

History – memory – myth: Re-presenting the past.

International Society for Cultural History Annual Conference 2011

ISCH2011 Conference Book

Oslo, August 3rd to 6th, 2011

Edited by Anne Frøberg

ISCH2011 Organizing committee

Cultural History, University of Oslo

Oslo 2011

ISCH2011 Organizing committee

Anne Eriksen, Professor in cultural history and leader of the committee

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Arne Bugge Amundsen, Professor in cultural history and Head of Dept. of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, University of Oslo

Kyrre Kverndokk, Post Doctoral research fellow

Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, Professor in cultural history

The conference is hosted by:

The University of Oslo

Dept. of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages

Cultrans

In collaboration with

The Royal Gustaphus Adolphus Academy

Funded by:

The University of Oslo

Dept. of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages

Cultrans

The Royal Gustaphus Adolphus Academy

The Research Council of Norway

The Foundation Fritt Ord

Conference coordinator: Anne Frøberg

Crew: Beate Ringstad, Eva Karvel, Kristin Schøyen Grude, Linda Luna, Linn Marie Karlsen, Maria Storhaug-Meyer, Marie Nicolaisen

Front cover: Kirsten Berrum

WELCOME TO THE ISCH ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2011

It is a very great pleasure to welcome the annual ISCH conference to the University of Oslo. The theme of the conference – History, Memory, Myth: Re-presenting the Past – was chosen in the hope that it would attract the interest and intention of a large number of scholars within the wide field of cultural history. As you will see from the program in this book, we will listen to nearly one hundred and fifty papers and five plenary lectures during the four days of the conference, given by scholars from most parts of the world. I look forward to interesting talks, inspiring discussions and new friends.

A very warm welcome to every one of you – have a good conference!

Anne Eriksen

Leader of the scientific committee

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PROGRAM

Wednesday, 3 August, 2011

From 12.00 Registration

14.00 Opening ceremony

Anne Eriksen, leader of the conference committee

Arne Bugge Amundsen, Head of Dept. of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, University of Oslo

Einar Lie, Dean of Research, The Faculty of Humanities University of Oslo

14.45 – 15.30 Keynote Lecture

Yael Zerubavel: Heritage, National Memory, and identity Politics in Israel.

Chair: Anne Eriksen

15.30 Break

15.45 – 17.15 Parallel sessions

Thursday, 4 August, 2011

08.30 – 09.30 Keynote Lecture

Tony Bennett: Collections and Memory: Records, Refuse, and Survivals

Chair: Saphinaz-Amal Naguib

09.30 Break

09.45 – 11.45 Parallel sessions

Please note: The University of Oslo will hold a ceremony dedicated to the memory of the victims of the terror attack at the campus square at 12.00

13.00 – 14.00 Lunch

14.00 – 15.00 Keynote Lecture

Lotten Gustafsson Reinius: Rites of reconciliation in the post secular museum

Chair: Kyrre Kverndokk

15.15 – 16.45 Parallel sessions

16.45 Coffee break

17.00 – 18.30 Parallel sessions

19.30 – 20.30 L'Institut français de Norvège and the new Institut d'histoire culturelle européenne (Château de Lunéville) invite the conference delegates for a drink. The

Institute is located in Holte­gaten 29. *Please note that you must sign up for this event on Wednesday if you want to take part.*

Friday, 5 August, 2011

09.00 – 10.00 Keynote Lecture

François Hartog: The historian and the present

Chair: Arne Bugge Amundsen

10.00 Break

10.15 – 12.15 Parallel sessions

12.15 Lunch

13.15 – 14.30 ISCH Annual General Meeting

14.30 Break

14.45 – 16.15 Parallel sessions

16.15 Coffee break

16.30 – 18.00 Parallel sessions

20.00 Conference dinner at “Sjømannsskolen”

Saturday, 6 August, 2011

10.00 – 10.45 Plenary: President of the ISCH Liv Emma Thorsen: Evoking

Forgotten Stories in the Natural History Museum

Chair: Anne Eriksen

10.45 – 11.00 ISCH 2012 – an invitation, Didier Francfort and Yves Ravailier

Break

11.15 – 12.15 Parallel sessions

12.30 – 13.15 Final round table

Chair: Saphinaz-Amal Naguib

Panel: Tine Damsholt, Jacqueline Hylkema, Jörg Rogge, Helge Jordheim and Stephen Mitchell

13.15 Lunch

Sunday, 7 August, 2011

Excursions

CONFERENCE VENUE

The Registration and information desk, on the ground floor of Sophus Bugge Building (=SB):

Wednesday 12.00-17.00, Thursday 09.00-18.00, Friday 09.00-18.00, Saturday 10.00-13.00

Computers for checking mail are also located here.

The Keynote and Plenary Lectures, and the ISCH AGM, on the ground floor of Sophus Bugge, auditorium 1

Parallel sessions, room 1-7 on the ground floor of P. A. Munch Building (= PAM)

Coffee is served Wednesday 15.15, Thursday 10.00 and 16.15, Friday 10.00 and 16.15, Saturday 11.15 on the ground floor of Sophus Bugge Building

Lunch. The participants get meal tickets. The lunch is served at Frederikke (central square, Blindern campus), Thursday 12.15-13.30, Friday 12.15-13.15, and Saturday 13.15

Reception at the University, Wednesday from 17.30 in Ivar Aasen's garden

Conference dinner, Friday 20.00 at "Sjømannsskolen". Tram line no 18 Ljabru or no 19, direction Ljabru, from Jernbanetorget to the stop Sjømannsskolen. Two minutes to walk.

The French Institute in Oslo is located in Holtegaten 29.

From the university: Tram line 18 or 19 to Bislet, continue by foot (ca 8 min.): Follow Underhaugsveien, cross Bogstadveien, then enter Holtegata.

From the hotels: Tram line 19 (direction Majorstua) to the stop Uranienborgveien. 1 min. walk from the stop.

OVERVIEW OF THE PROGRAMME OVERVIEW OF THE PROGRAMME

Programme parallell sessions			
Wednesday 3 August	15.45-17.15		
Room 1	Session 1: Collective Memory and Nation Building I 3 papers		
Room 2	Session 2: Bodies, Memories and Museums I 3 papers		
Room 3	Session 3: Commemoration, Confession and Collective Memory 3papers		
Room 4			
Room 5	Session 5: The ISCH Post Graduate Network		
Room 6	Session 6: Lieux de Mémoire 2 papers		

Thursday 4 August	09.45-11.15	15.15-16.45	17.00-18.30
Room 1	Session 1 continued: Collective Memory and Nation Building II 4 papers	Session 1 continued: Collective Memory and Nation Building III 3 papers	Session 1 continued: Collective Memory and Nation Building IV 3 papers
Room 2	Session 2 continued: Bodies, Memories and Museums II 2 papers	Session 11: Nostalgia I 3 papers	Session 11 continued: Nostalgia II 3 papers
Room 3	Session 7: Placing Memory 4 papers	Session 12: History and Conflict I 4 papers	Session 12 continued: History and Conflict II 2 papers
Room 4		Session 13: Heritage and Museums I 3 papers	Session 13 continued: Heritage and Museums II 3 papers
Room 5	Session 8: Epistemology: Temporality and Theories of Memory I 4 papers	Session 8 continued: Epistemology: Temporality and Theories of Memory II 2 papers	Session 16: The Malleable Memories of Mary 3 papers
Room 6	Session 9: Popular Musical Styles as "National Monuments" 4 papers	Session 14: Roads to Memory 3 papers	
Room 7	Session 10: Mediaeval Memories 4 papers	Session 15: History and Memory: Shaping our Future I 3 papers	Session 15 continued: History and Memory: Shaping our Future II 2 papers

Friday 5 August	10.15-12.15	14.45-16.15	16.30-18.00
Room 1	Session 17: Remembering Nature 4 papers	Session 1 continued: Collective Memory and Nation Building V 3 papers	Session 28: Memory and Popular Culture I 3 papers
Room 2	Session 18: Activating Photographs in Archives and Collections 3 papers	Session 24: Epistemology: Historiography I 3 papers	Session 24 continued: Epistemology: Historiography II 3 papers
Room 3	Session 19: Poetics of the Past I 3 papers	Session 19 continued: Poetics of the Past II 2 papers	Session 29: Politics and Memory I 2 papers
Room 4	Session 20: Memory Studies and the Cultural History of the Art of memory 4 papers	Session 25: History and Mass Media 3 papers	Session 30: Representing the Past and Constructing the Memory: Festivals, ceremonies and celebrations I 3 papers
Room 5	Session 21: Presentisms – Past and present 4 papers	Session 26: Facing the Crisis: Collective Identity and Mnemonic Processes 3 papers	Session 31: Monuments and Memorials 3 papers
Room 6	Session 22: Memory and Life Stories 4 papers	Session 4: Memory and Trauma 3 papers	Session 32: “Usable Past”: Heritage and production of “silences” 3 papers
Room 7	Session 23: Performing the Past 3 papers		

Saturday 6 August	11.15-12.15		
Room 1	Session 28 continued: Memory and Popular Culture II 2 papers		
Room 2	Session 33: Political Uses of the Past: Provincial Identities and Symbolic Repertoires of Revolt in France 2 papers		
Room 3	Session 29 continued: Politics and Memory II 2 papers		
Room 4	Session 30 continued: Representing the past and Constructing the Memory: Festivals, ceremonies and celebrations II 2 papers		

PLENARY ABSTRACT

Yael Zerubavel,

Professor of Jewish Studies and History, and Director of the Allen and Joan Bildner Center for the Study of Jewish Life; Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, USA:

Heritage, National Memory, and Identity Politics in Israel

The notion of national heritage is intimately connected to the construction of a national identity and memory, and is likewise subject to negotiation, transformation, and contestation. Israeli society presents an interesting case for the study of the various ways in which identity politics can transform an established national memory, challenging its earlier construction of the past and giving rise to multiple, and at times contradictory, versions. The discussion will draw on diverse sites of memory, including museums, historical sites, rituals and tourist performances.

François Hartog,

Directeur d'études at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Paris, France:

The historian and the present

Starting from the recent conjuncture, we would like to raise the question of the role and the place of the historian in a world where the present has become, so to speak, the only horizon. End of History, of course not, but a crisis or a questioning of the modern concept of History.

Lotten Gustafsson Reinius,

Associate professor in ethnology, University of Stockholm and curator at the Ethnographic Museum, Stockholm, Sweden:

Rites of reconciliation in the post secular museum

Repatriation rituals, performative aspects of identity and memory politics, sociomaterial dynamics of museum collections, postcolonial dilemmas and changed roles of museums and collections of ethnography, the interlinked dichotomy between the modern and the

traditional restored, recomposed or dissolved, the role of materiality, towards a global heritage politics.

Tony Bennett ,

Research Professor in Social and Cultural Theory, Centre for Cultural Research at University of Western Sydney, Australia:

Collections and Memory: Records, Refuse, and Survivals

My concerns in this paper are to tease out the relations between different kinds of collection and the social organisation of memories. I shall look at three different kinds of collections - archival records; history museums; and anthropological collections of 'survivals' of other cultures – with a view to examining their different relationships to the processes through which things are put into and out of circulation, and the different consequences this has for the kinds of relationships to the past they produce. I shall be particularly concerned with the forms of 'premature memorialisation' associated with anthropological collections of survivals and their connections to the political dynamics of colonialism in 'settler' societies.

Liv Emma Thorsen,

Professor of cultural history, Dept. of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, University of Oslo, President of the ISCH:

Evoking forgotten stories in the natural history museum

Animal studies in natural history museums are a fairly new research field, initiated by Donna Haraway's influential work "Teddy Bear Patriarchy Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden" (1989). As Haraway demonstrates in her analysis of Carl Akeley's famous dioramas in American Museum of Natural History, natural history exhibits are not neutral, but are expressions of social and cultural ideas and gendered and racial hierarchies in their time. The transformation of an animal from a living creature to a taxidermied object is not only a material process of change - it is as well a process in which the complex and often unsettling collecting history is simplified, neutralized and by the years falls into oblivion. I will support my statement by presenting bits of the biographies of some of the exposed mammals in Gothenburg Natural History Museum, and finally ask how this kind of animal biographies can be integrated in nature displays.

DETAILED SESSION LISTING1: Collective Memory and Nation Building

Wednesday 3 August 15.45-17.15

Thursday 4 August 9.45-11.45 and 15.15 - 18.30

Friday 5 August 14.45-16.15 – PAM room 1

Chaired by: Arne Bugge Amundsen (Wednesday and Thursday), Kyrre Kverndokk (Thursday) and Marjo Kaartinen (Friday)

Mikko Pollari: <i>A Nation of Disharmony. The Cult of Johan Ludvig Runeberg as a Guide to Early 20th Century Finland.</i>	Abstract p. 30
Monica Pimenta Velloso: <i>Memories 'from the margin', literature and transgression in Brazilian Modernism</i>	Abstract p. 30
Juhana Saarelainen: <i>Myth and nation. Epistemological poetics of early Finnish nationalism</i>	Abstract p. 31
Nick Dyrenfurth: <i>Collective Memory and the Politics of Australian Mateship</i>	Abstract p. 31
Mihaiela Grancea: <i>The artistic film and the remythologization of the outlaw</i>	Abstract p. 31
Maija Mäkikalli: <i>History in Shanghai World Expo 2010 - Design and Nature in Finland Pavilion</i>	Abstract p. 32
Mads Mordhorst: <i>Nations as brands and brand communities as nations</i>	Abstract p. 32
Johannes Due Enstad: <i>Putinist Politics of History: 'Patriotic upbringing' and the instrumentalization of history in Putin's Russia</i>	Abstract p. 33
Lars Tore Flåten: <i>History textbooks and identity politics in India.</i>	Abstract p. 33
Shailja Sharma: <i>The Role of Memory and Trauma in Creating Citizen-Subjects.</i>	Abstract p. 33
Daniela Marzola Fialho: <i>Identity's Cartographies: The Visible Cities</i>	Abstract p. 34
Alessandro Pes: <i>Back to the Past. The Myth of Ancient Rome in Fascist Colonial Discourse</i>	Abstract p. 34
Sirpa Aalto: <i>Viking Age and Nation Building in Finland</i>	Abstract p. 35
Heta Aali: <i>Merovingian queens and the early nineteenth-century French historiography</i>	Abstract p. 35

2: Bodies, Memories and Museums

Wednesday 3 August 15.45-17.15

Thursday 4 August 09.45-11.45 – PAM room 2

Chaired and organized by Brita Brenna

Anne-Sofie Hjemdahl: <i>The body in the costume exhibition? Historical representation of social groups</i>	Abstract p. 36
Brita Brenna: <i>Performing bodies through glass cases. Moving exhibitionary techniques between natural and cultural museum exhibits around 1900</i>	Abstract p. 36
Anne Folke Henningsen: <i>Embodied difference performed in live ethnographic exhibitions</i>	Abstract p. 36
Silje Opdahl Mathisen: <i>Travels with the Lappish equipage. An investigation into the representation of Sami culture and history at national museums of cultural history in Norway and Sweden.</i>	Abstract p. 37
Ulla Angkjær Jørgensen: <i>Two different notions of 'affect' at work in an exhibition on Holocaust: The Norwegian Memorial and Human Rights Centre Falstad.</i>	Abstract p. 37

3: Commemoration, Confession and Collective Memory

Wednesday 3 August 15.45-17.15 – PAM room 3

Chaired by Miri Rubin

Organized by Bronach Kane

Bronach Kane: <i>Collective Memory and Narratives of Manhood in Late Medieval England</i>	Abstract p. 38
Rob Lutton: <i>Narrative, confession and the remembered self in late medieval English heresy trial records</i>	Abstract p. 38
Simon Yarrow: <i>A Thousand Intimate Memories: Relic-Cults and the Making of Miracles in Twelfth Century England</i>	Abstract p. 39

4: Memory and Trauma

Friday 5 August 14.45-16.15 – PAM room 6

Chaired by: Lene Otto

Andrea Petö: <i>Memories and interpretations: localized war crimes in Budapest in 1944</i>	Abstract p. 39
Belen Moreno Garrido and José Carlos Rueda Laffond: <i>El Valle de los Caídos as Space Plural of Memory</i>	Abstract p. 40
Isabel María Martín and Carlota Coronado Ruiz: <i>Exile, Dispersed Memory and Evocation Documentary in Spain</i>	Abstract p. 40

5: The ISCH Post Graduate Network

Wednesday 3 August 15.45-17.15 – PAM room 5

Chaired and organized by James Emmott

Open Network Meeting	Abstract p. 41
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6: Lieux de Mémoire

Wednesday 3 August 15.45-17.15 – PAM room 6

Chaired by: Kyrre Kverndokk

Jean Kempf: <i>Loci memoriae in American culture</i>	Abstract p. 41
Ryoichi Horiguchi: <i>Green Cross as a Lieu de Mémoire</i>	Abstract p. 41

7: Placing Memory

Thursday 4 August 09.45-11.45 – PAM room 3

Chaired by: Knut Aukrust

Tor Einar Fagerland: <i>Stiklestad: A place of history – a place of memory</i>	Abstract p. 42
Dorothea Volz: <i>An "other reality": Re-staging and Re-Presenting Venice</i>	Abstract p. 42
Henrika Tandefelt: <i>The Mansion as Heritage and Stage. The use and meaning of history for the Finnish nobility in a time of social and political change 1880-1920</i>	Abstract p. 43
Anna-Leena Ripatti: <i>Restoring Viborg Castle at the End of the Nineteenth Century: Legacies of "Great Men" in the Finnish-Russian Borderland</i>	Abstract p. 43

8: Epistemology: Temporality and Theories of Memory

Thursday 4 August 09.45-11.45 and 15.15-16.45 – PAM room 5

Chaired by: Anu Korhonen

Anton Froeyman: <i>Runia and Ankersmit (and Levinas) on the Presence of the Past</i>	Abstract p. 44
Kalle Pihlainen: <i>Cultural history and the myth of presence</i>	Abstract p. 44
Marek Tamm: <i>Mnemohistory – a new paradigm for history writing?</i>	Abstract p. 44
Andrea Zittlau: <i>The Eyewitness</i>	Abstract p. 45
Bodil Axelsson: <i>Becomings: memories, art, research</i>	Abstract p. 45
Mattias Ekman: <i>Placing knowledge - or are there spatial frameworks for the cultural memory?</i>	Abstract p. 46

9: Popular Musical Styles as “National Monuments”

Thursday 4 August 09.45-11.45 – PAM room 6

Chaired by Yves Ravailler

Organized by Hannu Salmi

Joonas Korhonen: <i>Re-presentations of Waltz. The waltz as cultural capital in Vienna and Europe, c. 1870–1945.</i>	Abstract p. 47
Jean-Sébastien Noël: <i>The freylekh, a Jewish dance : social dancing through the pathways of identification</i>	Abstract p. 47
Sophie Jacotot: <i>The European tango as a national monument : a comparative study (France, Finland, Turkey)</i>	Abstract p. 47
Anaïs Fléchet and Didier Francfort: <i>Samba as a National Myth. Carnival and Sound Patrimony in Twentieth Century Brazil</i>	Abstract p. 48

10: Mediaeval Memories

Thursday 4 August 09.45-11.45 – PAM room 7

Chaired by: Jörg Rogge

Stephen Mitchell: <i>The Mythologized Past: Memory and Politics in Medieval Gotland</i>	Abstract p. 48
Ecaterina Lung: <i>Neglecting Barbarian Identity in Barbarian Kingdoms in the Writings of the VIth - VIIIth Century Historians</i>	Abstract p. 49
Riita Latinen: <i>Erasing the Catholic Past in a Swedish Provincial Cathedral</i>	Abstract p. 49
Kirsi Kanerva: <i>The dead and the emotions of the living - Studying corporeal objects as symbols of the abstract in medieval Iceland</i>	Abstract p. 49

11: Nostalgia

Thursday 4 August 15.15-16.45 and 17.00 -18.30 – PAM room 2

Chaired by: Bodil Axelsson

Mark Chou: <i>When the Towers Fell: The Politics of Nostalgia after 9/11</i>	Abstract p. 50
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<i>in HBO's The Wire</i>	
Kristian Handberg: <i>Retroactivity - the popular reframing of the near past as cultural memory</i>	Abstract p. 50
Diana Spokiene: <i>The Past as Popular Culture in Contemporary German Literature</i>	Abstract p. 51
Rami Mähkä: <i>The Cavemen of the 1970s? BBC's Life on Mars as a Time Travel Fantasy</i>	Abstract p. 51
Ekaterina Kalinina: <i>What do we talk about, when we talk about Soviet nostalgia?</i>	Abstract p. 52

12: History and Conflict

Thursday 4 August 15.15-16.45 and 17.00-18.00 – PAM room 3

Chaired by: Andrea Petö

Tiina Lintunen: <i>Never shall it happen again? The Past justifies the means</i>	Abstract p. 52
Gabriella Valera Gruber: <i>Shared Memory/Shared Values: the Point of View of Cultural History.</i>	Abstract p. 52
Chris Dixon: <i>Contested Memories and the Politics of History: (Mis-) Remembering the 1968 Tet Offensive</i>	Abstract p. 53
Omayra Herrero: <i>711-2011: Conflicting Memories in the Commemoration of the Muslim Conquest of Spain</i>	Abstract p. 53
Knut Aukrust: <i>Remembering Sepharad. Jews in Spain before and after 1492</i>	Abstract p. 54
Adrian Jones: <i>Representing (Dis)Honour in Peace? – An Ottoman case study from 1711</i>	Abstract p. 54

13: Heritage and Museums

Thursday 4 August 15.15-16.45 and 17.00-18.30 – PAM room 4

Chaired and organized by Saphinaz-Amal Naguib

Eva Reme and Olaug Norunn Økland: <i>Museums, Materiality and Memories</i>	Abstract p. 55
Kate Hill: <i>John Kirk's English "Bygones": Reimagining rural and</i>	Abstract p. 55

<i>urban pasts in English museums, 1890-1939</i>	
Anastasia Filippoupoliti and Helen Beneki: <i>Collective memory as exhibition: issues of staging the maritime past in the museum</i>	Abstract p. 55
Saphinaz-Amal Naguib: <i>Diasporic heritage in museums</i>	Abstract p. 56
Nika Potinkara: <i>Representing Sámi Past in Museum Exhibitions</i>	Abstract p. 56
Lærke Maria Andersen Funder: <i>Classical Antiquity in Greece and Denmark - the same old story?</i>	Abstract p. 57

14: Roads to Memory

Thursday 4 August 15.15-16.45 – PAM room 6

Chaired by Kristina Skåden

Torild Gjesvik: <i>Old people still remember... Representations of Sarpsfossen.</i>	Abstract p. 57
Marie-Theres Fojuth: <i>Conceptions of Space: Railway Politics, Nation-Building, and Landscape Constructions in Northern Europe 1850-1910.</i>	Abstract p. 58
Kristina Skåden: <i>Mapping the past/future; Autobahn on display</i>	Abstract p. 58

15: History and Memory: Shaping our Future

Thursday 4 August 15.15-16.45 and 17.00 -18.30 – PAM room 7

Chaired and organized by Dorthe Gert Simonsen and Tine Damsholt

Tom Allbeson: <i>At the crossroads of cultural memory and utopian thinking: Photography, architecture and the establishment of UNESCO</i>	Abstract p. 59
Jakob Kraus: <i>From Popular Memory to National History? Remembering Italian Colonial Rule in Libya</i>	Abstract p. 59
Jakob Egholm-Feldt: <i>The Love of Zion</i>	Abstract p. 60
Pälvi Rantala: <i>Stories of the past : a case of a "local fool" from Northern Finland</i>	Abstract p. 60
Björg Seland: <i>The visionary girl. Telling and retelling a story from the 1860s</i>	Abstract p. 60

16: The Malleable Memories of Mary

Thursday 4 August 17.00-18.30 – PAM room 5

Chaired and organized by Miri Rubin

Teresa Shawcross: <i>From Temple to Church: Mary of the Parthenon</i>	Abstract p. 61
Kati Ihnat: <i>Constructing a religious heritage: Mary's Conception in early twelfth century England</i>	Abstract p. 62
Ora Limor: <i>Mary of the Holy Land: the Memories of Pilgrims</i>	Abstract p. 62

17: Remembering Nature

Friday 5 August 10.15- 12.15 – PAM room 1

Chaired and organized by Adam Dodd

Adam Dodd: <i>'Natural History Books as Remembrance': Childhood, Wonder and Nostalgia in the works of Arabella Buckley</i>	Abstract p. 63
Anna Samuelsson: <i>Zoo/mbies in the Theatre of Nature</i>	Abstract p. 63
Guro Flinterud: <i>Remembering the polar bears</i>	Abstract p. 63
Katrin Pfeifer: <i>Remembering Natural Disasters</i>	Abstract p. 64

18: Activating Photographs in Archives and Collections

Friday 5 August 10.15- 12.15 – PAM room 2

Chaired and organized by Jens Petter Kollhøj

Jens Petter Kollhøj: <i>Looking for anti-violence in the National Library of Norway - Peace history approaches to photographs ca 1885-1940</i>	Abstract p. 65
Mette Sandbye: <i>Greenland: Making pictures talk. The photographic archive as a place for the performance of unarticulated memories</i>	Abstract p. 65
Nina Lager Vestberg: <i>Medium, materiality and the miscellaneous: some thoughts on the ordering of photographic archives</i>	Abstract p. 65

19: Poetics of the Past

Friday 5 August 10.15- 12.15 and 14.45-16.15 – PAM room 3

Chaired by Bronach Kane

Carin Franzén: <i>The Process of Cultural Memory</i>	Abstract p. 66
Lene Andersen: <i>Storytellers' use of the past in present oral storytelling in Denmark</i>	Abstract p. 66
Maria Vainio-Kurtakko: <i>The Lure of the Gustavian "Golden Age" - 18th Century revivalism seen through Works of Art, Novels and Letters by the Late 19th Century Swedish-speaking Cultural Elite in Finland</i>	Abstract p. 67
Martin Baake-Hansen: <i>Nostalgia in Czeslaw Milosz: The Issa Valley (1955)</i>	Abstract p. 67
Assimina Kaniari and Atle Omland: <i>'Temporalities of Contemporaneity: The uses of Cultural History in Contemporary Greek art'</i>	Abstract p. 68

20: Memory Studies and the Cultural History of the Art of memory

Friday 5 August 10.15- 12.15 – PAM room 4

Chaired and organized by Henning Laugerud

Henning Laugerud: <i>Remembering the Past, Creating the Future. The dynamics of Memory and Tradition.</i>	Abstract p. 68
Jørgen Bakke: <i>Memory and geography: The past as a landscape in the ancient Greek historians.</i>	Abstract p. 69
John Ødemark: <i>The Art of Memory in the History of Cultural Investigation - The Case of Diego Valadés? Rhetorica Christiana (1579)</i>	Abstract p. 69
Arne Bugge Amundsen: <i>Confessionality, Ritual and the Memory of Culture</i>	Abstract p. 70

21: Presentisms – Past and Present

Friday 5 August 10.15- 12.15 – PAM room 5

Chaired and organized by Helge Jordheim

Helge Jordheim: <i>Presentism - synchronism: two alternative regimes of historicity?</i>	Abstract p. 70
Eivind Engebretsen: <i>Presentism and exemplarity in the writings of Antoine Godeau</i>	Abstract p. 71
Erling Sandmo: <i>Time, present in the world</i>	Abstract p. 71
Anne Eriksen: <i>Presentism and the scientific fact</i>	Abstract p. 71

22: Memory and Life Stories

Friday 5 August 10.15- 12.15 – PAM room 6

Chaired by: Torild Gjesvik

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25: History and Mass Media

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28: Memory and Popular Culture

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29: Politics and Memory

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31: Monuments and Memorials

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33: Political Uses of the Past: Provincial Identities and Symbolic Repertoires of Revolt in France

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Organized by Daniel DeGross and Andrew Smith

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SESSION ABSTRACTS

Session 1 Collective Memory and Nation Building

Mikko Pollari

A Nation of Disharmony. The Cult of Johan Ludvig Runeberg as a Guide to Early 20th Century Finland.

At the turn of the 20th century the almost century-old autonomous status of Finland as a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire was threatened by Russification measures. Traditionally this phase in Finnish history has been presented as a heroic national struggle against an overwhelming foe.

However, this depiction becomes debatable when the era is looked at through contemporary texts commemorating the National Poet of Finland, J. L. Runeberg, whose 100th birthday in 1904 coincided with this national crisis. These texts do not mediate an image of a unified nation fighting oppression, but a nation of inner divisions and distrust. They also suggest that something had happened to the idealistic conception of society embraced by the creators of the Cult of Runeberg a generation ago. Early 1900s writers had started to see the ideal of harmony attached to the National Poet as dated. To them, idealism was becoming synonymous with utopianism. By looking at early 1900s Finland through the nationally shared tradition of Runeberg it is possible to highlight this change and open our ears to the forgotten disharmony of the era.

Monica Pimenta Velloso

Memories 'from the margin', literature and transgression in Brazilian Modernism

The aim of this paper is to discuss the conflict of memories that marked the opening of Brazilian modernism in Rio de Janeiro in the early twentieth century. In the dispute between the organizers strands of the modernist culture, science versus art, we propose to focus on the art based on the novel by Lima Barreto "Life and death of Gonzaga de Sá"(1919). In transforming the tension of modernizing in the protagonist of the novel, that is both employee-state model and freethinking philosopher, the author reconstructs social memories of Brazil, which were on the fringes of the society, revealing the duality of the modern values that presides the creation of national identity This paper aims to contribute to the reflection on the construction of nationality from the modernist phenomenon, highlighting the transgression's role that literature can take in its relationship with social memory and history.

Juhana Saarelainen

Myth and nation. Epistemological poetics of early Finnish nationalism

Medical doctor and linguist Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) was one of the key figures in the process of building Finland to become “a nation among other nations”. He was celebrated especially for the epic poem *Kalevala* (1835/1849) – a mythical narrative based on folk poetry. Lönnrot’s intention was to cultivate and form the national identity of Finns. But how did he understand the concept of myth? In my paper I will explore the cultural historical understanding of myth in 19th century Finland and make some comparisons to contemporary thought.

Lönnrot’s conception of myth differs greatly from some of the more recent views articulated by, for example, Roland Barthes. It is an early example of constructive possibilities given to fictional narration. Lönnrot didn’t conceive myth as a distortion of the truth. On the contrary as fiction and poetry he attributed to myth a capability to express truth – only in different form than everyday language or science. In my interpretation I will follow Paul Ricœur who has contested the semiotic-structuralist claim that the basic element of language is a sign which represents and has argued that language is primarily narrative by nature.

Nick Dyrenfurth

Collective Memory and the Politics of Australian Mateship

This paper investigates the politicization of Australia's past through a case study of the cultural phenomenon of 'mateship'. (Mateship describes the allegedly deep bonds of equality, loyalty and solidarity between Australians, usually men.) Through a close reading of textual and visual sources, this paper traces the political usages of Australian collective memory as expressed by the ideal of mateship. As evidence, two case studies will be presented. The first investigates the efforts of the fin de siècle labour movement to portray the nation's nineteenth century experience, via the ethos of mateship, as inherently egalitarian and socialist. Shaping the nation's collective memory was seen as a key means by which the labour movement could advance its nation-building social democratic project. Later, during the 1940s and 1950s, this interpretation was adopted by left-wing intellectuals amidst a hostile Cold War political environment. The second case study deals with recent conservative attempts, notably those of former conservative Prime Minister John Howard and like-minded historians, to re-present the nation's past as politically conservative by virtue of appropriating the values of mateship and egalitarianism. These case studies illustrate how struggles over the Australian past shape, and is itself shaped by, the politics of the present.

Mihaiela Grancea

The artistic film and the remythologization of the outlaw

In Romanian literature, also, the outlaw was a product of Romanticism. Determined by the immediate need of constructing a national identity, Romanian romantics regarded, sincerely and without mystification, the folklore as a source and reserve for the Romanian

identity. The Romanian film as an instrument of national-communist propaganda used themes and characters already consecrated by literature (see Radu Anghel, Pintea Viteazul, Iancu Jianu, etc) and remodeled them. However, the outlaw of such cultural products becomes a linear character, obsessed with achieving social and national justice. The mystification is thus continued, because Romanian outlaws, with few exceptions, were not involved in the struggle for national and social emancipation. Also this kind of film, commonly called "outlaw movie" practiced a rather puerile rhetoric and used the specificity of action films for success amongst the internal and external fans of the genre. After the fall of Ceausescu, only two more films were made on this topic. Symptomatic for the recharging of nationalist-communist rhetoric and nostalgia is the re-broadcasting of these films by commercial television stations, more often than foreign films which also re-mythologize, from different perspectives, the images of notorious outlaws like Robin Hood and Janosik.

Maija Mäkikalli

History in Shanghai World Expo 2010 - Design and Nature in Finland Pavilion

World expositions have been an important forum for nation building. Since the middle of the nineteenth century nations have exhibited both contemporary achievements and visions for the future in the spirit of nationalism and progressiveness. History and national myths have had an important role representing both the national identity and economic and material achievements. Today world expositions can be seen in the context of globalization as forums to focus on shared challenges. On the other hand world expos are important sites for national "branding" on ever more competitive global market. In Shanghai World Expo 2010 (with theme Better City, Better Life) history and myths have strong position in the architecture and displays of national pavilions. China, Spain, Italy, Poland and Finland are some out of many examples. This paper analyzes the prize-winner (for architecture and design) Finland pavilion, and its display as national representation. What role is given to history? How is history represented and manifested in the pavilion and its exhibition? How the use of history and myth position Finland with regard to other countries?

Mads Mordhorst

Nations as brands and brand communities as nations

The papers argue that brands and companies have become still more central actors in shaping identities both at an individual as collective level. Companies get historians to write their history for using it to shape identity internal and external can be used to marketing. Many brands are identity brand that active try to build them self as an identity shaping community like Apple, Nike and IKEA. In this construction brand managers use historical narratives, heritage, symbols with historical references and so on. The paper argue that companies and brand managers in their work - consciously or unconsciously - reuses the tools, signs and techniques that are alike the ones nations have used the in the ongoing process of nation building and of creating national identity. Likewise is the purpose to create an imagined community through an idea of shared identity. The paper will go into depths with this in the in depth with the empirical cases of IKEA and FDB, by analyzing them as realms of memory

Johannes Due Enstad

Putinist Politics of History: ‘Patriotic upbringing’ and the instrumentalization of history in Putin’s Russia

The dissolution of the Soviet Union had liberated Russian historians from the shackles of a state-directed politics of history. However, the Russian state’s drive to instrumentalize history resurfaced in the 00s during Putin's presidency. In this paper I will discuss the nature and methods of Putinist politics of history, and examine responses to it. As Russians grappled with questions of history and identity in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a profound cultural disorientation set in: the country had lost its superpower status, its empire, and its centuries-old imperial identity. Soviet myths were shattered; a sense of national humiliation accompanied the socio-economic and political turmoil of the 1990s. This set the stage for the entry of the Putin government in 2000, which set about to re-establish Russia's great power status and cultivate a renewed sense of national-historical pride among the citizens. Programs of “patriotic upbringing”, new history textbooks, and a presidential commission to prevent “falsification of history harming Russian interests” were among the official measures taken to reach this goal.

Lars Tore Flåten

History textbooks and identity politics in India.

In 1998, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won the national elections in India. The party immediately started restructuring the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). The NCERT is a core arena in India’s educational system, and publishes national curricular models as well as textbooks. Hindu nationalism, fronted by the BJP at the political level, represents a cultural nationalist movement, which aims at fostering a unified Hindu identity. In 2002 the recomposed NCERT published four new textbooks in history. My project is concerned with the relationship between Hindu nationalist identity politics on the one hand and the content of history textbooks on the other. The main challenge to the Hindu nationalists revolves around the existence of sub-identities, mainly connected to caste, regional culture, language, and to some extent also religion. I therefore examine how the textbooks depicted particular groups, cultural traditions and intellectual systems within a national framework. My contention is that these textbooks approached Indian history in a “decontextualized” manner, in so far as the spatial and temporal contexts were not properly defined. In this way, particular events could be turned into generalized episodes in a national meta-narrative.

Shailja Sharma

The Role of Memory and Trauma in Creating Citizen-Subjects.

How does postcolonial history deals with memory? Historical narratives deal with traumas of war and partition to construct national minorities in specific ways. My paper argues that colonialism had a profound effect along the entire spectrum of colonizers and the colonized. The trauma of colonial endings, and the violent beginnings of independence, defined for over half a century the state's treatment of its national minorities. Here Katharine Hodgkin's Jonathan Coen's work is specially relevant.

How does history narrativize national trauma, the retelling of history? I argue it rewrites the etiology of the national project by retelling the myth of national unity as being split by inequalities, prejudice and force. By this re-narrativization, it raises questions of equality, justice and reparations. Thus collective memory is central to understanding the present.

To examine national etiology I look at two contemporary films: *Lagaan* and *Indigènes*. In India, the etiological moment of its creation has been defined through the partition of the country into India and Pakistan. The film imagines an idealized world of anticolonial unity. *Indigènes* (2006) raises a more painful memory, also set in the colonial past. It examines the treatment of Algerian soldiers during World War II. It links the soldiers experience with the French treatment of its North African minorities. Through examining these cultural narratives, I want to analyze the links between memory, trauma and history.

Daniela Marzola Fialho

Identity's Cartographies: The Visible Cities

The study aims to show how the cartographic production of the city of Porto Alegre, in southern Brazil, in forging its history and constructing its collective memory, functioning as an instrument of political struggle and economic negotiations, molded, in different historical conjunctures, the identities of the city and even the way it is seen today in a national context. Seen as processes of urban production, the cartographic representations of Porto Alegre, listed as sources and field of research, show themselves not only as a record and a place of memory. They show more as historical narratives which print modes to see the urban landscape that became hegemonic in different times. It is not, therefore, to show the improvement of cartographic techniques over time and more or less the precision of the records, but to give visibility to the will of truth that has defined a way of being of a frontier people who decided to be Brazilian.

Alessandro Pes

Back to the Past. The Myth of Ancient Rome in Fascist Colonial Discourse

During the 1930's expansionism was a preeminent goal in Fascist agenda. The so-called Reconquest of Libya in 1930, and the conquest of Ethiopia in 1935-36, represented the crucial passages of this policy. After the conquest of Ethiopia, Benito Mussolini, the chief of Fascist Government, announced to Italians the rebirth of the Roman Empire. Colonial conquest was justified and promoted through the spreading out of a specific colonial discourse which was focused on the Fascist Empire as heir of the Roman Empire. Through the analysis of Fascist press during the 1930's, this paper will try to outline how the History and the Culture of Ancient Rome were revised by Fascist culture and spread out to Italians. Through the analysis of the public records of the Fascist Government in Italian East Africa, the paper will investigate towards incongruities between Colonial discourse and lived reality in Italian colonies.

Sirpa Aalto

Viking Age and Nation Building in Finland

The purpose of my paper is to discuss how the Finnish Viking Age has been represented in historiography. Finnish scholars have had difficulties in using the term Viking Age, because it has been seen as a phenomenon that involved only the Scandinavian countries. Instead, the Finnish historiography prefers to use such terminology as Late Iron Age and Crusade Period when it comes to period stretching from ca 800 AD to 1100/1300 AD. I argue that the use of terminology originates partly from the nationalistic history writing, which has been part of the Finnish nation state formation and building national identity.

Heta Aali

Merovingian queens and the early nineteenth-century French historiography

For French writers of the early nineteenth century the Merovingian period marked the beginning of the French monarchy and mixing of the two “races”, the Gauls and the Franks. This period of the first Christian kings was also marked by its famous queens, notably by Saint Clotilde, Saint Radegonde, Fredegonde, Brunhilde and Saint Bathilde. After the French revolution and the Napoleonic era these queens were re-defined and integrated into the “new” national history of France. During this period of Restoration and the July Monarchy role and significance of the French monarchy were under constant debate and this affected the historical narration about the early rulers as well. In my paper I will look into how during this period the Merovingian queens were defined as queens in the first place and secondly how they were, if they were, defined as “queens of France”. I will also examine how male and female writers and historians used and defined the term “Merovingian” and how they studied the question of the Salic law and French queenship as part of the history of the Merovingian rulers.

Session 2 Bodies, Memories and Museums

This session aims to examine how bodies are presented in museum exhibitions and how this change over time. The body can take different forms, for example as mannequins, live humans, human remains as well as animal bodies. Museums use different kinds of display strategies to give museum objects a lifelike presentation. What bodies appear in exhibitions and for what purpose? How are these bodies related to narratives? How are the materialities of bodies made present? The presentation of the body also affects the role the public is given in the exhibition, if the visitor is constituted as a voyeur or a participant in the exhibit. The aim is to explore how the bodies are structured in different exhibitionary regimes, and what they represent. In museums of cultural history mannequins are structured to concur with particular images of the past. In ethnographic exhibitions from the 19th and beginning of the 20th century bodies, in form of mannequins or live people, have been used to tell stories of differences between cultures and peoples, and also between races. Even though theories of phrenology and racial biology have been abandoned, some of these bodies/mannequins can still be found in museum exhibitions. Are they given a whole new meaning, or do they carry with them traces from the past?

Anne-Sofie Hjemdahl

The body in the costume exhibition? Historical representation of social groups

In this paper I will investigate how the body appear in costume exhibitions from the beginning of 1900 and up until 1960, and specifically in Scandinavian museums. By costume exhibitions I mean display of so-called upper class or European fashion costumes as well as peasants' costumes and uniforms. The period between 1900 and 1960 seems important concerning the development of different kinds of mannequins used for costume displays in cultural history museums. This was related to the concern for representing a special social group in a correct way. Different techniques and types of presentation were tried out. I want to explore what kind of historical representation these bodies are, how they are connected to historical practice, and what kind of historical pictures or historical truths these bodies make. In other words: how does the corporal museological presentation of the soldiers, the peasants and the upper-class people, affect our picture of this people in the past?

Brita Brenna

Performing bodies through glass cases. Moving exhibitionary techniques between natural and cultural museum exhibits around 1900

This paper will interrogate the staging of human and animal bodies in Bergen Museum in Norway in the decades around 1900. To what extent were the same exhibitionary techniques - museum cases, background, labelling - used to perform the bodies of humans and animals? What were the differences and how were techniques used to create boundaries between differently situated humans? Can we talk about three ways of performing bodies, in the natural history, anthropological and cultural historical exhibits? The differences can be fruitful for investigating how exhibition perform animal bodies and human bodies in different but related ways and not least to look at how some humans were installed as closer to nature, by means of display, than others. Connected to this, the paper will pose the question of how and to which degree the body of the visitor is configured differently by these various displays.

Anne Folke Henningsen

Embodied difference performed in live ethnographic exhibitions

This paper investigates the display of living people in ethnographic exhibitions in Denmark. Their foreign bodies were exhibited to showcase their otherness vis-à-vis the Danish public watching them. Besides the mere amusement the exhibitions would provide, their organisers also had educational ambitions: the audience should learn about the ways and lives of other people - and particularly their embodied difference. The first large living ethnographic exhibition in Denmark took place in Copenhagen in 1878 and the last in Aarhus in 1909. After an extended break of a hundred years the practice was taken up again in the summer of 2010 when a group of so-called 'Bushmen' was exhibited in the stone-age part of the experimental archaeological park Sagnlandet Lejre. How was the racialised and embodied difference staged then and now? With which types of gaze were the audiences invited to look upon the exhibited people - and are there differences to discern over time?

Silje Opdahl Mathisen

Travels with the Lappish equipage. An investigation into the representation of Sami culture and history at national museums of cultural history in Norway and Sweden.

Several Sami governed museums have been created in Northern Scandinavia from the 1970's and onward. These museums have played an important role in the expression of modern Sami identity. Some of these museums have been criticized for making exhibitions that are in many ways very similar to the older exhibitions of Sami culture at the various national museums in Scandinavia. There is one image in particular that seems to have an especially long life, and that is the image or tableau that shows a mannequin wearing a traditional Sami costume, placed together with a stuffed reindeer: the Lappish equipage. This paper seeks to explore how this became such an iconic picture of Sami culture in museum exhibitions, by looking at how it is used to present different narratives in different exhibitionary regimes.

Ulla Angkjær Jørgensen

Two different notions of 'affect' at work in an exhibition on Holocaust: The Norwegian Memorial and Human Rights Centre Falstad.

According to Ernst van Alphen in *Caught by History* (1997) Holocaust studies were for many years defined by a dichotomy between historical and aesthetic discourse. Historical discourse was preferred to an aesthetic one, as aesthetic expressions of the horrific events of World War II was conceived as critical and almost hedonistic. Contrary to this schism the paper presents a reading of the permanent exhibition *Face To Face* at the Norwegian Memorial and Human Rights Centre Falstad that leaves room for aesthetic imagination. My argument is that affective participation is as legitimate and necessary as it is inevitable in the viewing of exhibitions on past traumatic events. I argue how affective encounters together with historical account move the viewer in the reading of the historical text and can lead to present empathic participation in past events. I will discuss two different notions of affect, one of intensity (Brian Massumi) and one of intentionality (Roland Barthes). Both produce displacement in the viewer that promotes participation. This argument is also supported by Marianne Hirsch's studies of post-memory where the term *rupture* plays an important role.

Session 3 Commemoration, Confession and Collective memory

This session investigates the material and mental frameworks of memory in medieval England, arguing that these approaches structured the way in which recollection was conceived. Story-telling, narratives and cultural stereotypes coincided to underpin memories produced in a variety of English religious settings. Rob Lutton explores autobiographical narratives within heresy trials, arguing that individuals reconstructed their "remembered selves" so as to negotiate different positions within the confessional and penitential discourse. The narratives in the trial records lend memories moral and religious purpose, suggesting that they were confessional as opposed to dissenting. Simon Yarrow uses miracle narratives to examine the ritualized circulation of money and everyday objects as aspects of the commemorative and exchange functions of miracle

making. Bronach Kane explores the gendered relationship between individual and collective memory relying on ecclesiastical court testimony. Gender differences in these memory practices drew discursive force from societal preconceptions, confession manuals and secular courts. These papers probe the relationship of individual to collective memory, suggesting how the material intersected with the affective, and how interiority was related to the outside world.

Bronach Kane

Collective Memory and Narratives of Manhood in Late Medieval England

This paper will explore how attitudes towards gender and memory influenced the way in which men and women testified in the church courts of late medieval England. Suits brought before the courts of York and Canterbury offered ordinary men and women a rare opportunity to initiate actions and to testify as witnesses. I will compare evidence from men and women, exploring how and why gender influenced the way in which the courts treated male and female memory.

I will focus first on suits concerning tithes, examining how women intervened in collective memories of custom. I will then turn to group testimony of men in cases to enforce marriage contracts, arguing that male witnesses deployed narratives of collective memory more often than women. This self-conscious testimony usually referenced an event that occurred in a distant village, and presented a vivid vignette to the court. Ideals of manliness were harnessed, and deployed in an often generic fashion. The gendered relationship between personal and collective remembrance suggests that men often deployed homosocial nostalgia as a challenge to women's memories. These narratives will reveal the way that witnesses reconciled their own memories with the needs of collective testimony, and how gender shaped their choices.

Rob Lutton

Narrative, confession and the remembered self in late medieval English heresy trial records

This paper draws on theories arising from the study of autobiographical memory to ask some fresh questions of the records of heresy trials in late medieval England. It explores the processes by which personal narratives in these records were constructed and considers the contribution that autobiographical memory made to their construction by applying concepts developed within cognitive and developmental psychology such as "self schemata", "protoselves" and "improvisation". A range of different autobiographical narrative improvisations are considered in order to reflect upon the ways in which individuals reconstructed their "remembered selves" so as to negotiate different positions within the confessional and penitential discourse. The paper contextualizes these narratives to ask how specific or unusual they were and what might have been the effects of their telling and re-telling. It seeks, also, to examine how memories of involvement in heresy were cognized, before, during and after trials. The narratives in the trial records seek to rationalise episodic autobiographical memories and lend them moral and religious purpose within a confessional discourse. This suggests that these narratives were

confessional as opposed to dissenting. This has important implications for the ways in which we use trial records to reconstruct dissenting practices, discourses and identities.

Simon Yarrow

A Thousand Intimate Memories: Relic-Cults and the Making of Miracles in Twelfth Century England

The physical remains of dead saints or materials that came into contact with them, when translated into specially prepared sacred spaces, offered pilgrims informal as well as guided occasions for reflection and participation in diverse, complex and multilayered processes of memorialization. The libelli produced by the custodians of relics documenting the miracles they performed, together with other hagiographical materials commemorating the life of a saintly patron, refer to and depend on wider forms of authorization of the miraculous that included ritualized behaviour, story-telling, and the circulation and exchange of objects and money. This paper will explore the use of ex-votive offerings, gifts made by pilgrims to the saints, often but not exclusively at their shrines, as places of a thousand diverse memorializing processes involving cultural production, economic exchange and the negotiation of social meaning. I shall use the evidence of twelfth and early thirteenth century miracle collections to investigate the status and functions of objects given as offerings at the shrines of saints. I shall ask what kinds of objects were given, who made them and how they were acquired, and what kinds of associations were forged through these processes of production and circulation and by what kinds of power they were underwritten, and in what micro-political circumstances. The aim is to sketch in outline a typology of relic-cults that allows us to account for the contested and diffuse nature of medieval saints' cults.

Session 4 Memory and Trauma

Andrea Petö

Memories and interpretations: localized war crimes in Budapest in 1944

The political transition of 1989 in Hungary brought up competing versions or interpretations of the very same event. In this proposed paper I analyze a case that illustrates this point: the lack of a reconciliation strategy and the controversial operation of the people's courts or tribunals in the aftermath of the war, contributed to a divided collective memory about the Holocaust in Hungary. In this proposed talk I will use the case study of the war crimes committed at Csengery Street No. 64 in the Sixth District of Budapest in 15 October, 1944 to trace how the possible interpretations of post-Holocaust transitional justice were formed by the different actors of memory.

Belen Moreno Garrido and José Carlos Rueda Laffond

El Valle de los Caídos as Space Plural of Memory

The paper is structured around a content analysis of a documentary (El Valle de los Caídos, la obsesión de Franco), issued in 2009 by the Spanish television network Antena 3. This production will be studied from different complementary perspectives:

1 .- In connection with the re-reading that makes El Valle de los Caídos as lieux de mémoire (Nora P.) and fundamental physical and symbolic space in the imagination of Franco regimen. El Valle de los Caídos is a mausoleum for tens of thousands of Civil War dead and the burial place of Franco.

2. - Addressing the discursive construction and its narrative strategies, based on the use of testimony and the representation of individual traumatic memory.

3 .- Finally, relevant studies as examples of national media memory as an example of public update of memory embedded in the political and legal controversy about historical memory in Spain.

The paper will reflect therefore on conflicting relationships established between these different expressions of memory, questioning its presentation, discussion and negotiation in the context of the memory of Franco regimen in Spain today.

Isabel María Martín and Carlota Coronado Ruiz

Exile, Dispersed Memory and Evocation Documentary in Spain

The paper will consist of an analysis of a recent documentary, entitled Exile, broadcast on Spanish Television. This is a 2002 production; it conducted between TVE and the Pablo Iglesias Foundation. Will focus the study at different levels:

1 - The Spanish situation of refugees in various European and American countries and the political context of the host country.

2 - The reconstruction of historical memory through different narrative strategies and through the discourse developed in the testimony. In this connection, we distinguish three types of discourses: the Spanish citizens who fled the conflict, the Republican politicians, and citizens of host countries. The result is the reconstruction of a single traumatic memory.

3 - The media popularization of the national historical memory within the current context, in which there is an open debate on the need to recover the memory of a painful recent past, and restore the dignity of "no winners" of the civil war.

The paper carried a reflection on the Spanish who went into exile, of their contributions to host countries, and the reconstruction of collective memory from the point of view of others: those who were uprooted

Session 5 ISCH Postgraduate Network

James Emmott

This session will provide an opportunity for the ISCH Postgraduate Network organising collective to present their work to the members of the Society. The network project was established formally at the ISCH 2010 AGM, and builds on work that has been ongoing especially in the UK and Finland. The network will help postgraduates working in cultural history across the world to communicate and collaborate freely and openly in a shared online space.

Session 6 Lieux de Mémoire

Jean Kempf

Loci memoriae in American culture

The status of memory differs in the United States and in Europe, both in terms of function and articulation. Taking "sites of memory" as a language serving democracy and social cohesion - and thus simultaneously as a form of hegemony - this paper will address the vehicles of memory in the US from both a theoretical and a practical perspective. In the course of the paper, four American loci memoriae will be used to support the argument: the small town, portraits of George Washington and of Lincoln, and Washington, D.C., and traditional objects such as "Mum's apple pie". This paper will be an opportunity to test in an American context and in a comparative perspective, Pierre Nora's concept of "lieux de mémoire", which differ from "lieux de LA mémoire" in the sense that that they go way beyond the materiality of the places/objects to articulate a real language. In particular I will compare them to the notion of "icon" and with Richard Slotkin's "myth" in the way he defines it in his trilogy. This paper is a part on an ongoing project I am conducting on American loci memoriae.

Ryoichi Horiguchi

Green Cross as a Lieu de Mémoire

This paper aims to recall the past in the logo of the "Green Cross" for safety, which was designed when the first "Safety Week" took place in Japan in 1919, by illustrating how the Week was launched out. The Week is a national event which appealed to the citizens for cooperation to make their workplace and everyday life safer. And this event rose in response to socio-cultural changes such as the urbanization and the priority to prevention. The findings indicate that the event brought a "gospel" of safety for millions of city dwellers, whilst it was underpinned by invisible and hidden memories for the victims of accidents in their place. The paper also treats the issue of the mentality of our time from the point of view that relief has become more important than ever before as prevention is increasingly unable to manage accidents. The paper concludes that the "Green Cross" is an artifact which is comprised of a "gospel" of safety for the living and a collective memory of the dead, namely a lieu de mémoire in the field of safety. Reference: Horiguchi, R. An Ideological History on the Safety Movement, PhD Dissertation, Kyoto University, 2011.

Session 7 Placing Memory

Tor Einar Fagerland

Stiklestad: A place of history – a place of memory

The battle of Stiklestad in 1030 and the following sanctification of King Olav Haraldsson marked the breakthrough of both Christianity and a unified national kingdom in Norway. Since then, Stiklestad has remained one of Norway's most important historical sites, with high symbolic value on local, regional and national level. An annual expression of the place's symbolic value is found in the play "The Saint Olav drama" which attracts 20 000 spectators a year.

The symbolic value was also demonstrated during WWII, when the Norwegian collaboration regime, Nasjonal Samling (NS), erected a huge monument at the site in an attempt to show the spiritual link between St. Olav and Vidkun Quisling. Shortly after the war the monument was partly crushed, partly buried at the site.

Today, SNK (Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter) wishes to make a partial excavation of the buried monument at the site, and to produce an indoor exhibition discussing uses and abuses of the past, problematic features of nationalism, and how we handle our problematic past.

By means of international theory and examples regarding counter-monuments, the paper discusses how the adding of this new narrative into a place already heavily infused with meaning and monuments will affect the site. Will a turning of Stiklestad into a place of multilayered meanings blur its status as a national "lieu de mémoire", or will it perhaps increase its potential to communicate with a continuously changing society?

Dorothea Volz

An "other reality": Re-staging and Re-Presenting Venice

At the end of the 19th century, the re-construction of Venice as part of pleasure grounds became very successful. The most elaborate example is the 1895 Austrian version of Venice, the so called "Venice in Vienna". Venice, today seen as an open-air museum of itself, was partly reconstructed in the area of the Vienna Prater, including an artificial canal system with "original Italian" gondolas and gondoliers. However, "Venice in Vienna" was not only an artistic production and public entertainment - as Wolfgang Scheppe noticed, "Venice in Vienna" was "a nationalistic act of compensation" and a "therapy for phantom pain". After the Prussian-Austrian-War of 1866, when Austrian had lost territory, the pleasure ground re-wrote the history and re-included the lost territory of Venice: This re-building of Venice was also a re-writing, a re-staging and re-interpretation of history. In this paper I will also have a closer look at other re-buildings of Venice like 1890 in London or 1894 in Berlin and their historical context. Venice as a "place of in-between-ness" (Victor Turner), as a factual and fictional place where cultural identities have been negotiated, can be seen as a European "lieu de mémoire" (Pierre Nora).

Henrika Tandefelt

The Mansion as Heritage and Stage. The use and meaning of history for the Finnish nobility in a time of social and political change 1880-1920

In this paper I study how family history and heritage were understood and used during two generations of the Finnish von Born family in a period of social and political change during the decades around the turn of century 1900. The von Borns were not very old nobility but their country estate, Sarvlax in Eastern Finland, gave them historical tradition and prestige.

A strong sense of historical continuity has been an indispensable coordinate in the mental map of the European nobility. The family name and a long line of forefathers in genealogic tables and national history, pictures of earlier generations on the walls, and material artefacts of these relatives of the past have rooted the noblemen and women in a continuity of history. History and heritage were important for the individual families and noblemen or women as elements that defined their position in an inner ranking scale. For the nobility as a group, history and its family trees built up and confirmed the bonds and borders of this exclusive circle. These bonds held the group together, also when the noble privileges were deconstructed and the nobility lost its formal rights as an estate.

For the von Borns the Sarvlax mansion was the key to their noble identities and roles. This is studied through architecture sketches, interiors, paintings, photographs, letters and other writings of the owners.

Anna-Leena Ripatti

Restoring Viborg Castle at the End of the Nineteenth Century: Legacies of "Great Men" in the Finnish-Russian Borderland

Viborg Castle (Vyborg in Russian, Viipuri in Finnish), a former stronghold of the Swedish realm, was presumably founded in 1293 by Torkel Knutsson. It became Russian property after the conquest led by Peter the Great in 1710 and it was restored in the 1890s by Russian military authorities. During the 1870s, the idea to redeem this half-ruined building from Russian to Finnish authorities and to restore it into a Finnish national monument became a significant patriotic endeavour of the local bourgeoisie and the elite of the Grand Duchy of Finland in terms of defining national history, heritage and identity. The Imperial Senate of Finland commissioned restoration plans, carried out by Johan Jacob (Jac) Ahrenberg (1847-1914), a Viborg-born architect and writer who cherished the Swedish heritage. Nevertheless, the castle remained Russian property and it was restored to manifest not the memory of its Swedish founding father, an idea disputed in public in 'Fennoman' and Russian newspapers, but that of Peter the Great.

This paper discusses the controversial meanings connected to the castle and the problematic role of the Swedish heritage in the Finnish nation-building process, with the argument that the restoration of the castle and interpretations concerning its history were used as a means to legitimate power over the region.

Session 8 Epistemology: Temporality and Theories of Memory

Anton Froeyman

Runia and Ankersmit (and Levinas) on the Presence of the Past

In this paper, I will first give an in-depth comparison of the theories of Frank Ankersmit and Eelco Runia. Both theorists have a firm belief in the possibility of a direct contact with the past. Both also share the conviction that this relation should not be epistemological, but rather affective or aesthetic. Nevertheless, there are two important differences, due to the different origins of their theories. Runia's theory is framed in the terms of Lacanian psychoanalysis, while Ankersmit mainly draws his inspiration from Huizinga's notion of historical experience. These different roots give rise to different conceptions about the subjectivity involved in historical experience and on the role of representation. Second, I will argue that in both Ankersmit and Runia's case, the presence of the past revolves around the notion of identity: we can only experience a past we identify with. Although this means that Ankersmit and Runia's theories are very apt to study phenomena such as collective memory, it also entails that they rule out the experience of the 'otherness' of the past. Because of this, I believe an alternative is needed, and I will argue that this alternative can be based on the philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas.

Kalle Pihlainen

Cultural history and the myth of presence

The central argument of the paper is that the ontological distinctness of the past has never been fully accepted by history as a discipline and that, for this reason, the discipline is haunted by a certain nostalgia for presence and "remembering" even though such subjective terms are only applicable in a very small part of the studies carried out. To this end, the paper investigates what the pastness of the past in fact entails for cultural historians. The paper takes as its starting point the desire for presence as it has resurfaced in current historical theory, particularly in the recent work of the Frank Ankersmit and Eelco Runia. The arguments presented for and against presence in this debate will be examined, as will their roots in the early history of cultural history. The main thesis will be that - especially with respect to presence - the methods and materials of cultural history do not afford any privilege in terms of epistemological access to the past even if they at times seem to hold out such promise.

Marek Tamm

Mnemohistory – a new paradigm for history writing?

Historical writing has been moved by the desire to know the past as it really was. But while it is still very important to study historical events for their own sake, we also need to pay more attention to how these events are interpreted and appropriated later on. This approach has been recently called 'mnemohistory' by one of its contemporary advocates, Jan Assmann. I shall contend that the study of mnemohistory is one of the major

challenges facing contemporary historical research. We need a theory of mnemohistory which allows us to move beyond the otherwise often unresolvable questions of ‘what really happened’, and go on to questions of how particular ways of construing the past have enabled later communities to constitute and sustain themselves. With this aim in view, many earlier concepts can be used and extended to good advantage. I shall pay special attention to the work of Benjamin and Gadamer, both of whom have argued for a new historical understanding based on the analyses of the ‘afterlife of events’. On the basis of their work, but relying also on some other contributions, notably on the work of Certeau, Nora and Assmann, I shall try to formulate some new perspectives on mnemohistorical research.

Andrea Zittlau

The Eyewitness

The eyewitness is the precondition of memory. An event without a witness becomes unusable, it becomes non-existent, because it has not been seen and testified. Thus one would expect that the witness employs a crucial role in theoretical approaches to memory. It often depends on testimonies how events are narrated, which perspectives are taken and how collective memory is constructed. Nevertheless, personal memory appears to be always detached from collective or cultural memory in theoretical discourses.

In Assmann's concept of communicative and collective memory (1992), however, the eyewitness has a crucial position. According to Assmann, the personal experience of an event stimulates its persistence in the cultural memory of communities. I argue that this concept has largely been stimulated by the Holocaust whose remembrance confirms not only the theory of communicative and collective memory, but also concepts of identity construction through historical events. Particularly in the 1980s and 1990s, when the generation of the last eyewitnesses passed away, the transformation of communicative memory into collective memory could be observed. The voice of the survivor has become essential to Holocaust memory. But how is that reflected in theoretical approaches and can it be applied to other memorable events? These are the crucial questions which guide my examination of eyewitness memory.

Bodil Axelsson

Becomings: memories, art, research

The art work Sound Machine explores past-present relationships in the Swedish city Norrköping. It was conceptualized by the cosmopolitan artist Esther Shalev-Gerz as she was invited to take part in a project in artistic research. She arranged for memories to become by bringing on ten women, a 3d technician and a musician to re-imagine the past in the present. This paper explores the way memories are contingent on situations, as well as on wider social and cultural framings and processes. The paper discusses the artist's re-contextualizing of the women's responses to her questions into poetry to be displayed on gallery walls. It also discusses the silencing of the women's voices when their experiences of listening to re-worked sound of looms were transformed into visual art by video-recording and editing. Further, by bringing up the issue of how both the cultural researchers and the researching artist silence the women, and by juxtaposing meta-texts

on the work such as the artist's accounts of the research process, catalogue texts and a research report by this author, this paper explores power dimensions in remembering and forgetting.

Mattias Ekman

Placing knowledge - or are there spatial frameworks for the cultural memory?

Central to Maurice Halbwachs's theory of the collective memory are the spatial frameworks, the places and architecture surrounding us. They are devices with which we organise, retrieve, and communicate other memories. If we accept Jan Assmann's disembodied and formalised cultural memory as an extension of the collective memory outside of the body and mind, can we also propose that places make up spatial frameworks for the cultural memory, that architecture allows us to access knowledge bound up to texts and images?

An interview with a curator at Norway's National Gallery is used to show how architecture is used for the retrieval of professional knowledge. From the recipient's perspective, not only does the gallery stimulate reactivation of memorised learning of the institution's history. But also, by thinking of the building, he can provide with associations to knowledge in other sources: artworks, texts, and photographs, possible to scrutinise for further knowing. On the basis of the case the paper suggests that the built environment acts as a spatial framework to access cultural knowledge. For a cultural memory institution, such as the National Gallery, the building, functioning as a mnemonic device, seems central to its upkeep of, and access to institutional knowledge.

Session 9 Popular Musical Styles as "National Monuments"

The session focuses on the history of popular music from the perspective of nation building. It argues that, during the 19th and 20th centuries, popular music styles have often been emphasized as particularly 'national', despite the fact that many of them are cultural hybrids. Some musical styles, such as Viennese waltz and Brazilian samba, have served political purposes, but at the same time they have become focal points for national selfunderstanding and identity building. As monumentalized constructs, they seem to become access points for social rememberances of the past and simultaneously tend to transform and ritualize the modes of remembering. The papers of the session consider several questions, such as: under what conditions can musical styles become monumens or be interpreted as such, how rememberances of the past are connected with musical styles, what kind of public discources and practices surround these musical styles? The papers of the panel discuss themes like Brazilian samba, Jewish freylekh, Austrian waltz, and French, Turkish and Finnish tango.

Joonas Korhonen

Re-presentations of Waltz. The waltz as cultural capital in Vienna and Europe, c. 1870—1945.

Made popular by the Viennese Strauss family, the Viennese waltz was, without a doubt, the most popular dance form of the 19th century. Even if the popularity of the waltz started to decline at the beginning of the next century, it, nevertheless, remained an important cultural institution. That is to say, during the period of radical nationalism, 1870—1945, the history of the waltz began to be used as cultural capital for many nationalist efforts. By taking a look at the nationalist re-presentations of the waltz, my presentation seeks to understand how a cultural product such as the waltz can be used to legitimize national existences. In the first part of the presentation, the symbolic dimensions of the Viennese waltz in Vienna after the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy are in focus, while in the second part, the nationalistic use of the waltz history in Germany and France is discussed.

Jean-Sébastien Noël

The *freylekh*, a Jewish dance: social dancing through the pathways of identification

Both as a social and cultural practice, dance used to embody a central aspect of the traditional Jewish way of life. Narrowly associated to the “circle of life”, dances were part of the traditional Jewish rituals of the Ashkenazy area. Through social codes, differential practices by *Hassidim* or *Misnagdim* (non *hassdim*) for instance; an analysis of dance rituals could lead to understand the wide complexity and the shared spaces of the pre World War II European Judaism.

Amongst all dances, the *freylekh* (or dance of joy) might be considered as a real topic of the cultural jewishness. Belonging to the ancient Ashkenazy world – Isaac Leib Perets’ or Sholom Aleikhem’s world – the *freylekh* has been recovered by new generations of Klezmer musicians and has been promoted to an “authentic” monument of the Jewish folklore. Nevertheless, based on a large corpus of recordings, movies, pictures and literary testimonies, this paper would aim at proposing a more complex traceability of the multiple pathways of a musical and dancing genre, through a large chronology.

Sophie Jacotot

The European tango as a national monument : a comparative study (France, Finland, Turkey)

"Le plus beau de tous les tangos du monde, c'est celui que j'ai dansé dans vos bras" (the most beautiful tango is the one I danced with you), this tango, with a music composed by Vincent Scotto is significative of the cultural process of appropriation of a Southern American fashionable music and dance in France between WWI and WWII. But in two European countries, Turkey and Finland, tango music became a real national monument. This paper tries to compare the process of "nationalization" of the Argentine tango music and dance in different historical contexts. Tango was, in a way, a characteristic part of the

cultural kemalist modernization in Turkey, it was a part of the memory of the Winter War in Finland. The famous singers and composers, the sound pictures of the 30s, 40s and 50s will give examples of the building of national patterns with musical popular styles.

Anaïs Fléchet and Didier Francfort

Samba as a National Myth. Carnival and Sound Patrimony in Twentieth Century Brazil

First considered as a “barbarian rhythm” and a “depraved dance” by Brazilian authorities, samba passed through both a political and a social legitimating process under the presidency of Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945). During the second part of the twentieth century, the genre contributed to the building of a national mythology based on the ideal of miscegenation and racial democracy. Rio’s carnival became one of the highlights of Brazilian sound patrimony while new concepts such as “velha guarda” (old guard) participated in the “invention” of a new musical tradition. This paper aims to analyze the different actors of this process (samba schools, political authorities, cultural industries, etc.) and its impact on the construction of national and ethnical identities, heritage care and preservation.

Session 10 Medieval Memories

Stephen Mitchell

The Mythologized Past: Memory and Politics in Medieval Gotland

Described by Carl Säve in 1852 as "En verklig Gotlands-Saga eller liten Gutnisk Landnamabok," the so-called Legendary History of Gotland (or Gutasaga, even *Historia Gotlandiæ*, *Gullandskrønike*, and *Gotlændinga saga*) is generally believed to have been written in the mid-13th century and principally survives in Gutnish in a mid-14th-century manuscript (Holm B64), as well as in medieval German, Danish and Swedish translations from later periods. Bound together with one of the copies of the Laws of Gotland, the Legendary History of Gotland represents both our primary window into the world of medieval Gotland as well as one of the few surviving specimens of original East Scandinavian prose literature. In previous work on the History, I have noted its apparent ambition to navigate the tricky political situation of the Gotlanders in the later Middle Ages but to date, we lack critical analysis of the means by which the text pursues this goal. A close reading of the History through the prism of the emerging field of "memory studies" (as well as through the use of such traditional concepts within folkloristics as "memorates" and "fabulates") offers new perspectives on the History's mythologization of the past and how to understand its meaning and purpose.

Ecaterina Lung

Neglecting Barbarian Identity in Barbarian Kingdoms in the Writings of the VIth - VIIIth Century Historians

The Latin historians of Barbarian Kingdoms who were the first to write about those Germanic peoples who managed to have their own realm were also makers of a tradition. Their peoples are the new “chosen people” and all these historians tried to present the best qualities of their favorites. In a period when the Roman tradition was still influent in culture, the model for writing history was the Roman one. So, the historians of Barbarian Kingdoms tried to present their Barbarians as being less or no Barbarian at all. The real Barbarians are the Others, but who are their people, because they are not Romans as well?

My aim is to present how the historians from Late Antiquity and Early Medieval Period altered the historical facts in order to shape a new identity for people they know that are not Roman, but they want not be not Barbarians either. Speakers for the German world, the Latin trained historians in the Barbarian Kingdoms contribute in their own manner to the genesis of this new identity, which is no longer Roman, as they would have probably liked, but it is not Barbarian either.

Riita Latinen

Erasing the Catholic Past in a Swedish Provincial Cathedral

The Swedish reformation is considered to have begun in 1527, but erasing the Catholic past from Swedish churches was very slow. In Turku only Bishop Isaac Rothovius's episcopate (1627-1652) saw the provision of a new ecclesiastical interior for the Cathedral. Seventeenth century was a time of standardising religious customs, and finally Lutheran bishops succeeded in demolishing some of the signs of the already rejected Catholic past. In this presentation I will describe this process of dismantling from the viewpoint of the Turku congregation. Swedish reformers are described as having been very lenient on outer forms of faith. Much of the Catholic material culture remained in churches and in the collective memory of the congregations. In regard to the provincial Cathedral of Turku in the seventeenth century one must first ask how much of the Catholic past actually remained as the Cathedral had suffered greatly in fires, political turmoil and financial difficulties. From Rothovius's point of view there was clearly more to repair in the church than broken arches and organs. Rothovius began renewing the church with bench building and continued, for example, with relocation of the altar, contrasting his views of the church space with the horrible Papal past.

Kirsi Kanerva

The dead and the emotions of the living - Studying corporeal objects as symbols of the abstract in medieval Iceland

In my paper, I will discuss some theoretical and methodological issues concerning the study of cultural history by presenting a case-study on the topic "The dead and the emotions of the living". I will focus on the restless dead that appear in medieval Icelandic sagas, the *Íslendingasögur*, that have been regarded as history of their own time and as

texts with moral and educative purposes. I will try to test my hypothesis that these ghosts could be interpreted as symbols of the abstract mental processes connected to the handling of certain emotional conflicts in thirteenth to fourteenth-century Iceland. Unlike the ghosts on the Continent, these creatures appeared to the living in their physical bodies. They have fairly often been regarded by scholars as "supernatural" beings that the medieval Icelandic people thought did actually exist and that people could actually encounter in their physical world. I will discuss what we can know about and how we can achieve knowledge of the possibility that these ghosts could have been interpreted as symbols and stories about them as allegories by the literate elite in medieval Iceland, in a culture where the literature was built on the inheritance of indigenous oral tradition and the influence of Christian literary culture.

Session 11 Nostalgia

Mark Chou

When the Towers Fell: The Politics of Nostalgia after 9/11 in HBO's *The Wire*

In the season three opener of HBO's *The Wire*, audiences saw something that strangely resembled the destruction of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center. Not only that, but they saw in this scene and the broader narrative arc that encompassed it the politics of nostalgia which had, by then, imbued the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 with a particular "metaphysical or national-political" meaning.

Beginning with the premise that nostalgia for the past can transform that past into something which it was not, this paper draws on *The Wire* to offer a cultural political reading of how the terrorist attacks on 9/11 were subsequently commemorated and remembered. *The Wire*, it argues, both portrayed and problematised the commemoration of 9/11 as "an interruption of the deep rhythms of cultural time, a cataclysm simply erasing what was there rather than evolving from anything already in place". By doing so, it was able to remind audiences that the public nostalgia which had emerged in the aftermath of that event must not be directed solely at the certainty, security and decency which had either been lost on 9/11 or in the insidious global conflict that quickly took hold. Instead, as the series demonstrated, if we are to be nostalgic for anything it should be for the greater loss of meaning that now marks our society, the origins of which occurred long before the Twin Towers fell.

Kristian Handberg

Retroactivity - the popular reframing of the near past as cultural memory

My paper presents the popular reuse of the near past in contemporary culture as an important and distinct form of re-presenting the past. In the last two decades these various practices have been known as retro and developed from subculture and cutting edge popular culture to the mainstream and are thereby both part of the 'memory boom' (Winter, Huyssen) in the event culture and a counter memory to it. On this ground I will sketch the history of retro use through examples in various forms as images such as album covers and graphics, objects as furniture and clothing and collections as homepages and books. Hereby I will address the materiality and mediality of retro and

how this is both a "production of presence" (Gumbrecht) and an emphasis on distance and change expressed in Svetlana Boym's term "reflexive nostalgia".

My paper suggests that retro is a way of representing the past emblematic of contemporary culture in its blend of mass and counter culture and aesthetics, history and entertainment. This hybrid is parallel to the interdisciplinary intentions of the field cultural memory studies and they can be seen as symptoms of the same history culture: retro is the practice - cultural memory is the theory!

Diana Spokiene

The Past as Popular Culture in Contemporary German Literature

This paper explores the relationship between the visual and the literary in Jana Hensel's bestselling memoir *Zonenkinder* (2002). In this text, memories of childhood, of the collective experience of everyday life in the former German Democratic Republic, are articulated in the shared language of popular and material culture. Hensel illustrates her narrative with photographs of East German homes and consumer products, photocopies of school essays, tickets for concerts and other such ephemera. After the German unification, memories of the personal past threatened to disappear along with the popular and material culture with which they were associated. This paper will concentrate on the preservation of such memories as well as their representation. Corresponding to the physical and virtual museums to everyday life in the GDR, I will use the metaphor of museum that is present in the text as it attempts to preserve elements of the East German past. The paper will explore how in relying on inherently unreliable personal memory, the text also questions the constructed nature of any story of the past, emphasizing the need for the representation of multiple aspects of East German life.

Rami Mähkä

The Cavemen of the 1970s? BBC's *Life on Mars* as a Time Travel Fantasy

My paper focuses on the BBC television series *Life on Mars* (2006-07) as a time travel fantasy. The drama tells the story of a present-day Manchester policeman who is run over by a car. After regaining consciousness, he discovers he is still in Manchester, as a policeman, but in the year 1973. He is forced to ask himself, "Am I mad, in a coma, or back in time?" From a cultural historian's perspective that question is somewhat irrelevant. Rather, I am interested in the representation of the past and the juxtaposition of the early 1970s with the present.

The series is one example of the current retro culture, which recycles elements of the popular culture of the recent past. The series' 1970s is depicted as crude and openly sexist, and its police as proverbial "cavemen", complementing the series' adopted theme song by David Bowie. However, the past is also vivid and organic, and clearly carries nostalgic notions of a community now deemed lost. It is this ambivalence that invites viewers to both remember the past with nostalgia as well as contemplate its suggested cultural distance from our time.

Ekaterina Kalinina

What do we talk about, when we talk about Soviet nostalgia?

In the early 1990s, local authorities started to remove monuments to former Soviet leaders from public squares all over the former Soviet Union: the old epoch was fading into oblivion. It might seem paradoxical that, around the same time, restaurants and bars tried to recapture Soviet-style interior and ambience; fashion brands got inspired by Soviet culture; and flea markets stocked up Soviet-era items at rocketing prices.

Gradually, historians and ethnographers began to take a keen interest in the recent past, while both Russian and international mass media made their attempts at explaining this rapidly growing phenomenon. As a result of these efforts, thorny issues of remembering and forgetting certain events of Soviet past surfaced, connections between Soviet nostalgia and contemporary Russian politics were being made, and discussions revolving around the reconstruction of contemporary Russian identity frequently appeared.

This article is part of an ongoing research project on Soviet nostalgia within contemporary Russian fashion and consumption culture (Kalinina, 2011). It aims to compare various discourses about the reconstruction of Russian cultural identity through reconciliation with the Soviet past, within the frames of Soviet retro fashion as produced in Russian and international mass media, by applying discourse analysis to carefully selected articles from newspapers and magazines.

Session 12 History and Conflict

Tiina Lintunen

Never shall it happen again? The Past justifies the means

The Civil War in 1918 divided the Finnish nation deeply. Afraid of another attempt of a coup d'état, the winners (the Whites) wanted to restrict the civil liberties of the defeated faction and used historical narratives to accomplish it. After the war the government proposed a bill on temporary restrictions of civil liberties, which was said to help to maintain order and security. The law proposal was defended by indicating to recent experience. The history must not repeat itself, was the rhetorical message. After the release, the ex-convicts led controlled lives and their actions were under surveillance for several years by the state police. Those on probation had to consider their actions very carefully, to avoid being sent to prison on grounds of a possible breach of the peace. Many former Reds were accused of treason again in the 1920s and 1930s. Their revolutionary past was utilized against them when they were sentenced for the second time. This paper will focus on how the treatment of the former Reds was justified by historical narratives of the year 1918.

Gabriella Valera Gruber

Shared Memory/Shared Values: the Point of View of Cultural History.

Within the Italian historical debate on the bloody XXth Century, the topic "Shared Memory" has been often approached from the perspective of the possible reconstruction of shared values and a living together after the experience of the civil war. In addition to

this the discussion was considered as a part of the various types of historical revisionism. On the contrary, from the methodological point of view of the Cultural History, the analysis of "shared memories" ('lieux', narratives, monuments and their fruition) allows to represent some particularly interesting historical "cross-sections" that could not be understood from other points of views and approaches. By analysing some particular study-cases, the paper stresses the special effectiveness of Cultural History in dealing with problems that are usually approached with different methods. It is also a contribution to understand how the cultural historian works and the epistemological basis of his specific way of representing the past.

Chris Dixon

Contested Memories and the Politics of History: (Mis-)Remembering the 1968 Tet Offensive

The Vietnam War continues to cast a long shadow over American political and cultural life. Amongst the bitter debates that characterize discussions of the conflict that exposed the limits of American globalism, arguments continue to rage over the meaning and significance of the 1968 Tet Offensive. Whilst there is consensus that Tet was a turning point in the War, protagonists differ over whether the battles that raged throughout southern Vietnam in early 1968 constituted a victory or defeat for the United States and its allies. These disputes, in turn, reflect ongoing disagreements over the role of the media and the antiwar movement in undermining the consensus upon which America's attempt to build and defend "South Vietnam" had been predicated. By examining the debates - cultural, political, and historiographical - that surround the Tet Offensive, this paper will consider the ways in which American memories of the Vietnam War continue to be shaped by misconceptions and myths. These misconceptions and myths, in turn, suggest much about Americans' sense of identity and highlight the vital nexus between American culture and foreign policy.

Omayra Herrero

711-2011: Conflicting Memories in the Commemoration of the Muslim Conquest of Spain

In 2011, the 1300th anniversary of the Muslim conquest of Spain will be commemorated evoking different things for different sectors of the population: from the rejection of what appears to some to have been an interruption in the "essential" Christian identity of Spain, to the founding moment of an Islamic polity that some long to restore, to which a varied number of intermediate and nuanced positions can be added.

There is no lack of previous studies on how the Muslim past of Spain has been dealt with in different periods and from different approaches. My own perspective will be largely historiographical, an approach which has recently produced an important volume of studies (*Al-Andalus / España. Historiografías en contraste, siglos XVII-XXI*, ed. Manuela Marín, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009). Thus, I will start with a revision of the major trends in the treatment of the Muslim conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula (Musa ibn Nusayr, Tariq ibn Ziyad and Mughith al-Rumi) in historical sources both Muslim and Christian, and then I will move to an analysis of their re-elaboration in other media such as contemporary school textbooks, novels, cartoons, figurative representations and others.

My aim is, on the one hand, to trace the many ways in which the protagonists of the Muslim conquest of Spain / al-Andalus have been portrayed through history and, on the other hand, to inquire to what extent attempts have been made or are being made to "reconcile" those portrayals that seem to exclude each other.

Knut Aukrust

Remembering Sepharad. Jews in Spain before and after 1492

The Jews of the Iberian Peninsula and their descendants are known as Sephardim. Throughout the middle Ages, the Iberian Peninsula was home to a rich cultural mix of Christians, Jews, and Muslims. The golden age of Sephardic culture was first of all connected to the Islamic al Andalus. At the end of the fifteenth century, however, the last Islamic stronghold fell, and Jews were forced either to convert to Christianity or to face expulsion. Thousands left for other parts of Europe, Africa and Asia, eventually establishing Sephardic communities in Amsterdam, Venice, Istanbul, Maghreb, and elsewhere. This paper will examine different ways of how their history has been interpreted and commemorated in both in the pre-expulsion and in post-expulsion era, as well as in present time. Religion, culture and ethnicity, myth.

The paper will deal with topics within the fields of Historical rituals and celebrations, History and conflict, Memory and trauma, Collective memory and nation building, and History as myth.

Adrian Jones

Representing (Dis)Honour in Peace? – An Ottoman case study from 1711

Memories deceive. After a comprehensive Ottoman military victory in 1711 beside the River Prut in Moldavia, Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa the Halberdier (Baltacı) decided to accede to a Russian petition for peace. A vast Ottoman army was held back as an entire Russian army -- together with their Tsar, Peter, his consort, Catherine, and his heir, Aleksei -- was disarmed, and then allowed to cross back to the Ukraine and slink away. Baltacı Mehmed's decision soon became controversial. A supposed-Turkish collective memory intruded: stories told in every dime novel about the Tulip Age (Lale devri) and in every men's coffee house and café in Istanbul, long past and still present, aver that this Grand Vizier was only lenient because he spent a night of passion with Catherine, a future Russian Empress. Even Ottomans of the so-called Golden Age, let alone those of the Age of Tulips, were quite capable of constructing decline-&-fall and even 'Orientalist' stories about themselves. It appears that peevish Swedish (and possibly Tatar) collective constructs of regret in retrospect posited the Peace of the Prut as languor and lust begging national/imperial opportunity: lands not retrieved, ransoms not elicited, slaves not sold, enemies not humiliated – all supposedly just for the sake of good sex. For Russians, the whole episode was best forgotten; otherwise Peter might never have earned the sobriquet of 'the Great'. This paper looks past the sexy nationalist-Orientalist constructs of collective faux-memoires to explore the surprise of Grotius-like and Westphalian-like Tulip-era-Ottoman ideas of an international consensus in relation to the law of holy war and of honour in peace.

Session 13 Heritage and Museums

Eva Reme and Olaug Norunn Økland

Museums, Materiality and Memories

The point of departure will be the local museum of Dalane on the west coast of Norway. The museum was grounded in 1910 as "an asylum for rare and disappearing objects belonging to cultural memories and traditions from our corner of the fatherland". Today the museum has considerable artefacts and collections that vary from farming equipments to the local seamen's souvenirs and jewellery of the former bourgeoisie. In itself the museum represents an encyclopedia of things. Some of these artefacts may be found in the different exhibitions made in the period between 1945 and 1950. The museum will thus form a basis for an historical perspective of material constructions of collective memory and cultural heritage. Our focus will however be on different relations and oppositions between categories as absent vs present of things, the quantity vs quality, typology vs chronology, the rare vs the trivial, use and origin vs aesthetics and forms. Perspectives like this, will not only deal with different conceptions of memory and heritage, but also in the materiality of things in it selves. If so, it will open for discussion whether artefacts do represent narratives and chronologies, or a materialising of time and the extension of time in a very concrete and sensitive way. If so the hybridism of material forms, colours, marks of use etc. will cross representations of collective histories and heritages.

Kate Hill

John Kirk's English "Bygones": Reimagining rural and urban pasts in English museums, 1890-1939

Museums have tended until relatively recently to be urban institutions, embodying national history in an oblique way; as Mason has suggested, they have been for the nation but not of the nation. This paper seeks to examine new ways of thinking about and communicating the national past which developed in English museums between 1890 and 1939. It will focus particularly on the Castle Museum in York, opened in 1938, where the collections of John Kirk, a rural doctor, were displayed in various mimetic exhibits, including an imagined Victorian street and a number of room reconstructions. The paper will interrogate the ways in which the museum and its founder understood and constructed the categories of urban and rural, where the national past was located in this vision, and how popular memory was understood and constructed. It will argue that the development of modernity produced a visitable (cf Sandberg), national past which mediated between official and popular pasts, and created a particular tension between the rural as the place where the past could be experienced, and the urban as the physical place where museums were to be found.

Anastasia Filippoupoliti and Helen Beneki

Collective memory as exhibition: issues of staging the maritime past in the museum

The proposed paper is concerned with the transformation of history into a three-dimensional exhibition setting that will produce a narrative on collective and private

memory as well. It aims to address the issue of representing the past via a story-line composed of objects, new media, visual and textual means.

In the light of the refurbishment of the Maritime Museum of Andros island in Greece, the issue of what constitutes a "representative local memory" in the museum and how (or whether) it can be achieved is put into question. Ideally an exhibition on the maritime past should encompass as many elements as possible from the "social" memory but exemplify the "personal" too; it should foster public heritage yet face the contemporary challenge regarding group/national identity. The exhibition should be able to construct a solid past, strengthen the local feeling via both tangible and intangible heritage preservation; yet connect the newly-formed local communities to the island's own history. In that context, what is the community's role in the process of composing the exhibition narrative?

Having as a core case study the Maritime Museum of Andros island the proposed paper inquires on the possibilities and the pitfalls of viewing the past as exhibition.

Saphinaz-Amal Naguib

Diasporic heritage in museums

The notion of heritage is usually tied to ideas of nationhood, authenticity and deep, enduring roots. Heritage is defined both by the concrete reality of its objects, their value, their aesthetic and their documentary importance, as well as by their affective and emotional meaning. It is constructed in the present to bridge between the past and the future and to prompt a sense of citizenship and belongingness. With the establishment of various diasporas in different parts of the world citizenship is acquiring new meanings and in the process of becoming multiple, global, regional and local concurrently. Exploring the concept of heritage in migratory and diasporic contexts entails, among others, investigating different systems of knowledge and analysing processes of dislocation, relocation and the transience of roots. Heritage is seen from the polyphonic perspective of transculturality and plural identities. Museums are privileged places where heritage whether universal or national, tangible, intangible, e-tangible and natural, is collected, classified and displayed. My paper will discuss the impact of diasporas on the ways European museums of cultural history negotiate and exhibit a multifarious heritage. It is concerned with different exhibition strategies and how they influence the elaboration of cultural memory and amnesia in plural societies.

Nika Potinkara

Representing Sámi Past in Museum Exhibitions

The Nordic Sámi museums have been established with the aim of strengthening Sámi cultural identity. The museums strive to reclaim representations of the Sámi - to display the Sámi from their own point of view. Thus, the museums are significant places for representing Sámi past. By creating images of the past, they construct Sámi heritage and ethnic identity.

In this paper, I will look at the representations of Sámi past in the permanent exhibitions of two Sámi museums: Ájtte in Sweden and Siida in Finland. How do the Sámi, previously represented by others, display their past in their own museums? Which images of the past do the exhibitions present? How do the museums construct Sámi heritage? I

will look at the exhibitions as a way of rewriting history from a Sámi perspective. The past serves as cultural capital for the creation of a positive Sámi self-understanding, and it can also be used in contemporary ethno-political struggles. I will discuss how images of the past, constructed in the museum exhibitions, are used when claiming Sámi rights.

Lærke Maria Andersen Funder

Classical Antiquity in Greece and Denmark - the same old story?

Objects from classical antiquity are on display in museums across Europe. However, the way these objects are made to represent the past differs significantly: While museums *outside* the territories of the classical civilisations tend to present classical antiquity as part of a pan-European past, museums *within* the territories often combine this approach with locally and nationally rooted perspectives.

Recognising the museum institution as active agent in the construction of both national and international collective identity, the paper discusses how classical antiquity is used in European museums to create a sense of European, cohesive identity.

This thesis is exemplified by a comparative analysis of exhibitions in museums in Denmark and Greece: Three museums with classical collections in Denmark and The New Acropolis Museum in Athens have been investigated using mixed qualitative methods, attempting to achieve a holistic take on the media that is the museum exhibition.

The subject matter of in this paper is part of the work on my PhD - thesis *Exhibitions and Messages: A study of the role of Classical Antiquity in contemporary Europe through an analysis of narratives produced in museum exhibitions.*

Session 14 Roads to Memory

Torild Gjesvik

Old people still remember.... Representations of Sarpsfossen.

The waterfall Sarpsfossen in Norway is a place rich in history. Three Dano-Norwegian kings have left their marks in the vicinity, it has been an important site for the establishment of early industry in Norway (saw mills, flour mills), and a source of fascination for numerous travelers. From the seventeenth-century and onwards there exists an extensive body of visual and textual representations of the waterfall.

This paper will take as its starting point two prints of Sarpsfossen. The first appeared in Chr. Tønsberg's voyage pittoresque "Norge fremstillet i Tegninger" in 1848, the other was printed in the second edition, less than ten years later, and features the first bridge (1854) crossing the river Glomma just above the waterfall. The aim of the paper is to discuss how different attitudes to the place coexist and are negotiated in the prints and their accompanying texts (written by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen).

Concepts such as collective memory, social memory and myth are highly relevant to the understanding of these representations. An admiration of modern technology is here mixed with stories of the devastating power of nature and yet an ambivalence towards the intrusion of the man-made into sublime nature.

Marie-Theres Fojuth

Conceptions of Space: Railway Politics, Nation-Building, and Landscape Constructions in Northern Europe 1850-1910.

In what way did nation-building intend to master and control the national territory? What were the processes by which regions came to be understood as national landscapes? To what extent did infrastructure development draw on historical icons and places, and take part in shaping new ones?

This paper will discuss conceptions of space as a crucial part of nation-building in 18th/early 19th century Northern Europe, and propose to divide this key concept in four – mental and practical – aspects. The empiric focus will be on the railway, which was one of the most important instruments for discovering and mastering the territory. However, it was also a national issue in its own right, because huge railway projects such as the Bergen Line could become a central element of the collective memory.

The topic presented in the paper is part of my PhD project on the role of infrastructure development in the Norwegian nation-building process.

Kristina Skåden

Mapping the past/future; Autobahn on display

Engineers and road workers never built only a road, they built the nation. In road magazines, magazines for road professionals and in history writing on roads – nation building is a key concept. This is also reflected in road museums and heritage and in the oral history and collective memory of the road field. With this starting point, the aim of my paper is to try to discuss how to re-present technology and technological practices. My empirical examples are about the German-Norwegian relation 1933 – 1940 in the automobile- and road sector. In this period the Norwegian road/automobile sector looked upon the German road/car policies and practices with great sympathy and fascination. This challenges the often told story about strong Norwegian resistance to the Nazi regime. How is it possible to re-present this part of the road history?

Session 15 History and Memory: Shaping our Futures

History, memory and myth represents the past while pointing to the future. This session will discuss configurations of the future through empirical cases from diverse corners of history, represented in photography, the creation of public memory, the practice of individual lives, monuments and narratives. The debate about the use of history itself has a long history, taking its point of departure in the Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes, as well as the fierce modernist attacks on the conserving effects of history by Nietzsche and the Italian Futurists onwards to Foucault's idea of the "History of the Present." Recently Deleuze coined the entanglement of past and future as a folding of the outside into the inside, "to make the past active and present to the outside so that something new will finally come about," while Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht drew another conclusion from the Nietzschean critique of history and proposed a 'Production of Presence' as the sole purpose of engaging in history, thus rejecting constructivist ideals of shaping the future

though representations of the past. The purpose of this session is to discuss the production of futures from a theoretical as well as an empirical point of view.

Tom Allbeson

At the crossroads of cultural memory and utopian thinking: Photography, architecture and the establishment of UNESCO

This paper addresses the cultural history of photography in relation to the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in 1945 and the construction of its Paris headquarters, opened in 1958.

In the immediate postwar years, photography fulfilled a vital function in recording the ruins and envisioning the reconstruction of urban space. Charged with advancing cultural relations and international peace, UNESCO was established in part to safeguard the cultural heritage which suffered unprecedented loss through total war. But the organisation's modernist headquarters were a controversial addition to the Paris cityscape. UNESCO was thus a cultural programme, an educational initiative, a diplomatic undertaking and an architectural project.

Interdisciplinary research into this postwar material tackles photographic representation in a historical moment preoccupied by fraught memories of the war, but focussed resolutely on idealised visions of a distant past and a utopian future – visions in which urban space was particularly prominent. Through interpretive reflection on the press coverage and souvenir photobooks regarding the UNESCO building and the position of photography in the organisation's early research and publishing output, this paper considers the intersecting postwar discourses of humanism, internationalism, traditionalism and modernism.

Jakob Kraus

From Popular Memory to National History? Remembering Italian Colonial Rule in Libya

Italy and Libya certainly have entangled histories: from 1911 until 1943 Libya was not only an Italian colony, but was even considered its "Fourth Shore" and, eventually, an integral part of the metropolis. But do both countries share a memory of their common colonial past? For a long time the dichotomy between colonizer and colonized was being perpetuated in remembering: whereas in Italy the myth of the *italiani brava gente* as benign rulers dominated, in Libya an accusatory memory of victimization and resistance was being propagated. A special center for historical research was created in 1978 to "liberate history from colonialist thought" (as its director Mohammed Taher Jerary put it). While some Italian historians, such as Angelo Del Boca, started to challenge prevailing views already from the 1970s onwards, only beginning with the political rapprochement in the late 1990s the two countries have tried to construct a narrative of shared history and remembrance of the mutual experience (e. g. in Libya the Day of Revenge, a national holiday commemorating the expulsion of the last Italian settlers, has become the Day of Libyan-Italian Friendship). My paper will examine these trajectories and the ways through which a shared memory is being created.

Jakob Egholm-Feldt

The Love of Zion

This paper will explore the love of Zion as both the historical-mythological homeland of the Jews and an Oriental location in selected works of intellectuals engaged in generating Jewish nationality and spirituality at the same time such as Asher Ginzberg (1856-1927), Haim Nachman Bialik (1873-1934), Martin Buber (1878-1965) and Uri Zvi Greenberg (1896-1981). In particular, this paper will emphasize the transition from the abstract but intimate love of Zion to the actual, material Orient: The Zionist Orient. This was a transition that all four authors carried through in their individual lives. The working questions of this paper are: How was a relevant, present, Jewish past recreated in theory and practice? What was the future-historical Jewish fate and mission in Zion or Eretz Israel? The paper will primarily deal with the period from 1882, when the first modern settlement of Jews in Palestine was established and the so-called Wailing Wall riots in 1929 that fundamentally changed Zionist and Arab-Palestinian relations. Theoretically, this paper will, inspired by existentialist and ontological perspectives, discuss the Love, Spirit, and Intimacy of/with a particular History creating a Presence and Truth in individual lives.

Pälvi Rantala

Stories of the past : a case of a "local fool" from Northern Finland

In Northern Finland, in a small town of Alatornio, there is a monument standing behind the old church. In every Christmas there is a collection of candles in front of it. This statue that was built in year 1934, is to honor the local poet and vagabond nicknamed the "Preacher of Limeland", who lived from 1830 to 1885. He could also be called as a local fool, or even a village idiot. In my presentation I shall enlighten how the local collective memory can be analyzed through this one case: the tradition and the stories concerning one person. The stories about the Preacher of Limeland reflect their own time: from the end of the 1800s to 1950s he was told to be part of the Finnish nation building. In the 1970s he was seen as the conscience of the society. Yet, in our own time, he is the idol of young artists of the region. With the help of the Preacher of Limeland the society analyzes its past, and also orient to the future. The representations of the past thus reflect the ideas and values that have been hegemonic in the culture and society in each time period.

Bjørg Seland

The visionary girl. Telling and retelling a story from the 1860s

During the winter of 1859 /60, a young girl, Gunhild Svendsdatter, came forward claiming to be God's messenger in the rural society of Vrådal in Telemark, eastern Norway. Her message made a strong appeal for pious awakening and was based upon her own visionary experiences from "the other side", where she had been able to look into the various fates that people would meet in the afterlife - in heaven or hell. Moreover, Gunhild's message served as a vehicle for a religious movement which deeply affected the local community, a movement which later on manifested itself in formal missionary

associations. During this transition to formal organisation, Gunhild lost her role as a religious leader, since the missionary associations were governed by males.

Session 16 The Malleable Memories of Mary

*The Virgin Mary is a central figure within the religious cultures of world Christianities. Beginning in the eastern Mediterranean within the liturgies of Byzantium, becoming central to the life of parishes and to personal devotion in medieval Europe and from the sixteenth century, a global figure made familiar through conquest and mission led by Europeans. With her promise of consolation and maternal comfort, the Virgin Mary became a ubiquitous figure, but not unchanging. The approaches of cultural history have in very recent years inspired new research into the making and unmaking of this important figure. I propose to Chair the session and the ensuing discussion of three cases, which demonstrate the figure of the Virgin Mary as a site of memory, a witness to change, and the subject of unfolding and emergent myths. Prof Teresa Shawcross (Amherst and Mt Holyoke Colleges) *From Temple to Church: Mary of the Parthenon* Professor Ora Limor (Open University of Israel) *Mary in Jerusalem: Myth and Memory in the Holy Land* Ms Kati Ihnat (Doctoral Candidate, Queen Mary University of London) *Constructing a religious heritage: Mary's Conception in early twelfth century England* I have discussed the three papers with the scholars in question (synopses available request) and am convinced they will be not only utterly original, but also engaged with issues of approach and method in cultural history that will interest many ISCH members, beyond those specifically interested in the Middle Ages*

Teresa Shawcross

From Temple to Church: Mary of the Parthenon

The Parthenon, one of the marvels of the Ancient World, was originally built to honour the goddess Athena. After the advent of Christianity, however, it was transformed from a temple into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This church, despite the fact it possessed no relics of any note, became a major shrine and centre of pilgrimage. Such was the renown throughout Christendom of the Virgin 'of Athens' (Atheniotissa), indeed, that in places as distant from each other as Flanders and Georgia foundations began to spring up specifically named after her. This paper, building on recent scholarship, examines the promotion of the cult of their Virgin by a series of Athenian bishops, such as the late twelfth-century Michael Choniates, and shows how pagan attributes were appropriated by these bishops for the new patroness of the shrine, contributing to her allure and potency. In particular, as we shall see, pilgrims to Athens consistently recount witnessing or being told about a miraculous 'light', considered to be the physical manifestation of 'divine wisdom', which was housed in the church and shone forth from there, illuminating the world. The paper will also consider the development of the cult during a period of crisis in the early thirteenth century, when Athens itself passed from Byzantine to Crusader control.

Kati Ihnat

Constructing a religious heritage: Mary's Conception in early twelfth century England

The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, although accepted as dogma since the nineteenth century, has a relatively short history, elaborated only in the central middle ages. Its corresponding feast day was unheard of in Western Europe until it appeared in England in the eleventh century. Even then, it was limited to a small number of monastic houses,

and its relative obscurity led to its cancellation following the Norman Conquest. Nevertheless, its cult was revived in the early twelfth century as part of a monastic drive to recover the kingdom's pre-Norman heritage. New liturgical texts were elaborated for the feast day, and the doctrine of Mary's immaculate conception was developed in order to justify its liturgical celebration. The monks who created this new material thus participated in the construction of a myth. Tied to issues of monastic and national identity, the cult of the Conception took on proportions it had never known prior to its cancellation, with foundations that were as political and social as they were devotional.

Ora Limor

Mary of the Holy Land: the Memories of Pilgrims

Memories of pilgrims are our best witnesses to the evolution of the Christian sacred map of the Holy Land and to the process by which it came to reflect cult and belief throughout the Christian world. A distinctive example is the evolution of Mary's sacred map. When traced chronologically, pilgrimage accounts show clearly how Mary's topography developed and changed with time, serving as a mirror to the growing devotion to her in East and West and to the specific nature of this devotion. This matching of image and sight shaped pilgrimage experience, and was reflected in the written narratives, commemorating for generation to come beliefs and feelings brought to the holy places and aroused by them.

Session 17 Remembering Nature

When, why, and how does nature become something to be 'remembered?' The very notion of remembrance connotes the possibility of forgetting, but can we say it is possible to 'forget' nature? It seems that in the many ways in which nature is actively remembered – literature, painting, photographs, motion pictures, zoos and museums, trips to the countryside, perhaps even indoor plants – what is often remembered is not nature itself, but a set of ideas about nature, ideas that juxtapose nature with culture in a mythic context. This session would include reflections on the cultural practices of remembering nature (such as the examples mentioned above) but may also include discussions of where animals are situated within these processes – does 'the animal' stand as a figure for 'nature?' Images of animals, animal stories, figurines, stuffed animals and living pets all may in some way be seen as facilitating an ongoing remembrance of nature – either as an abstracted place, or as an endangered aspect of ourselves, our own so-called 'human nature' as something distinct from our situation as politico-cultural subjects.

Adam Dodd

‘Natural History Books as Remembrance’: Childhood, Wonder and Nostalgia in the works of Arabella Buckley

It is during the nineteenth century that ‘remembering nature’ began to take its modern forms in a variety of scientific and cultural practices. In this paper, I focus on just one: the popular natural history book, and specifically, those written by Arabella Buckley (1840 – 1929). Buckley is an exemplary figure in the tradition of female natural history authors, exhibiting a unique ability to synthesize contemporary scientific findings into literary forms suitable for children. Of particular interest is the manner in which she was able to successfully reconcile the Darwinian notion of ‘the struggle for existence’ with a vision of nature as a kind of ‘fairy land’ that seemed even more wondrous through ‘magic glasses,’ manifested in titles such as *The Fairyland of Science* (1879) and its sequel, *Through Magic Glasses* (1890). In discussing Buckley’s books within their cultural context, I attempt to access the ways in which memory, childhood, wonder and nostalgia intersected in the project of nineteenth-century popular natural history.

Anna Samuelsson

Zoo/mbies in the Theatre of Nature

In this paper I investigate constructions of nature and culture and in museums of natural history in Stockholm, Gothenburg, London and Uppsala. The analysis is based on studies of exhibitions 2000-2007 and a study of re-organizations of stuffed animals in the Biological museums in Stockholm and Uppsala during the period after the inaugurations at the turn of the century 1900 until today. How have gender, race, nation, environment, landscapes, bodies, animals and humans been constructed and understood through these representations? What do changes in the performative choreography of the bodies tell us about changing ways of looking and remembering and about changing values and norms in a societal context? Through the concept "zoo/mbie" - a combination of "zoology" and "zombie", the living dead body - I also want to highlight the stuffed/mounted body as a borderline creature in different dimensions.

Guro Flinterud

Remembering the polar bears

The zoological garden as we know it was formed through the nineteenth century, with the idea of science and education as its main purpose. Although utilized more as a place of leisure and entertainment, the educational aspect is still argued, and from the mid twentieth century it has been increasingly combined with the aim of conservation. But what exactly is conserved within the moats and fences of the zoo? In 2007, a polar bear in the Berlin Zoo was subject of brief international fame. In the midst of reports on imminent loss of habitat for the polar bears in the Arctic, the Berlin Zoo managed to save and hand raise their first polar bear cub in 33 years. The story of polar bear "Knut" points forwards to a time when the polar bears might be extinct, and became a way of remembering the polar bears even though they are not yet gone. In this paper I discuss the

idea of conservation in zoos from the vantage point of "Knut", asking to what degree zoos might be places of memory, creating and conserving symbols of nature. Do zoos conserve nature, or do they create the nature we want to remember?

Katrin Pfeifer

Remembering Natural Disasters

Environmental history is an emerging field. This talk focuses on how natural disasters enter the collective memory. We present a new cultural historical method to analyze how natural disasters were perceived, interpreted, managed, and memorized. We focus on two rarely investigated natural disasters: severe storms and rockslides in Early Modern Times.

In the first example, we focus on the cultural history of the severe storm of Utrecht in 1674. This storm raged over Utrecht, destroyed houses and churches, and most notably the nave of the cathedral. We analyze poems and drawings as a human response to the severe storm from a cultural historical perspective.

In the second example, we investigate the Great Salzburgian Rockslide of 1669. Among the 14 destroyed houses, three religious buildings were destroyed: the seminary and two churches. Moreover, 220 people were killed. We concentrate on the religious interpretations and trace back the development of the institution of the mountain cleaners: They have become an institution in the 18th century and are still working nowadays. Our talk concludes by a discussion of how the proposed method may be used and adapted for cultural historical investigations of natural phenomena in general.

Session 18 Activating Photographs in Archives and Collections

Activating photographs in archives and collections The vast photographic material in public archives and collections lies at the heart of constructions of collective histories, memories and myths. However, this material is remarkably underexplored in cultural historical research and writings, and it is imperative to activate it more. Doing so, photography itself must be taken seriously, focusing on alternatives to regarding photographs purely as evidence and illustrations. Photography's complexity makes it suited for addressing theoretical concerns: questions of authenticity, objectivity, representation, authority, and the archive as concept. We consider archives as historical processes, validating knowledge and managing meaning. Looking at whole archives as cultural products, we are interested in how they produce collective inclusions and exclusions, and categories such as race, gender and nation. Recent developments in photo history studies are important for raising awareness of photographic multiplicity, and interdisciplinary perspectives, blending photo history and cultural history, should be encouraged. How are concepts such as "material turn", "post-photographic era" and "cultural biography" understood and employed? What position do contextualization, discourse analysis and phenomenology hold, and how is photography thought about in fieldwork and documentation? In what way is the flood of digitized photographs and increased digital mediation affecting the approaches? We welcome discussions of photographs as artifacts, visual excess of photographs, seriality/singularity, and instability of meaning.

Jens Petter Kollhøj

Looking for anti-violence in the National Library of Norway - Peace history approaches to photographs ca 1885-1940

Some of the most utilized picture material in the National Library is related to Fridtjof Nansen. Nansen is known internationally as a polar explorer, but also for his humanitarian efforts, and as a Nobel Peace Prize Laureate. However, browsing row after row of file cabinets in the National Library's Picture Collection, peace related labels are generally lacking. Instead one may notice categories such as 'military' and 'uniforms'. One exception is a drawer marked 'interparliamentarism', indicating that the collection do contain more photographic material directly relevant for peace history. Are there even more photographs to be found, filed under various less obvious categories? Does the collection include photographs related to peace movement organisations and socialist anti-militarist groups? The Picture Collection holds a large number of portraits of more or less famous women and men. How well represented are central peace activists and anti-militarists in this portrait gallery? My aim here is threefold, firstly to map out quantitatively what the Picture Collection has to offer of peace history relevant photographs. Secondly, to indicate what these images may provide of replies to different research questions. Thirdly, to sketch out and open up alternative approaches to these pictures.

Mette Sandbye

Greenland: Making pictures talk. The photographic archive as a place for the performance of unarticulated memories

'Close the town with no future'. That was the headline of an article in a Greenlandish newspaper that the Danish/Greenlandish artist Pia Arke read ten years ago. The town in question is Scoresbysund in Greenland – Denmark's most northern post, populated by 600 people. Few Danes know about this town, and it has hitherto played no important role in the history of neither Denmark nor Greenland. It is a town with no collective memory, an almost invisible town. The talk analyzes how the project of activating the photographic archive that Pia Arke carried out in the following years - resulting in the book *Stories from Scoresbysund (2003/2010)* - 're-opened' the city as well as its collective memory and turned the town into a locus of active, recognized memory and emotions. The book is used as a case-story to reflect on the use of collections of family and amateur photography in contemporary culture as well as in academia. The talk will focus on the use of amateur images as performative, oral interlocutors between people and between people, experience and historical knowledge. Photographs are not only determined by or mirroring social relations, they can themselves create social relations as well as history.

Nina Lager Vestberg

Medium, materiality and the miscellaneous: some thoughts on the ordering of photographic archives

In his book *Everything is Miscellaneous (2007)*, the writer David Weinberger describes what he calls the three orders of order. The first is the order of 'the things themselves' (for instance a collection of photographs), while the second is that of a catalogue or index

giving information (metadata) about those things. The third order, however, is in fact no order at all, but rather the miscellanised breakdown of metadata into bits that may be searched and combined in potentially infinite ways - the most obvious example of which is the search engine Google. In my paper I will show how one specific archive of photographs may be accessed according to this tripartite system of orders, and examine how each order privileges different kinds of search modes as well as different types of 'findings'. The purpose of this paper may in analogous fashion be divided into three main objectives: first, to examine the significance of material substrate and practical organisation in determining the kinds of questions that may be asked of an archive; second, to explore how the actual questions posed prompt the generation of new archives and orders, and third, to discuss to what extent an archive constituted in the photographic medium is particularly suited as a case study for this kind of inquiry.

Session 19 Poetics of the Past

Carin Franzén

The Process of Cultural Memory

In my paper I suggest that we should regard cultural memory not primarily as knowledge but as a discursive process involved in power relations, i. e. a master narrative or a dominating discourse disguising gaps in the events recorded where other narratives or discursive elements could come into play. In order to illustrate how this theoretical perspective can be put to work I focus on the problem of cultural memory and gender. By way of some examples taken from literary history, more precisely from the legacy of courtly love in premodern women's writing, I demonstrate how cultural memory as a discursive process is bound up with issues of hegemony, "whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault). My claim is that cultural memory without power analysis leads to a repetition of repressed or forgotten past, determining "behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of a society" (Assmann) in analogy to Freud's analysis of the mechanism of repetition; what cannot be remembered must be repeated.

Lene Andersen

Storytellers' use of the past in present oral storytelling in Denmark

References to the past are often observed in connection with a renewed interest in oral storytelling, such as the one that has emerged in Denmark in the last 20 years. The study aims to investigate the meanings of oral storytellers' images of the past and examine whether their perceptions of past storytelling reveal some of their hopes and motives for storytelling in the present. In interviews, storytellers were asked to describe their images of storytelling in the past. Typically, they imagine people sitting around an atmospheric campfire or around candle lights. This nostalgic image hints at the lack of electricity in past times. This is an important clue because present-day storytellers place storytelling in contrast to electricity and electronic equipment which they feel are distorting human interaction and making people passive. To create other kinds of experiences for people of today the storytellers want to revive the storytelling tradition that they believe had died

out. Their nostalgic images about the past remind them that an alternative to modern lifestyle does exist.

Maria Vainio-Kurtakko

The Lure of the Gustavian "Golden Age" - 18th Century revivalism seen through Works of Art, Novels and Letters by the Late 19th Century Swedish-speaking Cultural Elite in Finland

In this paper I study the Nordic version of 18th century revivalism in late 19th century art, literature and society. The late 19th century is known throughout Europe as a period of rapid socio-economic change. With industrialization, increasing urbanization, increasing literacy and a near-explosion of the number of newspapers, it was also a time of intense public debate, among other things on democracy and the rights of women. In the Nordic countries the period 1870-1905 is often called the breakthrough of modernity (det moderne gennembrud). It was a time of ambivalence in many senses. Members of the Finnish and Swedish cultural elite, as well as their European colleagues, who on one hand gave their support to the process of modernization, on the other hand longed back to the imagined "golden age" of the 18th century. Through the works of art, novels, articles, letters and diaries by artist Albert Edelfelt, architect and author Jac. Ahrenberg, author K.A. Tavaststjerna and author and teacher Berta Edelfelt, this paper illuminates some of the thus far relatively unexplored aspects of the 19th century myth of the Gustavian age. This paper investigates what the 18th century represented for the Swedish-speaking cultural elite in Finland and why this elite found it essential to cling to old and often imagined ideals.

Martin Baake-Hansen

Nostalgia in Czeslaw Milosz: The Issa Valley (1955)

I will be looking into what I claim are the two most important modalities of memory in Polish poet, novelist and essayist Czeslaw Milosz, namely testimony and nostalgia - focusing in this paper on nostalgia. I think about testimony and nostalgia through the lens of narrative theory, which enables me to complicate the conventional view that testimony and nostalgia are mutually exclusive modalities. I argue that regarding Milosz testimony and nostalgia are imbricated dimensions of a common exile narrative, and the narrative form produced through this relationality gives us a new and more complex understanding of how these literary texts represent the workings of exilic memory. Whereas testimony has often been considered as "good" and "true", nostalgia has been dismissed as "bad" and "false". The reason being the general assumption, that while testimony orientates toward objectivity and factuality, nostalgia is characterized by a degree of emotionality and subjectivity.

I challenge this oversimplified understanding of the concepts and argue that through Milosz' dealings with nostalgia in his 1955 novel *The Issa Valley*, it shows that nostalgia is a distinct type of memory that evokes discussions on politics, existentialism, epistemology and ethics -all in relation to exile.

Assimina Kaniari, Atle Omland

Temporalities of Contemporaneity: The uses of Cultural History in Contemporary Greek art

Much of the cultural production that emerges in the domain of the visual arts in Greece after 1960s is characterized by an unprecedented almost obsessive preoccupation with the past. The latter, in the work of Contemporary Greek artists who work and exhibit from the 60s onwards, seems to focus, almost exclusively, on the idea of Greece's recent past, recast in the form of varieties of histories, political, social, cultural, to name a few. In the example of social art work, not official history but suppressed voices and small narratives are mobilized which, in the example of Marios Spiliopoulos's recent project on Eleusina discussed here, retrace the living memory of an industrial site and its contemporary-historical significance as the object of a cultural imaginary.

This discussion not only attempts to disentangle contemporary Greek art, and the critique but also reconstruction of history that such work demands, from the 'varieties of cultural history' that it engages with, but it unpacks the kinds of temporalities that contemporaneity, and its uses as a term to describe and discuss contemporary art as a historical phenomenon, has often concealed.

Session 20 Memory Studies and the Cultural History of the Art of Memory

One seminal approach to memory has been concerned with the history of the art of memory, and how this art influenced different aspects of European culture. This approach, often called mnemology, has primarily been aimed at studying how the classical art of memory was used, developed, transformed and re-transformed in the medieval and early modern period, and the afterlife of these modes of thought. This form of study allows a critical assessment of the implicit social, political, aesthetic and scientific framework that mnemotechniques have had at specific times and places. These perspectives have shifted the emphasis from the referential dimension to the performative aspects of culture. The mnemological perspectives open the way for the study of cultural history by exposing and rediscovering the symbolism that gave meaning to history. The aim of this panel is to bring this tradition of memory studies in touch with the more recent approaches to memory in cultural studies. In particular to investigate the critical potential of such an historical enterprise. What is the cultural history - and memory - behind the current "memory craze"? Why use the concept of collective/cultural memory when writing of history proper has been 'unveiled' as rhetoric, narrative, story and myth?

Henning Laugerud

Remembering the Past, Creating the Future. The dynamics of Memory and Tradition.

In this paper I want to address the question of why use the concept of "memory" when talking of/writing about the history and/or the past? The use of the term "memory" in this sense is both old and very new. During the last decades the writing of history proper has been 'unveiled' as rhetoric, narrative, story and/or myth. Does this mean that our idea(s) about history or the past is a kind of "false memory syndrome"? The understanding of the

past has always been a "construction", but not only - and what is more important; this does not mean that it is "false" or "untrue". This is why the concept of "memory" is useful. The mnemological perspectives open the way for important approaches to the study of cultural history by exposing and rediscovering the symbolism that gave meaning to history. The study of memory, of mnemonic theory and technique, is not only important for the understanding of how collectives and individuals within a collective remember, but also for the understanding of cultural history and theories of cultures itself. This is where "tradition", as a dynamic force and "memory" as a habitus (in a Thomistic, not a Panofsky-Bourdieuian sense) comes into play.

Jørgen Bakke

Memory and geography: The past as a landscape in the ancient Greek historians.

A favourite topic among cultural historians during the past decades has been the relationship between place and memory. Especially since Simon Shama's *Landscape and Memory* from 1995 the term landscape of memory has become a part of every cultural historian's analytic vocabulary. From the viewpoint of the current cultural historical discourse this represents a genuinely novel study area. This paper, however, points to some similarities between the current cultural historical approach to geographical memory studies and how classical Greek historians like Herodotus and Thucydides approached the past as a landscape. The classical Greek historians had inherited this approach from Homer, who, in the *Odyssey*, represented the past as a series of journeys in a marine landscape. In the classical period the sophists cultivated the relationship between place and memory as an important rhetorical tool, and Aristotle also pointed out how this relationship was not merely technical, but also deeply rooted in the human preoccupation with history. In conclusion this paper suggests how re-reading this classical approach to the relationship between place and memory can benefit the current cultural historical debate with traditional tools and insights.

John Ødemark

The Art of Memory in the History of Cultural Investigation - The Case of Diego Valadés' *Rhetorica Christiana* (1579)

Yates argued that the natural sciences were indebted to the mnemonic arts. Her thesis of Warburgian-continuity has been contested in the history of science. Nonetheless, it has influenced the history of cultural inquiry. Relating the Yates-thesis to anthropology, Fabian asserts that a visual rhetoric rooted in the *ars memoria* explains the "denial of coevalness" to anthropology's informants - and the concomitant placement of present "others" in a "locus" associated with "our" past. Conversely, Rossi and Bolzoni argue that early modern reports about non-European cultures ability to communicate with hieroglyphics not only furnished proof for the universality - and consequently feasibility - of mnemonics, but also transferred its prestige to "others". I examine these divergent views of mnemonics in the history of cultural investigation by reading the *ars memoria*-section in Diego Valadés' *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia 1579). This book, produced by a Franciscan born in Mexico is probably the first published by an American in Europe. A crucial concern for the author is the "property rights" to a pictorial method of conversion; a method expounded in the *ars memoria*-section. Here Mexican glyphs and European

memory-images are fused, and related to the use of memory-images in rhetoric as well as to "hermetic" notions of memory.

Arne Bugge Amundsen

Confessionality, Ritual and the Memory of Culture

The paper aims at discussing the structure, ideology and cultural practice of the Danish-Norwegian Lutheran Church 1537-1700 regarding the liturgical rituals. The Lutheran 'middle way' of the European has often been described as a moderate strategy between radical upheaval of religious practice and memory and traditionalist solutions to the Reformation challenges in Europe. However, in Denmark-Norway Lutheranism became the instrument of social and religious control. This control was designed as a stronghold against Roman revenge, traditional practices and liberal interpretations of the Christian gospel. An important question, then, is how the Lutheran rituals became decisive in defining the 'memory of religion', i.e. the relationship between Biblical events and the individual and collective world of contemporary believers. The paper will examine the Danish-Norwegian rituals of baptism, wedding and funeral covering the development from the 'Church Ritual' of the 1530's to the 'Church Ritual' of the 1680's.

Session 21 Presentisms – Past and Present

Is presentism a distinctive feature of our times, a result of recent development in communications technology and digital culture? Can the idea of presentism, understood as the dominance of temporal experiences of a contemporary moment, at the expense of the past and the future, be historicized and even spoken of in the plural? The session will explore these questions by investigating a number of cases from different epochs.

Building on François Hartog's contention that his concept régime d'historicité is not intended as a contribution to the philosophy of history, but as a heuristic tool, we will argue that presentism is not an epoch-defining concept, but rather a way of experiencing temporality. The influence and actual articulation of presentism has varied historically, as has also its labels. Our suggestion is that the presentism in contemporary culture has its parallels in other forms, like exemplarity, figurality, the use of tables, systems and maps across a wide historical spectrum.

Helge Jordheim

Presentism – synchronism: two alternative regimes of historicity?

The ideas of the present and presentism seem to rest on the presupposition that historical time is in itself homogenous and absolute. But what if the present is really a heterogeneous hotchpotch of temporal experiences, remnants from the past and visions for the future?

In this paper I will suggest that a better concept for understanding both our current situation and earlier regimes of historicity might be that of synchrony, synchronism, or more precisely, the synchrony of the non-synchronous, *die Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*, as it was coined in the German tradition.

As I will show in analyses of examples both from 17th and 18th century universal history and more current historiographical contexts historical time is always multiple and paradoxical and thus hardly can be seen as coming together to something like a unison and absolute present. In my theoretical discussion I will pick up some ideas from François Hartog and contrast them with some thoughts from the works of the German historian and theorist of history Reinhart Koselleck to see how they conceptualize and deal with the present in different ways.

Eivind Engebretsen

Presentism and exemplarity in the writings of Antoine Godeau

This paper investigates exemplarity as a form of presentism by studying two social-political treaties written by the French 17th century bishop and academician Antoine Godeau: *Images of Penitence* (1660) and his *Speech on the establishment of the General Hospital in Paris* (1657). The paper explores how figures and events from the history of Christianity are used by Godeau as didactic exempla in order to counteract social problems in the present. For Godeau, the most effective solution to problems like civil disturbance and poverty in 17th century France was to work on one's relationship to God. The paper shows how Godeau uses examples and exemplarity to inspire penitence, as well as to justify hospitalisation as a way of restoring the divine order. It argues that from Godeau's atemporal perspective, church history and hospitalisation are parts of the same social project that consists of setting examples to restore the cosmic balance.

Erling Sandmo

Time, present in the world

Medieval and renaissance maps are richly adorned with symbols, images and texts that transcend what we today would call "geography". Maps were maps of knowledge itself, and they are often seen not so much as maps in our sense as map-like allegories, images of world views rather than of the world as such. Still, they are held together by what are clearly maps, depictions of the physical, present world.

This begs the question of how time, both past history, eternal religion, and expectations of the future, may be said to be present in the world, or, vice versa: how the world is constituted as the simultaneous presence of different time levels, distributed in space. This paper will discuss some aspects of this intricate intertwining of time and space and how these two dimensions of mapping came to be two distinct aspect of the knowledge of the world, and how the very ideas of worldliness and presence were transformed in the early modern period.

Anne Eriksen

Presentism and the scientific fact

Historically, there are two main forms of presentism, Hartog argues: One of classical philosophy, another of Christian religious thought. The proposed paper will claim the existence of a third tradition to be found in the natural sciences, more specifically in medicine. Here, presentism is fundamental to the processes that have been called "the

making of the modern fact". Historian of science Lorraine Daston argues that the nature of the "scientific fact" radically changed between 1660 and 1730, from a singular and striking event that could be replicated only with great difficulty, to a uniform class of events that could be produced at will. This also implied that facts became atemporal, supposedly existing independent of temporal context and specific, historic circumstances.

The paper will investigate how this kind of presentism entered the medical discourse on smallpox inoculation in the late 18th century. It implied that medical case-stories were transformed from narratives of individual patients to a description of the disease itself. The temporal aspect of the development of the disease was not related to biography or circumstance, but seen as integral to the disease. Presentism made case stories change into a narration of medical facts, not of examples.

Session 22 Memory and Life stories

Marjo Kaartinen

The uses of memory in diagnosing breast cancer in the long eighteenth century

My paper discusses the role of the personal life history of a breast cancer patient when a diagnosis is being made by a physician or a surgeon. The patients were invariably asked about their life history, and the way they thought their illness was generated. Often they remembered blows and injuries to the breast. The role of memory, of personal tragedies as well, becomes important in understanding the disease in general and individual's illness in particular. I will discuss seventeenth and eighteenth century England, and show how important the patients' role in healing was. The sources used are personal accounts and especially specialists' case histories in published accounts and in manuscript case books.

Nadia Maria Weber Santos

A Unique Journey - From Mental Hospital to the World: "Memories from the Asylum" and the Recovery of Family Memory

I will present the results of a study intended to search for "marginal" sensibility, that is, the evolving memory of a common individual's life story (who I will call TR or Theodoro), admitted to São Pedro Psychiatric Hospital, in Porto Alegre, Brazil, from May to September, 1937. During that time, he wrote several letters, a dozen of which were found with his medical records. In that correspondence, we found memory from where we are able to trace that person's story, his history at the hospital and his search for a place "in the world." Besides his life story, he used to discuss the world's (the Spanish Civil War, for instance) and Brazil's historical moment, writing small chronicles and critiques of society, the clergy, and Brazilian economy. When searching for tracks of his life outside the hospital, we found his family (descendants, such as two children and niece and nephew) and a new approach developed over that character, taken away from society at his moment in history for being considered mad. Based on memories evoked from his family, Russian immigrants, we recovered sensibilities and reconstructed his life story.

Annikka Konola

Framing the Individual Ageing Experience

This paper explores the ways in which history is connected with an individual body experience of aging and what kind of methods it is possible to use for examining this. In my ongoing study, I collect information on aging body experience by interviews and memory working groups. This paper aims to identify and explore the ways in which stories about our past might be recalled and how these recalled memories could be used as the remembering tools during the personal interviews and later again in memory working groups during the same research process.

I propose that the past affects into the individual ageing experience in two ways. Firstly, individuals reflect their present life in relation to their own life history. Secondly, they compare their experience of ageing with those people who live around them today or have lived in the past. With the latter I mean the previous generations, and comparing with the choices which these people have done in their life. In my study, I approach the individual ageing experience supposing that every expression concerning this experience is tied up with a temporally multi layered and culturally shared world of experiences.

Alexandre Dessingué

The Importance of the Words - Memories from civilians at war in Northern France

The effort of reconstruction and understanding of the past leads to a possible construction of collective identity according the French historian Jean-Pierre Vernant. A reflected look on the past can also lead to a better understanding of the role of the individual in his own time and social sphere. Memory and history are closely linked and they contribute more efficiently to make sense of the past. The city of Dunkirk in Northern France, and its inhabitants, has always been at the heart of Europe, suffering the brunt of two world wars (14-18 and 39-45). But which role and meaning has such territory today? We believe that part of the answer lies in the memory/-ies of the inhabitants of those territories, becoming also a "place of memory", since it engages our reading and analysis. In this presentation we will strive to offer a vision of the traumatic memory of the inhabitants of Dunkirk who lived and who subsequently were able to tell us, even though the term "traumatic" must be used carefully, as we will see in the testimonials. The individual memories are often confused but they might become a crucial source of information on historical events or mainly on the experience of these events. They tell us about a past that is felt collectively.

Session 23 Performing the Past

Mark Schalenberg

History in the making: Readings of urban history in cultural productions in 1980s (West-)Berlin

Representations of the past can take various forms, although they invariably reveal the conditions and concerns of the respective present. This has been dealt with extensively in the history of (textual) historiography and also for memory politics in a more haptic form, such as buildings or monuments. Much insight can be gained, however, from more

ephemeral occasions as well. The proposed paper would like to investigate into festivals, concerts, theatre performances, art exhibitions and spontaneous “happenings” in public space and their contributions to a specific reading of history. The object of study will be the final decade of the peculiar cultural cosmos that was West-Berlin (1980-89). Trying to come to grips with its status and mission, this “island” surround by the Wall often seemed to favour, by necessity, the present over the equally debatable future and past. Still, cultural productions offered particular contributions to visions of Berlin’s history: from a “never again” derived from the disastrous period 1933–45 to more emphatic evocations of the “golden” or “roaring twenties” and other avant-garde or emancipatory cultural strands. The paper shall focus on conscious selections and re-enactments of historical figures, movements and periods from the city’s history in the arenas named above and the conclusions that can be drawn to Berlin’s history culture and politics in the 1980s.

Kerstin Schier

Performative Re-Presentation of the Past in a South Indian Temple Festival

A number of religious festivals commemorate historical or mythological events and re-enact them in the course of their ritual activities. Re-enactments of myths are a powerful means to display and transmit, as well as to change a picture of the mythological past. The intensity of the experience through participation and the involvement of all senses embed these re-presentations of the past deeply in the memory of the audience - much more effectively than the written transmission of the mythological narratives. Yet, what is kept alive in the collective memory, when the text and its re-enactment transmit differing pictures of the past? This paper will examine a religious festival in the South Indian town Kanchipuram, which commemorates and re-enacts the wedding of the temple's major god Ekāmrānātha with the goddess Kāmākṣī from the neighbouring temple every year. Clearly, the textual and the performative re-presentation of the past differ in major aspects. It shall therefore be asked in what ways these differences shape and re-shape the collective memory of the audience on the one hand, and the specific memories of individuals on the other hand.

Berit Eide Johnsen

What a Maritime history! The uses of maritime history in summer festivals in southern Norway

This paper focuses on maritime history presented at summer festivals in Sørlandet, southern Norway. According to a recent report, 94 festivals of various sizes were arranged in Sørlandet in 2007. Close to 80% of them were situated along the coast, with “festival clusters” in several towns. Researchers use the term “festivalization of the region”.

Among the heritage festivals there are several maritime festivals. I will be using empirical data gathered from two of them: Kjømpestaden (Giant Town) in Arendal and Kapernatten (Privateer Night) in Farsund. Since Tordenskiolddagene (Tordenskiold Days) in Frederikshavn, Denmark, was the main inspiration for Giant Town, I will in addition draw my conclusions on data collected from this maritime summer festival.

The main research question is: In which ways is the staging of maritime history a strategy in branding and place development? The methodology I will employ is to connect my own observations and qualitative interviews with different kinds of written sources, among them: newspaper interviews and reports, official statements, prospects and plans, advertisements, etc. The main hypothesis is that the growth in maritime heritage tourism during recent years may be interpreted as the local communities' responses to (relative) economic deprivation, population decrease and industrial decline.

Session 24 Epistemology: Historiography

Jacqueline Hylkema

A True Account of Invented Pasts. History, Forgery and Confession in 18th century Britain

This paper will examine the relationship between history and forgery in 18th century Britain, with particular respect to the impact of forgery on historical discourses, the forgery as a historiographic construct and the forger's confession: the (allegedly) true history of an invented past. Although my discussion will include several examples of 18th century forgery, I will mainly focus on two of the period's most notorious forgers, the imposter George Psalmanazar and the Shakespearean forger William Henry Ireland. After a discussion of the 18th century use of forgery as a tool for the manipulation of interpretations of the past and how this practice relates to the period's concepts of myth and history, I will explore how Psalmanazar and Ireland constructed and presented their invented pasts. What techniques, sources and materials did they use and how do their forged histories compare to genuine 18th century historical narratives, in terms of structure, contents and approach? Finally, I will turn to the relationship between confession and history. The confessions of Psalmanazar and Ireland are both presented as true histories – how does this notion relate to the concepts of history, memory and historical reliability?

Audun Kjus

Heroes and Idols: Hubs of History

There are different opinions about what a hero is or should be. In this paper I will assume that a hero is a character that exposes cultural values. Often the hero will be regarded as one who has given the society values or one who has saved values for the society. The hero can also be a character who embodies values. Icons of style, for instance of fashion, of literary style or of musical style, work as heroes by making style available as a cultural resource.

In 2007 I was planning a research project about the didactic use of heroic narratives in the educational system. In connection to this I issued a questionnaire asking people about their relations to heroes and idols during the courses of their lives. I also asked about their concepts of heroism and how they regarded the differences between a hero and an idol. Based on the answers I received, I will develop some reflections about heroic narrative. I will consider how myth is turned into memory and I will discuss the different ways in which heroic narrative can produce experiences of the past.

Renaud Quillet

Is transnational history writing possible? Reflections on recent cases of Franco-German history writing

The question of a history writing liberated from national feelings is not new. It seems nevertheless become very topical in the context of globalization and of assertion of subnational identities increased on our continent by the effects of European Community building. For a French historian, coming from a country where history writing, marked during the XIXth and XXth centuries by the "roman national" ("nationalistic novel"), had a deep influence on the national building, it could be interesting to deal with these problematics in a foreign country, for the more which does not belong to European Union like Norway. We approach the question of a transnational history from the angle of its writing by authors whose nationalities are different. We lean on recent examples of Franco-German history writing. These ones are most interesting towards the long Franco-German antagonism, at the center of three conflicts at a continental then worldwide scale, between 1870 and 1945, then of the supposed partnership between these two countries in the framework of European Union and in the prospect of an international multicenter order.

Rahilya Geybullayeva

History between proportions: chronicles - historical fact, myth - imagination, epic - in between?

Following are considered as the **sources of history**: *chronicles*, written by monks and kept in monasteries (analog in the Eastern Medieval version are poems about the glory of the Trulers at the battles, written by poets, usually by the order of the reigning monarch); *archive documents*, including archives documents of schools, factories etc. on staff, facilities, locations, etc.; in contemporary period *media*, (newspapers, e-sources both professional media and amateur webs till Facebook, YouTube so on); *archeological researchs*; *travelogs*; *protocols*; *pictured documents* (from stone writings, paintings, to photos); *maps*; as secondary sources personal accounts, *diaries* (*djunk* in the Eastern Medieval version); *textbooks* as result of academicians. Even natural sciences in somehow are related to the tribe-ethnos-nation: biology serves anthropology through anthropometric data, DNA, race details as colour, face proportions likewise Asian, among them is also possible to concertize Kazakh type, Korean type; in European differs Slavic type, Celtic type, etc.

One of the sources for history is **epic**. Epic tells about important for the nation events and battles, glorifies heroes, usually rulers, and in the later period, persons from the folk. Epic also serves for research of *social life*, *cultural values* (family attitudes, religion elements) of the period of the writing. Another feature of epic is inclusion of out-earth elements in these events and their influence on a result, such as participation of the *Heaven elements* as Gods, magic power, or powerful attributes as nature – mountain and tree for power, water for revival. The combination of real and myth elements is also common. In this way, epic is more a historical source, than myths and religious texts.

The aim of this paper is *consideration of source for writing history on an example of epic*; to revise how this example of cultural heritage depicts history through a narration of facts with combination of imaginative fiction elements.

David Allan

Identity and collective memory: Enlightenment historiography in Scotland

Eighteenth-century Scotland presents an intriguing case study in the use of formal representations of the collective memory, in the familiar form of narrative historiography, as a basis for national identity. The Scots, of course, produced many great historians of their country over several centuries - but none more distinguished than those associated with the Scottish Enlightenment, such as Thomas Innes, David Hume, William Robertson and, at the very end of the period, Sir Walter Scott. In this paper I wish to discuss the role played by Enlightenment historiography in shaping and reflecting contemporary identities through the manipulation of collective memories. I want to show how the collective memory of Scotland's past had immediate implications in a period of great political, social and cultural change for the country in the century after Union with England. These were not, however, always straightforward: the ownership of some parts of the nation's history was contested; the precise content of other parts was disputed; and the meanings of pivotal historical experiences for Scots turned out to be open to vividly imaginative re-interpretation in light of contemporary circumstances.

Alison Moore

Early Cultural Historians' Recovery of 'Renaissance' Polymath Intellectualism

It is a common criticism of the early Swiss cultural historian Jacob Burckhardt that he treasured an elitist and teleological vision of early modern Italy as a pinnacle of fine art and civilisation. While there is no denying Burckhardt's idealisation, less commonly observed is that he, and subsequent cultural historians such as Karl Lamprecht, Aby Warburg and Ernst Gombrich, looked to what they understood as 'the Renaissance' for models toward the development of their own polymath intellectual personae. In particular, the diversity of subjects that early modern humanist scholars studied in the development of their diverse expertise inspired nineteenth and early twentieth-century cultural historians to strive toward interdisciplinarity in the face of intensifying disciplinary pressures upon institutional historical scholarship. While that uptake suggests a form of presentism, fetishism and a politics of memory that infused these historians' view of the early modern period, it also suggests a complex hermeneutic approach to their relation to the past that emerged in dialogue with the ideas of Wilhelm Dilthey, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Ernst Cassirer. This paper considers how early cultural historians constructed their own personae and epistemology through their use of the past.

Session 25 History and Mass Media

Hanna Kuusi

Contemporary cinema audiences and the Finnish Civil War of 1918

The purpose of my paper is to analyze the public reception of three recent drama films set during the Finnish Civil War of 1918. The films are *The Border* (2007), *Tears of April* (2008) and *Under the North Star* (2009). Both professional critique in the newspapers and lay discussions in the internet are included. The purpose is to find out which types of representations of the national tragedy are considered legitimate by the contemporary public? Is it still a question of right or wrong sides and of "true" versions of the past? Or are the films regarded as just any war films no matter of the specific context? In broader terms, what is the impact of the dramatized and emotionalized history represented by historical films? Is there a consensus on the message of the films among the audiences? Related with the reactions and reception I will discuss the explanation of the past by ahistorical aspects and themes typical to the recent filmatizations. Is this potentially one of the methods to overcome the collective trauma of the past?

Erin Bell

Alternative memories: television audiences, history and empathy

Whilst televised history programmes have frequently been accused by academic historians, and other scholars, of focussing upon elite, military, or uncontentious, 'safe' histories, recent attempts have been made in the UK to commission and broadcast accounts of other, less well-represented pasts. This paper outlines recent and ongoing research into such programmes, particularly series which consider Britain's, and other nations', imperial past directly, or which, such as the extremely successful 'Who do you think you are?' family history series, offer insights whilst outlining the genealogies of well-known people. It focusses upon the ways in which audiences of such programming offer an alternative interpretation of events depicted onscreen by drawing on their own and others' memories, particularly through their contributions to online discussions about the past, for example on websites dedicated to specific historical events, or to specific culturally- or ethnically-defined groups of people. These perhaps can be seen as a lieu de memoire for those sharing a family history, or otherwise sharing empathetic ties to people in the past. Appreciation of such discussions is a key aspect of research into the ways in which individuals attempt to make sense of the histories offered to them in the media, and the websites on which they are held may be seen to act as a form of monument, the paper will argue, to often ignored or stifled traumatic events.

Paavo Oinonen

Remembering the radio personality

In the Finnish broadcasting company, Yleisradio, children's programmes were organized around the character Uncle Markus whose models were Uncle Tom from the British BBC and Uncle Sven from the Swedish Radiotjänst (see Briggs 1985; Hallingberg 1999). The programme was an early example of the sociability of the sound radio (Scannell 1996). Starting from the 1920s Uncle Markus (Mr Markus Rautio) created the paternal output

which finally went out of date. This was obvious to many radio listeners in the time of his retiring in the 1956. At the same time, the retirement of the favourite was a difficult thing for some of the listeners emotionally attached to the persona of the host. In my paper, I will analyse how the character of Uncle Markus became an object of emotional remembering. How was this emotional attachment articulated soon after his retirement and later on? To analyse this nostalgic relationship between the host and his audiences there is an exquisite radio memory material collected by the Finnish Folklore Archives (1972). These radio memories and contemporary newspaper clippings reveal a deeply ritualized way of using the public service radio medium.

Session 26 Facing the Crisis: Collective Identity and Mnemonic Processes

At all times, communities have had to face crises, which had great impact on reshaping collective memories and identities. Mnemonic communities are dealing with these crises in different ways, on which we will focus in our transcultural panel. We will concentrate on varied media and their relation to memory and collective identity. The collective act of remembering in a community is based on the group's mechanism and rules of producing or creating sense and prefigures it as well. In this context, there is a mutual influence between the social frame, the act of commemoration itself and the collective memory. The same is true for media, which are as important for collective memory as the social frame. Therefore, different media like texts, rituals and images will be considered in order to examine how their specific rules shape the act of remembering. These acts offer the possibilities to initiate, transform and destruct collective identity, which we will analyse in our panel.

Sabine Reichert

A way out of the crisis? Medieval processions and the ritual dimension of urban memory culture in episcopal towns.

Religious processions belong to the oldest visible expressions of Christian liturgy. The Corpus Christi or the relics of various saints were not only carried around in the exclusivity of sacral institutions but in the public sphere as well. Within the late medieval town, religious processions constitute a special space of communication in which order, hierarchy and authority were reflected and debated at the same time. The new cultural studies have concentrated on the ritual character of processions, which could illustrate the symbiosis of the religious and political organs of urban governance. Furthermore, premodern urban processions should be analysed in other contexts as e.g. their role within mnemonic communities. The urban community used different media through which collective memory was passed on. Besides the well researched historiography a pronounced ritual dimension of urban memory culture can be observed. Among these, the religious processions stand out. On the one hand, they were donated as a special form of memoria. On the other hand, they accumulated urban memories as well. The paper will concentrate on the role of medieval processions in face of crisis. In which way could urban communities overcome a crisis throughout religious rituals and how could the unusualness become a part of the collective memory.

Alexandra Rohschürmann

François Dubois` interpretation of Saint-Bartholomew`s Massacre as a Huguenot Menotope

It`s doubtless that Saint-Bartholomew`s Massacre marked a watershed in the French Wars of Religion and shapes today`s perception, whether scientific or - even more - public, of violence and trauma in the second half of the 16th century in France. Immediately after the event "une compétition mémorielle" started about monopolizing its interpretation following the self-designed communal memory of Catholics and Huguenots who tried to protect their confessionally shaped self-perception. One of today`s best know interpretations and the only painting of a contemporary Huguenot on the event is "La Nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy" by François Dubois, a French painter who presumably left for Geneva soon after August 1572. Confronted with the distressed self-perception of the Reformed by this trauma Dubois reflected in his picture on the communal identity. Therefore his work participates in the process of shaping and transforming Huguenot identity after the Saint-Bartholomew`s Massacre. This lecture will examine the conned of violence/trauma - identity shaping - religion by having a closer look on Dubois` painting which seems to be omnipresent today in scientific literature, exhibitions, schoolbooks and public media but is usually only considered an illustration, not a source worth further investigation.

Cathleen Sarti

The Deposition of Kings as remembered in Popular Media

Although the early modern king was believed to have been appointed by God himself, there were quite a few times, when the king was not longer accepted by his subjects und consequently deposed of. The artworks inspired by these events played an important role in shaping the memory of the deposition. But artists were not committed to representing the depositions as faithfully as possible; their aim was to give them a specific interpretation. In my paper, I am going to analyse, how artist viewed deposition of early modern kings and used this topic in the creation of their artwork. I am concentration on the depositions of early modern monarchs in England, Scotland and Sweden and their representation in popular literature, music and painting. Especially, I am asking, in what way these artworks shaped the memory of the depositions and which role they played for the collective identity.

Session 28 Memory and Popular Culture

Anu Korhonen

Remembering Shore's Wife: Popular History and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern England

Jane Shore, famed mistress to the fifteenth-century King Edward IV, was a well-known figure in early modern England. She appeared not only in histories and chronicles but also in complaint poems, plays, ballads, and fictional letters. Yet her most influential commemorator, Sir Thomas More, suspected that she might be “too sleight a thing to be discussed among great matters”. This raises the question of women’s place as historical characters and actors. If a woman – even a woman who wielded considerable power through her close association with the king – was too sleight a thing to be discussed among great matters, what sort of matters was she suited for? Why did Shore’s Wife become so popular, and what sort of history did she figure in? And more generally, what did women do in, and to, early modern historiography?

I will suggest that women like Mistress Shore had interesting roles to play in the early modern historical consciousness. They embodied ideologically loaded questions about political, social, and gender relations. The early modern genres that discussed Mistress Shore were major contributors to a popular image of the past, and that is why women acquired a key role in them, even when remaining in supporting roles, at best, in history writing proper.

Mauricio Sánchez

1779 a year of epidemic in New Spain: different memoirs, different truths

From the time of the Conquest of America, the arrival of the Spanish galleons brought new products to New Spain, animals, religious ideas, epidemics and the search for cures. As time went by, the New Spain of the 18th century became a place of racial mixture. However, the fear of epidemics remained: they came, one after another, decimating the general population. This phenomenon spawned all kinds of pamphlets announcing astronomical events and predicting various catastrophes. Thus, the authors and printers of almanacs published texts pointing out the possible astrological causes of diseases, as well as propitious dates for curing them.

In New Spain, we have the examples of the mathematician and almanac publisher Felipe de Zúñiga, and the scientist and editor of gazettes José Antonio Alzate. In 1779, both observed and reported the violent emergence of the epidemic of smallpox in Mexico City. Zúñiga guard his memory from a personal diary in which he combined his astrological calculations with religious prayers. Alzate wrote and published articles from science sought to explain the origins and remedies against the plague. A comparison of their answers gives light to understand the art of memory: how they constructed opposing accounts of the same historical event.

Tonje Haugland Sørensen

When veterans became actors - re-enactment and commemoration in the Norwegian war film.

Films chronicling the German occupation of World War II encompass one of the largest genres in Norwegian film history. The most successful of these films, both economically and critically, were made in the late 1940's and early 1950's, and had the veterans from the war playing themselves in films based on their exploits. These films, largely adopting a strict realism and semi-documentary approach, have since obtained a double-role as both feature film entertainment and as historical documents, resulting in the films being experienced as hegemonic, and subsequently arenas of contention for the various narratives of the war.

This paper will argue that a central reason for this contention is a result of the films' strong commemorative aspect and the presences of the veterans, as much as their perceived realism. The films were heralded as monuments by their opening or closing captions, a status that has been reinforced by their inclusion in museum displays, as well as by being screened on national holidays. In addition their premiers were given a distinct ceremonial, commemorative framework that would include the veterans featured in the film, dressed in uniforms with medals and distinctions, as well as members of the Royal family, the Parliament, key figures from the Resistance and veteran organizations.

Tea Sindbaek

"Partizan respects tradition and does not allow anything to be forgotten" - History and identity in Serbian and Croatian club football, 1990-2005

From 1990, as Yugoslav communism was abandoned and the Yugoslav federal state fell apart in years of warfare, history and historical identities were fundamentally revised in the formerly Yugoslav republics. Moreover, the widespread realization that communist era historiography had been selective and manipulated at best led to a loss of trust in academic and official history. The result was a historiographical vacuum, in which there was ample room for historical reinterpretation, and where other actors than professional historians could influence the negotiation of history, drawing upon it for countless purposes. The aim of this paper is to investigate how history was being represented and used in Serbian and Croatian popular culture, more specifically in professional club football, during the years of warfare and political transition from 1990 to 2005. By analysing representations of history in the club magazines of three leading Serbian and Croatian football clubs, Partizan and Crvena Zvezda (Red Star) of Belgrade and Dinamo of Zagreb, the paper points out how football club history interacted with grand national histories, how history was being used and for which purposes, and how this contributed to the establishment of new historical identities in Serbian and Croatian society.

Gayle Rogers

Commemorative Cultural Alliances: Constructing Collective Memory through Transformational Impedance

The football club/fan relationship represents part of a network of social- material practices which could be described as a "cultural alliance". The relationship between

Manchester United Football Club and its' fans forms a particularly illustrious global alliance. I will reveal the commemorative constructs of this "alliance" that move to define and re-present the club's history, specifically the death of Manchester United players in the Munich Air Disaster, 1958.

As a cultural historian, I will analyse the constructs of the memory of those who died to reveal a number of formal and informal commemorative practices, that transform not only the mediated representations which precede and follow formalised collaborations between fans and the club; but also a number of contemporaneous groups including the bereaved, journalists and virtual communities.

The "alliance" is usually considered in simple agentic terms of the humanist project: Interested parties agree to form a specified alliance with specific intentions and objectives which are shaped primarily by those involved. I argue (following Star and Greisemer) that this "alliance" is artificial and reveal how constructs of impedance (attempts to disrupt or challenge the authenticity or appropriateness of dedicatory designs) have been adopted to transform cultural history, collective memory and commemorative rituals.

Session 29 Politics and Memory

Tanja Vahtikari

Inscribing meaning to urban past, present and future: the valuation of World Heritage cities

Cultural heritage is valued, inscribed a meaning to, contested and managed at various levels of scale from local to global. The most advanced articulation of global heritage so far is the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (1972). The World Heritage List registers places having 'Outstanding Universal Value' (by 2010 altogether 911). The List, like any heritage representation, is subject to selection, time and context bound changing perceptions in society, and fundamentally based on ascribing meanings and values. ICOMOS, acting on behalf of UNESCO, is the main 'gatekeeper' of World Heritage value. Through the processes of heritage valuation and the statements it makes (rather misleadingly called 'technical evaluations'), ICOMOS participates in the construction of particular place meanings. The paper proposed aims to discuss what versions of past, present and future have been promoted while establishing 'Outstanding Universal Value' in the context of cities (1978–2006). Local distinctiveness has been, at least to a certain point, acknowledged as part of these descriptions, however, several dominant themes, narratives and chronologies, often presented in a uniform language, may be distinguished. These include, for example, 'medieval city', 'colonial city', 'stagnant city' and the 'origins of the city'.

Toumas Tepora

War Sacrifice, Remembrance and Emotion

This paper deals with the collective remembrance of sacrifices. Drawing empirically from the Finnish early 20th C. war memories, the presentation however concerns primarily with the general historical conditions of the remembrance of violence and death. The central question is how is the inherent violence of warfare transformed into integrative

sacrifices, that is offerings to the nation or to the revolution etc. with highly charged emotional value? It also raises the question how the "positive" emotions attached to the notion of sacrifice are related to the notion of cultural trauma, an important way of identification as well. This paper proposes that the definition of (modern war-related) blood sacrifice should be grounded to its perceived cultural productivity. It is inevitable, though, that there are times when it is difficult to assign productive meaning to war deaths (for example the defeated societies and groups). At the same time, it should be noted that within the field of collective remembrance the refashioning of the past does not cease after the original experiences fade away. The meaning of past sacrifices is constantly negotiated and thus the remembrance of the dead becomes as a culturally meaningful tool reorganizing the structures of society.

Finally, the paper proposes that the remembrance of the sacrifices may not be only politically motivated but essentially a way of forming a coherent societal cosmology. The politics of memory meets the emotional quest for meaning.

Laurence Gourievidis

Migrating memories: the Representation of 19thC Highland Migration in Scottish and Australian Museums

The aim of this paper is to explore the extent to which collective memory, in the form of museum narratives of migration history, is mediated through place and national contexts. It will adopt a comparative perspective in order to analyse museum narratives of migration from the Scottish Highlands and Islands to Australia in heritage centres and museums in both Scotland and Australia. Emigration is one of the central issues in the history of the Clearances – whether it was forced or voluntary; whether it was the mark of constructive entrepreneurial spirit and opportunism or the desperate flight of a dejected people. In the colonisation of Australia, the contribution of Highland and Island migrants to Australian culture might also be assessed through their interaction with Indigenous Australians.

The following aspects will be considered: A) The nature of museum narratives of migration: how migration history is approached and the strategies, tropes and designs used. B) The economics of exhibitions: the extent to which global tourism is affecting the representation of migration history. C) The politics of exhibitions: the way dominant discourses help recast the history of 19thC Highland migrants.

José Maria Lanzarote-Gural

In the Halls of Memory. The New Museum of the Spanish Army in Toledo and the Historical Memory Act

On 19 July 2010, the new museum of the Spanish Army (Museo del Ejército Español) opened its doors in the Alcazar of Toledo. Previously located in the centre of Madrid, this national museum which was created in 1837, did not attract much public interest until 2005, when the expansion of the Prado Museum forced it to evacuate its historical headquarters and to find a new home for its collections. It was precisely this transfer outside the capital and the opportunity it opened to renew its museographic discourse that brought the long forgotten museum into the spotlight. Its opening was delayed for more

than two years due to the lack of agreement between the responsables of the Army collections and the authorities of the Ministry of Culture, particularly on the museographic treatment of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism. In this way, the museum became yet another battlefield within the on-going and collective "coming into terms" with Spain's recent past, which motivated the adoption of the Historical Memory Act (*Ley de la Memoria Histórica*) by the Spanish Parliament in 2006. By considering this particular case, I aim at discussing the role of museums in the negotiation of collective identities as well as in the visualisation and discussion of conflicting narratives of history.

Session 30 Representing the Past and Constructing the Memory Festivals, Ceremonies and Celebrations

*The field of cultural history is open to all kinds of sources and representations. The domain of live performances, theatre, festivals and even street bands gives us a wealth of information which today is increasingly an object of historical study since the publication in 2000 of reference works such as *Les travaux d'Orphée. 150 ans de vie musicale amateur en France. Harmonies, chorales, fanfares* by Philippe Gomplowicz. These collective events are at the heart of the work of cultural historians. They deal with territorialized practices, places and events of sociability, which have a remarkable memorial dimension. The event, whether musical, theatrical or festive is a valuable tool for historians wishing to study the representation of a group, its construction and its relation to other communities, its place and role in society. Local, national or international in scale, these public performances are a reflection of cultural practices that enhance the mechanisms for cultural history; with a meshing of cultural transfers and counter transfers, to the redefinition of cultural canon.*

Agnieszka Szmidt

Representing European History after 1945 at the Festival of Avignon from 1947 to 2010

Avignon is a "capital of cultural history" where European history, constructed and reconstructed, does not leave the stage. The diversity of the programme of the Festival of Avignon is indicative of the theatre of the last sixty-four years. Thanks to its longevity and international character, the programme has accompanied the major political, social and artistic upheavals, revolutionizing collective and individual perceptions of the past.

An analysis of the documentation of the Festival archives (at *Maison Jean Vilar* and Department of Performing Arts of the French National Library), makes it possible for us to observe of what consist the changes in the representation of the memory of European history since 1945, such that it is represented in the programme of the Festival of Avignon, from its foundation until today. Beginning with several examples of performances staged at the *Palais des Papes*, we will compare the changes in theme and the choices of historical events represented on stage. Through the evolution of writing techniques and direction, one can discover the impact of the modes of representation on the construction of the past in the theatre.

Simon Sandall

Social drama, collective memory and popular protest: the Forest of Dean 'Skimmington' riots, 1628-32

The early seventeenth century witnessed an assault on local custom in the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire. As a consequence, well-organised riots protested the enclosure of forest wastes by private men and agents of the English Crown. This resistance reached its apotheosis in a series of riots named after their eponymous leader John Skimmington, a free-miner of the Forest. Derived from a shaming ritual of south-west England, the name "skimmington" had a variety of meanings within early modern popular culture. It could refer to the target of a shaming ritual, the act itself or, as in the case of Dean, to the leadership. This paper explains that these rituals articulated a particular version of Forest history; a tradition steeped in paternalism, common right, shared labour and a fierce tenacity in defending this lifestyle. This paper explores the conjunction of folklore, occupational identities and popular memory. In a context of national transformation, I argue that this nexus can reveal how the remembrance of landscape and labour governed the way this local community understood itself and its place in the world.

Stéphane Leroy

The French Foreign Legion's Memory, Heritage and Identity through its Festivities and Ceremonies

The French Foreign Legion always cultivates both its own identity and the differences, which contribute to its reputation as a corps apart from the regular French army. Its festivities and ceremonies, in part born of the regulation of traditions and habits during the 1930s, form an important part of its memory and heritage. They are at the same time a pillar of the legionnaire community and a tool for maintaining military cohesiveness. Festivities set the pace of institutional life. Whether intended for a wide public or a more particular one, they stress the particularities inherent in the cultural history, memory and specific identity of this famous troop. On the other hand, the folklore it engenders among the civilian population establishes a colourful link between memory and popular imagination. In some degree, it could bring a rapprochement between soldiers and civilians. This paper aims to study the expression of the Legion's memory, an integral part of its institutional identity, through its festivities and ceremonies. How do these, which the Foreign Legion stages itself, pose the question of its own identity?

Julie Demange

Riga's 700th Anniversary in 1901

Is memory always self-defining and is the past always a source, or a bottomless pit? The question of relations to the past is often tackled across memory, especially when it comes to a collective fact. But is it inevitably an irreducible link? Let us ask the question in a particular context: festivities organised at the occasion of Riga's 700th Anniversary in 1901. For the Jubilee event, some city-dwellers realised a series of celebrations and events among which some carried, a priori, an historical character. Amongst them, retrospective exhibitions in the field of art and navigation, researches on the history of the

town's foundation, restoration of former monuments, but also historical reconstructions took place. The aforementioned interest us in a more specific way. In connection with the jubilee industrial exhibition, and in collaboration with artists of the city, the organizers decided to recreate the atmosphere of "Old Riga". Moreover, the municipal theatre staged a large historical panorama, fancy-dress parties were also organised. These events were very often public and open to the whole population, but their reception was not therefore unanimous. In a multicultural city where demarcation between the various national communities was strengthened more and more, this return to the past is an interesting occasion to consider in an "off-centred" way the cultural and social relations within a complex urban network. An evocation of the past of Riga, solemn and festive at the same time, but for which purpose and for which aims? With what means and what results? A history but what history? A history but which history?

Jeudy Aymeric

The George Enescu Festival

The George Enescu International Festival was born in 1958 and became, after the turn of 1989, one of the most important festivals in Europe. In recent years a shift has occurred; following the changes in political, societal and cultural fields, the Festival is currently an emblematic object in the cultural life of Romania. It offers a rich and cosmopolitan panel for an international audience due to not only a national but truly European repertoire.

As a cornerstone of the reconstruction of the Romanian post-Communist artistic pantheon, the Enescu Festival, in its history and in its impact on Romanian society, is a subject of cultural history, tending to highlight the process of identity restoration of the nation.

Figurehead and national composer, George Enescu, became the cultural hero of the post-dictatorship. Augmented by Romanian popular culture, his compositions, acclaimed when he was alive, as well as today, have become the standard-bearer of Romania.

Based on the national composer's figure, by reinvesting the former Communist geography in Bucharest, by explaining the relation of the Romanian composer, the festival is now the assertion of a national issue. Regarding its longevity and its presence under the different regimes, the festival embodies a place of memory.

Session 31 Monuments and Memorials

Erik Thorstensen

The Places of Memory in a Square of Monuments

In the centre of the Freedom Square in Budapest there are three large wooden crosses erected as a protest against the Soviet Liberation Monument. These three crosses are erected by The World Federation of Hungarians, an organisation which aims to restore Greater Hungary. These anti-nominal centrepieces on the square constitute but the latest development in the expression of how Hungary expresses its many and changing conceptions of freedom.

In my paper I will address the 12 different monuments on the Freedom Square and see them in relation to the monuments from the Fascist era that have been removed in order to circle in on the different meanings of freedom for the Hungarians - and to see what kind of conceptions of freedom that are compatible and which are not compatible. Such a reading will then be used to inform or challenge the theories that state that groups with divergent or different conceptions of the past cannot erect monuments in the same place at the same time.

Laurence Shee

The Paradox of Freedom Park - a "Salvo" of Words

War dead of the South African Defence Force (SADF) and those of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC), are not collectively commemorated at Freedom Park on Salvokop in Pretoria. Ostensibly this state-funded memorial represents reconciliation. Paradoxically it has become a rallying point for discontented SADF veterans whose stand against Soviet expansionism in Africa during the Cold War has been blotted out of history. Two simultaneous wars - the South African liberation struggle (civil war) and the South African war against the Soviet proxy, Cuba (international war), are often simplistically seen by "struggle" hagiographers as one war, while SADF veterans recall two distinct conflicts.

The commemoration of Cuban casualties at Freedom Park, together with fallen freedom fighters, at the exclusion of SADF members, has deepened, rather than narrowed the gulf between the government and representatives of the former SADF. An alternative, privately-funded memorial to commemorate those whose names have been prohibited from appearing on Freedom Park's walls has been mooted. While Freedom Park has succeeded in glorifying the liberation struggle, it has so far failed to achieve reconciliation. This paper explores past and current attempts to bridge the divide, and so end the impasse.

Line Esborg

Materializations of memory and the politics of commemoration

This paper explores materializations of memory and the politics of commemoration using the musealized landscape of Normandy as a point of departure: D-day will always be connected to the invasion by the allied forces in Normandy France, June 6th 1944. Today Normandy has become a special place where the physical world seems to meet the spiritual world; it is transformed as a sacred site associated with both triumph and trauma. Furthermore, the landscape is turned into a source of battlefield tourism, a sacred site of pilgrimage and revenue. The many and diverse commemorations is administered through materializations of memory on several levels; as historical reality and collective memory, and as web-representations, tourism, popular culture, museums and monuments. How do the different levels of representations interplay as a source of negotiations of values and ideas, of pride and mourning on a (multi)national as well as on individual level?

Session 32 The "Usable Past": Heritage and the Production of 'silences'

The purpose of this session is to investigate the role of the "usable past" (Watson 1995) in heritage production. Representing a usable past—a past that has significance and value for a myriad of social actors and groups in the present—is an implicit goal of heritage production.

Heritage production is not only the domain of cultural institutions, heritage professionals, academics, and cultural policy—it is a multi-vocal social process that occurs at multiple sites and engages a range of actors. It involves people in at least three distinct ways: as agents that occupy structural positions, 2) as actors in a social context, and 3) as subjects with unique perspectives (cf. Trouillot 1995). Making heritage (unlike historical production) also produces "silences" at distinct moments:

the selection of facts, the making of archives, the making of narratives, and the articulation of historical significance (cf. Trouillot 1995).

This session invites participants to focus on aspects of heritage production in which states, heritage workers, social actors compete to articulate their representations of a usable past, and cases in which the pursuit of a usable past perpetuates "bundles of silence" or alternative heritage narratives and interpretations.

Michelle Tisdell

Afro-Cuban heritage production: Beyond the "usable past" in Revolutionary Cuba

Robin D. Moore (1997:8) notes that, in "both a metaphorical and a tangible sense," cultural representations demonstrate "conflict over the interpretation of social experience and of one's relationship to that experience". Between 1960 and 2000, Cuba's Revolutionary government discouraged the practice Afro-Cuban religions while constructing it as national heritage through new cultural policies and institutions. In Cuban museums, for example, the narrative of Afro-Cuban religions was synonymous with notions of Cuban "transculturation" and African heritage. The state associated Afro-Cuban religions with symbols of national identity: 1) national unity, 2) the blending of Africans and Europeans, and 3) the birth of the Cuban nation, while denying religions social legitimacy.

In this paper, I focus on Palace of the Orishas, a private museum, as an unofficial heritage narrative that re-establishes the subject position of Afro-Cuban religious practitioners. Through her alternative heritage narrative, the proprietor shifts the significance of the "usable past" (Watson 1995) from national heritage to personal heritage and family history. I argue that given its treatment of Afro-Cuban religions and its practitioners, the state's heritage narrative masks "bundles of silences" (Trouillot 1995): a lack of meaningful interpretations of social life that resonate with the personal histories of contemporary religions practitioners.

Maud Guichard-Marneur

Museifying the Polono-Jewish history in Poland: between blurred history and globalization

I propose to disseminate in English my most recent research which has taken the shape of an article scheduled to be published in 2011 under the title *La patrimonialisation de l'histoire polono-juive en Pologne: entre histoire brouillée et globalisation* [Museifying the Polono-Jewish history in Poland: between blurred history and globalisation] in the peer-reviewed journal *Culture et Musées*.

As part of this research, I have been focusing on two heritage sites, the Judaica exhibition on permanent display at the National Museum in Krakow (MNK) since 1998 and the Auschwitz-Birkenau site created as a museum in 1947 by the Polish authority and globalised in 1979 when inscribed to the UNESCO World Heritage list. These two sites testify to the history of both World War Two in general and of the Holocaust.

Through an analysis of the spatialisation of history and its semantic, I argue that the Judaica exhibition at the MNK, although held as an attempt to re-discover the Polish-Jewish past, is over-shadowed by the globalised discourse accompanying the Auschwitz-Birkenau World Heritage site. The latter's discourse offers a convenient exit, despite widely publicised new historical research, in order not to challenge national memory as part of the exhibition complex.

Lita Peipina

Buddhist canon: Organizing Buddhist heritage – why is it not unproblematic?

Textual and historical research point to the pluralistic nature of Buddhist scriptures. There is no single word in classical Buddhist languages – Sanskrit, Pāli, Chinese or Tibetan which would exactly coincide with the word “canon” - an established list of books or texts that holds authoritative status for a community. However, it is common in the Buddhist scholarship to refer to Buddhist text collections as “the Buddhist canon”.

Several projects of collecting and categorizing Buddhist textual heritage are in progress in Buddhist scholarship today. Due to scarcity of archaeological and historical sources and the random nature of textual findings, it can be a challenging task to categorize and interpret the available textual heritage, as well as to articulate their historical significance. Employment of methodological and theoretical approaches from other academic fields in humanities has been a rather limited one in Buddhist textual heritage studies, if not absent at all.

The goal of the paper is to point to the challenges related to Buddhist heritage production that is ongoing today, and the need of establishing a theoretical and critical approach.

Session 33 Political Uses of the Past: Provincial Identities and Symbolic Repertoires of Revolt in France

From at least the Revolution of 1789, the demands of the various Parisian political regimes have regularly clashed with the identity-claims of the provinces. Approaching this conflict through an investigation of certain figures claiming to represent provincial (or provincialized) identities, this session considers two of the symbolic repertoires that have been used to nourish the culture war between centre and periphery. Daniel DeGroff's work considers the fin-de-siècle regionalist figure Jean Baffier and the latter's attempt to couch his anti-cosmopolitan social critique in the renovated language of peasant revolt. Andrew Smith, focusing on the question of Occitan identity, examines the strategic deployment of the "Croix occitane" by regionalist militants in support of varying political goals. In both cases, analyzing the heritage of past political dissent helps to inform an understanding of later movements. The recurrence of a self-conscious "peasant vernacular" will be shown to exhibit crucial importance, building on notions of "primordality" and "invented tradition" to account for contemporary cultural and political capital in regionalist movements.

Daniel DeGroff

Conceptualising Resentment, Symbolising Revolt: The Political Uses of 'Jacques Bonhomme', c. 1886

In 1886, Jean Baffier (1851-1921), a French regionalist militant and artist, attempted to assassinate the Parisian deputy Germain Casse, a radical-socialist tainted by allegations of parliamentary corruption. Eventually acquitted of his crime, Baffier declared before the court of public opinion that his attack represented a symbolic attempt to purify the Republic. In his art and political rhetoric Baffier identified himself as a modern-day Jacques Bonhomme, the mythical "every-man" rebel who attacked the interests of corrupt social elites during the Grande Jacquerie of the fourteenth century. But in Baffier's morose vision of belle époque France, an important substitution had occurred. The clergyman and chateau-owner of old were replaced by other, more recognizable "false pastors": the financier, the self-serving deputy, the greedy Jew, and the effete intellectual. Thus the French Right, through Baffier, effectively redeployed the combative symbolic repertoire of the Jacquerie.

How did Baffier's conception of injustices past inform his political militancy? Was Baffier's stylized self-presentation as Jacques Bonhomme merely a rhetorical strategy? Can an understanding of the symbolic, imaginary dimension of peasant revolt be used to inform our understanding of the cultural politics of the belle époque? Baffier's historic-conceptual redrawing of society, this paper argues, raises important questions about how understandings of the past inform political action in the present.

Andrew Smith

An Uncertain Icon: The Changing Significance of the 'Croix Occitane' in Post-War Midi

The Occitan cross adorns many crimson flags in the Languedoc, communicating a proud attachment to both the region's identity and its long and turbulent history. Yet exactly which aspects of this history or identity are called to mind vary with the specific deployment of the cross. It has been borne at the head of demonstrations, spray painted on walls as a sign of protest and today flies atop the offices of the regional administration. How can we reconcile a symbol which is at once dissenting, combative and, yet, legitimately institutionalised? Even as it was used by winegrowers to highlight regional economic disparity and an enduring attachment to the land, so too was it deployed by the Occitan movement in communicating solidarity with the IRA. Between the radical Occitan movement and protesting winegrowers, however, there were convergences of both cause and methods. The symbol fluctuates historically between an articulation of regional difference and a claim towards Occitan political separatism. By tracing the varying deployment of this symbol from the head of protest marches in the 60s to the top of government buildings after the decentralisation drive of the 80s, an illuminating analysis of both Occitan and Languedocien identity emerges.

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