redoing”, an event of 1960s performance art, undertaken by the author herself. On the 29th November 1968, the artist Brian Lane came to Aberystwyth, a small university town in West Wales, with his company, the First Dream Machine, to organize a festival of Fluxus performance work, which is today regarded as ‘seminal’ as it ‘entered the ... subsequent history of Fluxus in the UK’ (Glew 2007). On the 29th November 2008, in a year in which we were reassessing the revolutionary impetus of 1968 and its legacy, a group of artists, under the direction of Heike Roms, restaged the event exactly 40 years after it first occurred in the original venue and in the presence of former eyewitnesses. The paper will discuss questions arising from this restaging, including notions of authenticity, the relationship between ‘original’ and ‘copy’, and changes in audience experience. It will propose that re-enactment allows for a re-evaluation of what constitutes historical evidence. Rather than merely resulting from archival documents and eyewitness accounts as a kind of secondary historiographic mode, a restaging itself can act as evidence for the historical event it restages.

Andra Rutkeviča

The New Riga Theatre, Latvia

TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL ASPECTS IN THE THEATRICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE HISTORICAL PAST. “FOUR DAYS IN JUNE”

The third wave of ethnic nationalism that has washed over industrial societies since the 1950s has been closely linked to the revival of nationalism in the former Soviet republics which regained their independence in 1990-91. In Latvia, the revival of nationalism meant a return to the historical past, to an idealized image – “what we have been before” – that could serve as a model for the nation’s future. Anthony D. Smith

characterizes this process in the following way: “By returning back to its ethnic past, society tries to identify its cognitive framework. The past helps the society to find its true nature, its authentic experience and the hidden mission of its destiny/fate.” The community’s golden past is used to chart the blueprint for the future models of the nation.

My paper deals with a case in which a real historical date is used for the basis of forming new national mythologies. In 1989, the Daile (Art) Theatre staged a performance “Four Days in June” dealing with the last days of the Latvian Republic before the Soviet occupation. The performance tried to reveal all the process of occupation: the last days of the presidency of Karlis Ulmanis and his feelings and decisions. To attain the level of a proper reconstruction of the past the performance took place in the former office of the president in the Riga palace.

Annalisa Sacchi

Università di Bologna, Italy

FALSE RECOGNITION: PSEUDO-HISTORY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN ALVIS HERMANIS’ “THE SOUND OF SILENCE”

In the era of post-dramatic theatre, with the annihilation of the dramatic text as the main resource of the theatrical scene, the issue of memory has been radically renegotiated. Unlike readings which see the space of the performance as consistently besieged by disappearance and oblivion, I’ll propose in my paper an approach aimed at highlighting those logics which make the stage a place (and often a privileged one) of memory practice.

To do so, I’ll analyze one particular play: “The Sound of Silence” by the Latvian director Alvis Hermanis, where the theatrical stage re-builds an interior, a form of hippie commune or squat of the 1960s, with a precision that, at first glance, should be considered philological. In this, “The Sound of Silence” could appear to be a historical reproduction, a scene, colored by nostalgia, of one possible 1968. Nonetheless, a prior event gives us an alienating clue. The play is based upon the fact that in 1968 a Simon&Garfunkel concert was scheduled to take place in Riga but did not happen. What appears on the stage is therefore not the reconstruction of a past time, but the capturing of an essential impurity, one which is caught between the authentic details of the event and the proliferation of a galaxy of images which re-create an only dreamed 1968: it is thus the ambiguity of memory, its posthumous re-enactment, its (pseudo)-historical appearance, its fictional plot, whose deceit is disclosed through the citational obviousness obtained through re-creating entire sequences from “The Graduate”, “Hollywood Party”, “Blow up”. We are thus not faced with a personal or historical memory, but with the scenic elaboration of a myth (a today’s myth).

“The Sound of Silence” is a spectacle of collective dreaming, in which spectators and actors share a paradoxical memory not of the past that has been, but of a decantation of the past which constructs a communal memory through the citation of fashion, movies, music. Taking into account these premises, I’ll propose a hypothesis that this play corresponds in the most surprising way with the tragedy-form, that the scene itself tries to capture the contemporary shape of the tragic.

Firstly because, by the edification of a shared visual, gestual and musical imaginary, “The Sound of Silence” becomes a place for the symbolic appropriation of collective existence, although one not based on identification with the polis. Such an imaginary is therefore a mythical creation, a catalogue, a collection

of the remains of all of those contemporary myths described by Roland Barthes, producing a state of living 'the historical', as Paolo Virno has recently argued, in a Bergsonian state of 'déjà vu', whose essence is the *fausse reconnaissance* (false recognition), where the historic imaginary is re-coded as if we had already personally experienced it.

Anneli Saro

University of Tartu, Estonia

MEMORIES OF THE USSR IN ESTONIAN THEATRICAL REPRESENTATIONS

One of the central issues in Estonian culture (especially in history books, biographies, literature, theatre and films) are the historical events and personal choices made by, as well as the destinies of, Estonians during the Second World War and the period subsequent to it. This is quite understandable considering the tragedy, dramatism (dramatic potential) and fatality of the following events: in 1939 the Soviet army invaded Estonia, in 1941 there was mass deportation, in 1941 the German army invaded Estonia, in 1944 the Soviet army invaded Estonia (it became a Soviet country for the next 47 years), leading to the subsequent guerilla war and the mass deportation of 1949.

These ten years from 1939 to 1949 have been represented very differently in different discourses and at different times. The positivistic approach towards history, which was dominant in the official Soviet discourse, presented these facts and interpretations in light of the Truth, which was, of course, a hegemonic and ideologically loaded Truth. A significant change of direction within this discourse had already begun to appear at the beginning of the 1980s, at least in the field of arts, when some productions tackled the aforementioned events through subjective and personal stories, representing contra-interpretation of the official history. No wonder that the line became stronger and stronger at the end of the 1980s, and at the beginning of 1990s, within the context of perestroika. But this is not the topic of my current presentation.

In my paper, I am searching for the traces of Soviet memories (i.e. after 1949) in the theatre of independent Estonia. There is not a great deal of them, but this void is significant. And even the few representations that do exist can be classified within the categories of irony or mockery, or to another extreme – mystification. I will bring some empirical examples and will argue with regards to the reasons behind this tendency, which might be called conscious neglect or memory-loss.

Ildikó Sirató

National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Hungary

REMEMBERING THE ACT. FILMS AND THEATRE PERFORMANCES ON THE 1956 REVOLUTION. FROM DOCUMENT TO MUSICAL

The revolution of 1956 and the fight for freedom is, as it has been for decades, a neuralgic topic in present Hungarian culture. The process of understanding historical, social and political facts and texts also naturally invites artistic interpretation. Not only the new generations, but witnesses from all sides are involved in the process of attempting to understand and remember these events. How exactly, for example, could the

media of film and theatre find adequate themes and means of expression? The current paper deals with the cinematic and theatrical interpretations of the events, personalities and meanings of the 1956 revolution from the 1970s to the present day, with especial regard to 50th anniversary works (2006).

How do these works refer to historiography (which has its own process of changing the previous decades), to documents, documentary reconstructions and interpretations? How do these works change images? How do they affect the youth and how do the older generations react to the genre "musical of 1956"? The paper provides some examples from the dramaturgy of films and theatrical performances, as well as some pictures and musical selections (demonstrating elements of artistic efficiency) and confronts the techniques of documentary, as well as the traditions of genre. The popular and artistic works and political rituals (and "street events", demonstrations) that I have selected from the last few years in Hungary will, I hope, provide an image both of the 1956 revolution, and the more recent general feeling and conditions in the country.

This kind of picture (and depiction) could be used to build a complex and interdisciplinary historiography of the 1956 events in Hungary and could serve as a comparative model for research into the public memory of Central Europe.

Marija Skara

University of Helsinki, Finland

RE-EVALUATING FINLAND ON TWO FINNISH STAGES

In this paper I will contrast two Finnish plays which 'perform history'. I will compare two performances; "Hitler's Umbrella" written by the established Finnish academic Paavo Haavikko and performed in the Helsinki city theatre – to the largest audience in Finland; and another "I am Adolf Eichmann" performed by a small independent theatre. I will pose the question of how these plays re-evaluate Finnish history. What new insights of the past and present do they offer? "Hitler's Umbrella" (2004) and "I am Adolf Eichmann" (2005) both use historical facts – events and characters – and employ carnivalistic means. My argument is that even though the plays make use of similar means such as documentation and Finnish cultural memory, the interpretation of history and its implications on the present differ greatly.

This paper is a part of my PhD thesis in which I study the history of the performance of modern Finnish plays. During this decade, the theme of the Second World War has been performed on many Finnish stages. These performances have, for example, re-evaluated Finland's position in relation to the Soviet Union and Germany during WW II, and explained Finnish conduct during the war. But they have also discussed the state of contemporary Finland.

Part of my PhD thesis concentrates on the particular cultural citations within the performances. I study the particular contexts that these cultural references situated within; whether they affirm a hegemonical view or uncover new meanings for Finnish history. In my thesis I explore how modern Finnish plays/performances employ the aspects which Rokem states to be at the centre of performing history, those of testimony, documentation and the fantastic. My other methodological tools include citationality and performativity (J. Roach, J. Butler) but also phenomenological readings of performance critiques.

Jurgita Staniškytė

Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania

LET'S CELEBRATE! PERFORMATIVE COMMEMORATIONS, HISTORICAL RE-ENACTMENTS AND THE INVISIBLE THEATRE

The process whereby a historical narrative is re-produced and re-inscribed in the collective consciousness is a cultural discursive formation. Therefore, to understand the essential relations of society with the past requires the examination of the operation of cultural performances (or cultural ritualizations). Public performances can be seen as cultural practices that re-inscribe or reinvent the historical events or figures that shape contemporary social life. In conservative regimes, the principal dramatic performances are mass commemorations (civic celebrations, anniversaries, restorations), however, according to N. G. Canclini, authoritarian politics is monotonous theatre, as its ceremonies – used for the reiteration of established interpretations of legitimate and “natural” version of history, as well as a stage for the acting-out of the desire for repetition and perpetuation of order – are usually events that ultimately only celebrate redundancy. On the other hand, political or civic rituals can be easily transformed into cases of political theatre or carnival. To cite R. Schechner, to allow people to assemble in the streets is always to flirt with the possibility of improvisation. Commemorations in contemporary societies can acquire the shapes of various theatrical genres, ranging from ritual to direct theatre (R. Schechner), guerilla theatre, re-enactments, or the invisible theatre (A. Boal). Because of the high degree of instability which is embedded in performative practices, they appear particularly worth investigating as they constantly define and re-define the meanings of the historical past, as well as demonstrating the tensions between known patterns of action and instantaneous surprises and between memory politics and present contradictions. With the help of several examples, this paper will demonstrate how through using different performative modes and interventions, contested versions of historical past can be articulated (e.g. the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of the leader of Lithuanian Communist Party A. Sniečkus (2003.01.25 Vilnius, Lithuania)) or how the historical event can be appropriated while changing and neutralizing its subversive potential (e.g. the re-enactment of the resurrection and the fall of the Berlin Wall (2009.08.14 Palanga, Lithuania) marking the 20th anniversary of the event).

Małgorzata Sugiera and Mateusz Borowski

Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

HISTRIONIC HISTORY. THE STAGE AS A MEDIUM OF HISTORICAL DISCOURSE IN WOLFGANG HILDESHEIMER'S “MARY STUART” AND LIZ LOCHHEAD'S “MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS GOT HER HEAD CHOPPED OFF”

The performative changes in cultural and theatre studies, as well as the changes in theatre practice that have taken place since the 1970s, have left an indelible mark on the conventions of historical drama. Hayden White's seminal claim that since the mid-18th century history has been written according to the conventions of tragedy or comedy, i.e. the canonical dramatic genres, provides a significant context for both the authors of texts for the stage and scholars investigating the most recent developments in drama. The works of contemporary playwrights seem to go hand in hand with metahistorical reflections, and they

take up not only historical subjects, but also the very means by which history is written as a political and ideological construct.

By way of an example of this method of laying bare the process of the fictionalization of history, we would like to take a closer look at a text written by the German author Wolfgang Hildesheimer “Mary Stuart” (1971) and by a Scottish author Liz Lochhead, “Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off” (1987). The use of different metatheatrical strategies in both cases serves the same purpose of turning the theatre into a model of writing and disseminating history; a model which presents the spectators with an opportunity to see through its workings. In order to bring out the specific nature of the contemporary, meta-historical drama, we would like to confront Hildesheimer's and Lochhead's texts with a canonical play which covers the same topic, although in the classic form of tragedy – Friedrich Schiller's “Mary Stuart” (1800). By comparing these three examples – one dating from the period when the modern model of history was being established, and two others which testify to post-historical tendencies – we wish to demonstrate how theatrical practice and playwriting respond to the paradigmatic shifts in the humanities, bringing about new forms of writing for the stage.

Heather Sutherland

University of Reading, UK

‘FOR AN IRISH ACTOR, DOING THE TROUBLES IS LIKE DOING LEAR’: ACTING THE REAL IN TROUBLES DOCUDRAMAS

How and to what extent does an actor's own views or relationship to the subject-matter at hand affect or influence how they approach their performance of a factual character? This paper takes as its starting point the 2002 and 2004 Channel Four broadcasts “Bloody Sunday” and “Omagh”. Both written by Paul Greengrass, and both Anglo/Irish collaborations, these programmes achieved high critical acclaim for the portrayal of the events of 30th January 1972 and 15th August 1998.

Such productions cannot be labeled ‘bio-pics’ in the conventional sense and generally there remain differing opinions as to where the focus in them lies. Whereas, for example, Sheehan has argued such works do not ‘probe character very deeply’, continuing that their overall effectiveness lies in ‘conveying the communal tragedy of the day and its legacy’ (Sheehan, Helena. *The Continuing Story of Irish Television Drama: Tracking the Tiger*. Four Courts Press, 2004, p. 89), others, such as the dramatist Graham Reid suggest, rather, that ‘It's politics in the background, people in the foreground, never the other way around’ (In: Bignell, Jonathan; Lacey, Stephen and Macmurrough-Kavanagh, Madeline (eds). *British Television Drama: Past, Present and Future*. Palgrave, 2000, p. 119). What, then, does this mean for the actors charged with playing real characters in such depictions of events during the Troubles?

Both of these productions contained casts drawn from across Ireland and Northern Ireland, including people such as Gerard McSorley, (originally from Omagh), who, due to his ‘direct connection’ with the town, has been credited with bringing ‘a deeper passion to the film than someone who was unconnected with it’. This paper therefore considers, in particular, how Irish or Northern Irish actors view and approach such work. Drawing on archival research and interviews with docudrama actors, as well as the “Bloody Sunday” and “Omagh” broadcasts themselves, this paper seeks to examine the idea of ‘reality’ with regard to the on-screen recreation of ‘Troubles events’. Through asking such questions as ‘How do the actors prepare to take on and research these ‘real roles’?’, and, ‘to whom or what is the actor responsible?’, this paper draws

particular attention to the acting choices and decision-making processes behind these docudramas. Overall, this paper seeks to establish how far the proximity of the real events to the actors' own lives, (indeed their own opinions and perceptions of them), affects their approach, choices and final performance, and considers how this may ultimately affect the focus and 'reality' of the final event-reconstruction broadcast.

Erzsébet Fanni Tóth

Sigmund Freud University, Vienna, Austria

FROM THE GLORIOUS RED ARMY TO THE HEROIC SWEDISH MAN – CHANGING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE MEMORY OF THE BUDAPEST JEWISH DISTRICT

In my presentation I analyze how memories and histories of the Budapest Jewish district (Hungary) have altered with the fall of socialism and the dawn of the globalist era, when transnational tourism discovered the urban space. The old Jewish district is the landscape of a specific memory. It was the first area in the city where Jews were allowed to settle in the 18th century and during the Shoah one of the ghettos was established in this territory.

Throughout the past half century these facts, features and memories have been shaped by different actors. While the 'socialist' commemoration between 1945 and 1989 focused exclusively on the Russian liberators neglect of the local Jewish victims; after 1989 the hidden stories of local Jews became the official, canonized memories of the present, and the Soviet aspects were silenced. With the post socialist transformations, this urban space has become structured exclusively by and around Jewish identity and the experience of the Holocaust. A sacred Jewish space was created for "new" memories and also for transnational "memory tourism": an open air museum of both Judaism and the Holocaust which serves also as a site of post-memory imbued with a positive meaning.

The socialist culture of commemoration seems to have become replaced by commodified memory, where the celebration of "newly" discovered heroes (all of Western European origin) has silently imposed selective social amnesia on the memory of the "glorious" (!) Red Army. This transformation however is paradoxical. It represents a challenge to the old socialist frame. It does not equate so far as a total erasure of the vestiges of socialist commemoration. The Soviet monuments in the Jewish district are still kept and converted as part of the national (rather than sectional/communitarian) heritage of monuments. Interestingly, their socialist connotations have disappeared in the process.

Vitalija Truskauskaitė

Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania

RECONSTRUCTIONS OF SACRAL HISTORY: MNEMONIC STRATEGIES IN LITHUANIAN RELIGIOUS THEATRE

The aim of this presentation is to analyze mnemonic strategies in Soviet-era Lithuanian underground religious theatre and post-Soviet-era religious performances at sacral locations. The two types of sacral performances – those based on the lives of the saints, and those re-enacting Biblical events – are viewed within the historical and theoretical context of sacral theatre, and comparisons are drawn between the mnemonic

strategies of repetition and recollection.

The sacral performances that were held at Lithuanian Soviet-era clandestine monasteries mostly featured evangelical plots. Extant scripts from those years look very much like samizdat publications – typewritten texts on thin paper which were often anonymous. It was dangerous to declare their authorship, and likewise, to photograph their performers. The titles were "The Flight into Egypt", "The Prodigal Son", "The Sacrifice of Abraham", etc., and the plays were composed of Biblical events related in verse. At that time, paratheatrical spectacles and re-enactments predominated at the Kaunas Interdiocesan Seminary. The anniversaries of the canonization of St. Casimir, St. Francis, St. Thomas, and St. Cecilia were modestly commemorated within a closed circle, and the festivals of the Solemnity of Christ the King and the Immaculate Conception of Holy Virgin Mary were celebrated.

The present-day Lithuanian sacral theatre exists mostly in the form of religious narratives and events enacted as allegoric scenes by pilgrims at the holy shrine of Šiluva and by participants of the Eucharistic Congress in Kaunas. Sacral theatre also appears in the form of the enactments of Biblical events performed by laymen at various parishes in Vilnius and as stories of holy inspiration staged at the Franciscan convent in Kaunas.

In this paper Lithuanian sacral theatre will be viewed in the light of the tradition of the "Memory Palace" which is considered to be the main narrative of the sacral theatre in terms of the reconstruction of sacred images and concepts. In the course of the present analysis the sacral theatre is treated as a theatre of memory, the mnemonics strategies of which represent the transformation of repetition into recollection.

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STAGING DISSENSUS: THE BALTIC WAY AS A PERFORMATIVE ACT TO REFRAME THE GEO-POLITICAL SPHERE

Jacques Rancière discusses dissensus as "a division put in the 'common sense'; a dispute about what is given, about the frame within which we see something as given." In this paper, I intend to analyze the Baltic Way of August 1989 as an example of political dissensus, "putting two worlds in one and the same world". On 23 August 1989, a 600 km human chain linked Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, to condemn the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact on its 50th anniversary. It was a symbolic performance uniting three republics of the Soviet Union in an extraordinary act to denounce the Soviet occupation of three independent nation-states in 1939 and to demand restitution of their sovereign rights. As an embodied performance of national as well as transnational solidarity, it challenged the Soviet interpretation of history, countering the assertion that the Baltic countries entered willingly into the Soviet Union, and demonstrated, through the participation of approximately 2 million people, the popular opposition to Soviet domination. More particularly, it redrew the political geographical map, highlighting national borders between the Baltic countries, which had become only administrative rather than political units, as well as forming a living physical connection between the three Baltic States. By disputing the geo-political frame and "putting two worlds in one and the same world", the Baltic Way created a visible dissensus, asserting the rights of national citizenship and sovereignty, which had been denied for fifty years, and heralding the demise of the Soviet Union and the iron curtain.

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