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CITIZEN-CENTRED DRAMATURGY AND THE FLOW QUARTET -
EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE, WROCŁAW 2016, POLAND

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines citizen-centred dramaturgy, an approach to making performance with citizens who have an imperative to tell, in the context of the making of *The Flow Quartet*, a project consisting of four interconnected multi-disciplinary performances made between 2013 and 2016 created as part of the Polish city of Wrocław's European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2016 cultural programme.

Through case studies the thesis examines how the project enabled citizens and those with historical ties to the city to make the four large scale performance works and in doing so to identify collective traumas associated with Wrocław. The case studies also examine how generations who experienced collective traumas give way to their descendants who still have a need to tell and mourn the victims of various catastrophes. The way this impacted upon dramaturgical decision making is examined in detail.

The thesis also shows that curatorial practices, predicated on co-negotiation of dramaturgies and performance of stories (citizen-centred dramaturgy), can impact upon the effects of social and collective trauma and the way catastrophic events are remembered. Externalisation techniques, such as semi-open rehearsals, non-linguistic approaches to rehearsal, disruption of expected hierarchies in the creative and making processes, help negotiate the moving on from collective trauma to postmemory mourning.

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INTRODUCTION

This document supports a Practice as Research PhD by publication submission. The practice is called The Flow Quartet, a project consisting of four interconnected multi-disciplinary performances made between 2013 and 2016 created as part of the Polish city of Wrocław's European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2016 cultural programme. The Flow Quartet was recorded and documented through video and photography and it is this material which constitutes the main body of evidence for the PhD submission. Accompanying this material is a written thesis consisting of this introduction, four chapters and a summary.

The Flow Quartet

The Flow Quartet consists of *Mosty* (Bridges, 17th June 2015), *Przebudzenie* (Awakening, 20th January 2016), *Flow*, parts I and II (11th June 2016) and *Niebo* (Heaven/Sky, 16/17th December 2016). Apart from *Niebo*, all performances took place outdoors and occupied large parts of the city of Wrocław. Again, apart from *Niebo*, these one day/night performances involved thousands of performers, hundreds of thousands of spectators on the streets of the city and millions of national and international spectators via TV and internet. *Niebo* involved one hundred performers, approximately a hundred musicians and sixty technicians and was performed to an audience of four thousand people on each of two consecutive nights (total 8000). Artists and citizens from six countries, supported by their respective governmental organisations and funding, participated in the making and performing of the events. The entire project was curated and directed by myself, supported by a professional team of more than a hundred producers, technicians and artists drawn from various disciplines.¹ The title *The Flow Quartet* refers to Wrocław's river Odra, which flows through Czech Republic and into Poland and Germany forming 187 kilometres of the border between these two countries since the Yalta Agreement in 1945. Wrocław is a city dominated by the Odra and is built on twelve islands

¹ For a timeline of the project see Page 16. For the official website dedicated to *The Flow Quartet* during 2016, see <http://www.Wrocław2016.pl/flow-esk?page=project-pages>.

connected by 112 bridges. Before WWII there were as many as 303 bridges and footbridges. The city is therefore defined as much by the ebbing and flowing of its history as by the current of its waters.

The Aims of this Thesis

This thesis examines *The Flow Quartet*, a project consisting of four interconnected multi-disciplinary performances made between 2013 and 2016 created as part of the Polish city of Wrocław's European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2016 cultural programme. It aims to examine the fundamental structures of citizen-centred dramaturgy and how *The Flow Quartet*, designed using its principles, enabled citizens and those with historical ties to the city identify collective traumas associated with Wrocław and transform them into narrative structures. The case studies aim to examine how generations who experienced collective traumas have given way to descendants who mourn the victims of catastrophe and the way this impacted upon dramaturgical decision making.

The thesis asserts that curatorial practices predicated on co-negotiation of dramaturgies and performance of stories (citizen-centred dramaturgy) can impact upon the effects of social and collective trauma and the way catastrophic events in history are remembered.

Externalisation techniques, such as semi-open rehearsals, non-linguistic approaches to rehearsal, disruption of expected hierarchies in the creative and making processes, help negotiate the moving on from collective trauma to postmemory mourning.

How did the techniques of citizen-centred dramaturgy, the co-negotiation of dramaturgies and performance of stories, impact upon the resulting dramaturgy and productions? Did these practices dissipate or impact upon the effects of social and collective trauma? Can externalisation techniques, such as semi-open rehearsals, non-linguistic approaches to rehearsal, a disruption of expected hierarchies in the creative and making processes, help negotiate the moving on from collective trauma to symbolic aesthetics of postmemory mourning? What is the likely impact of such work in a country where, 'the competing modes of traumatic memory and idyllic memory have dominated Polish culture for two hundred years'? (Blacker, Etkind, Fedor, 2013: 104). Individual victims of sustained

violence and oppression often suffer from trauma, social isolation and stigmatization while feelings of marginalisation, being misunderstood and rejection by society can dominate entire lives. Yet trauma is also widely recognised to be a collective phenomenon impacting not just at an individual case level but upon entire groups, indeed entire nations.

Collective Trauma

In many European post-authoritarian countries, such as Poland and Spain, examples of collective trauma are widespread, intergenerational and endemic – the result of war, ethnic cleansing and systematically applied political and cultural strategies sustained over years and decades. What is more, the existence of collective trauma within a society can be appropriated, promulgated even, as part of the process of mourning, to favour particular political actions and outcomes. In such cases, official, state regulated approaches to the teaching of history, the development of memory laws and even the development of particular cultural practices can directly lead both to political consequences and secondary traumatisations of whole groups or populations. In such instances, manifestations of collective trauma are sustained and passed across generations impacting upon contemporary political and social decision making. Such examples of collective trauma have been shown to play a key role in group identity formation. Poland is such a place. Wrocław is such a city. This thesis examines how Wrocław and its experiences of collective traumas, impacted upon the development of the dramaturgy of *The Flow Quartet* and how the project itself created a forum in which the impact of collective trauma had on individuals and the city could be examined.

In this study I argue that there are examples how governments manipulate instances of existing trauma as well as its associated mourning in subsequent generations for political objectives.

The manipulation of existing trauma for political objectives

Collective trauma is 'an experience of extreme stress that is shared by a group of people within a common geographic area or who have a shared social or cultural identity' (Paez, Basabe, Ubbillos, & Gonzalez-Castro, 2007, cited in Cordero, 2014: 1) and 'an important type of collective trauma is exposure to violence emerging from political upheaval, revolution, and/or rebellion that frequently

involves people becoming refugees.' (Cordero, 2014). A good example of a governments manipulation of an existing trauma was the policy of the Polish government in transferring tens of thousands of people from the city of Lvów in order to populate Wrocław in 1945/6 with ethnic Poles. This 'opportunity' arose as a result of Lvów changing from a Polish to Ukrainian city. As Thum (2011) states, by 1945 the population in Lwów was already traumatised,

Eastern Poles had been victimised not only by the Germans but also by the Soviet occupation. Between 1939 and 1941 they had experienced the ruthless sovietization of the annexed areas; they lost members of their families through both the NKVD's executions of alleged 'class enemies' and the mass deportation of Polish citizens to the Soviet Union. After the war they were expelled from their homes under often traumatic circumstances or transferred against their will to the western territories (Wrocław). These experiences embittered their attitudes towards Polish communists and the Soviet armed forces stationed in Wrocław. The Office for Information and Propaganda in the voivodeship reported in May 1946 that the repatriates were 'a destructive element, constantly dissatisfied. They express their hatred for Soviet Russia freely and loudly. They claim they have nothing to lose, because they left everything behind in the east...'²

A population which has nothing to lose because everything was left behind is a population collectively traumatised for a third time at the hands of their 'own' state government.

The traumatising of populations through the discourse and manipulation of collective memory

Etkin (2013) examines mourning theories in the context of Soviet terror and collective trauma stating that, 'An individual subject who has suffered trauma... cannot represent the traumatic situation; this representational inability is precisely what constitutes trauma. In contrast, mourning is all about representation'. (p.14) His critique of Marianne Hirsch's concept of 'postmemory' is useful; 'Remembering its losses, a post-catastrophic culture lives on through the subsequent generations, as the survivors who struggle with their traumas give way to the descendants who mourn the victims of the catastrophe... It is easier to understand Marianne Hirsch concept of 'postmemory' as a domain of mourning rather than a domain of trauma or the posttraumatic'.³

The degree to which collective trauma impacts upon concepts such as collective memory,

² Thum (2012) (p.57).

³ Please see 'Appendix One: Literature Review – Trauma to Collective Trauma and the employment of the concept of collective trauma in this thesis'.

transnational memory patterns and memory laws is the focus of a wide interdisciplinary field of or theory. Olick (2007) asserts that psychological traumas cannot be passed down through the generations, 'Vietnam was traumatic not just for American individuals – to say nothing of the Vietnamese individuals – but also for the legitimating narrative that we as individuals produce for us as a collectivity' (p.32). Blacker, U.; Etkind, A; Fedor, J (eds) (2013) extend this analysis into post-war eastern European examples of how post-catastrophic memory, 'lives on through the subsequent generations, as the survivors who struggle with their traumas give way to the descendants who mourn the victims of the catastrophe'. It is here we encounter Marianne Hirsch's influential concept of 'postmemory' as opposed to trauma or the posttraumatic.⁴ Kopolov (2018) presents case studies linking collective trauma and new memory laws with the whitewashing of crimes in contemporary Russia.

A contemporary example of government traumatising a population through their discourse and manipulation of collective memory is the crisis facing Rohingya refugees from Myanmar living in Bangladesh in 2018 being faced with return to Myanmar against their will⁵.

Theoretical Framework

To unpick some of these ideas we need to acknowledge their intrinsic knottiness. It is suggested that 'knotting underwrites both the way things join with one another – in walls, buildings and bodies and the composition of the ground and the knowledge we find there'.⁶ No wonder, therefore, that the analytical tools and theories of understanding applied in this thesis are going to be somewhat knotted and overlapping. The thesis will weave together three strands:

- trauma and psychoanalytical theory,
- Brecht and dramaturgical theory, and finally,
- the practices of history, memory studies and public narratives.

⁴ For quote and reference to Hirsch see Etkind, A. (2013) (page 9 and 14).

⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/06/rohingya-refugees-reject-un-myanmar-repatriation-agreement> and <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/15/rohingya-refugee-repatriations-bangladesh-myanmar>.

⁶ Ingold, T. (2015) *The Life of Lines*. Preface.

Cathy Caruth

Cathy Caruth juxtaposes psychoanalytical theory with literary, political and historical analysis and as such her work is inherently knotty. Through her engagement with Freud's theory of trauma she allows for a new understanding of historical processes to emerge. Her work acknowledges how immediate understanding of historic experience is often impossible. She sees traumatic experience not as a pathology of falsehood or displacement of meaning but 'of history itself' (Caruth 1995: 5). In this respect she is offering a definition of historical practice which pushes at the boundaries of historiography. She also roots psychoanalytic practice in a very concrete context – useful when attempting to understand both Wrocław and Poland and the work I was attempting to carry out through the making of *The Flow Quartet*. Caruth's emphasis on approaching the unknowable through literature and aesthetics also encourages us to engage with theorists and practitioners in trauma and music and trauma and contemporary performance.⁷

Bertolt Brecht

Bertolt Brecht's dramaturgical recalibration of the notion of audience and fascination with working with non-professionals is rooted in his practice from the early 1930's. As with citizen-centred dramaturgy he is making the case for rehearsal as an auto-referential and auto-pedagogic act. For Brecht, both rehearsal and dramaturgy, as in citizen-centred dramaturgy, can be described as applied political philosophy in action. In many respects Augusto Boal articulated the links between Brecht's practice and what I have described as citizen-centred dramaturgy, through his examples of how the human body is both keeper of lived experience of oppression and trauma and a tool for liberation. My work with Boal in the 1980's profoundly influenced the development of Teatro de Creación and

⁷ Caruth's work is situated within Freud, S. (1990) *Origins of Religion: 'Totem and Taboo' and 'Moses and Monotheism'*. See Caruth, C. (1995) *Trauma – Explorations in Memory*, p.5, Caruth, C. (1996) *Unclaimed Experience, Trauma, Narrative and History*, p.3. For music and psychoanalytic theory see Cizmic, M. (2011) *Performing Pain: Music and Trauma in Eastern Europe*, Sacks, O. (2007) *Musicophilia: Tales of Music and the Brain*, Sutton, J. (ed.) (2002) *Music, Music Therapy and Trauma: International Perspectives*, Wheeler, B.L. (ed.) (2016) *Music Therapy Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Perspectives*. For psychoanalytic theory and performance see Boal, A. (1979) *Theatre of the Oppressed* and Duggan, D. (2015) *Trauma–Tragedy: Symptoms of Contemporary Performance*. FOR A FULLER LITERATURE REVIEW SEE APPENDIX (1)

citizen-centred dramaturgy and I cannot help but wonder what Boal, who died in 2009, would have made of rehearsals in Wrocław – especially when thousands of people were active in the making of the dramaturgy.⁸ For reasons of brevity I return briefly to Paulo Freire in this thesis when discussing curatorial practice in citizen-centred dramaturgy.⁹ While his influence can be felt in every utterance and decision I made as curator and director during the years developing *The Wrocław Quartet* I have chosen to focus attention on a theoretical framework offered by Polish American Sociologist Elzbieta Matynia and her analysis of social engagement in the public realm in communist societies.¹⁰

The History of Wrocław, Poland and 20th Century Europe

The history of Wrocław, Poland and Twentieth Century Europe is the lynchpin both to this thesis and to the very fabric of *The Flow Quartet*. The attempted annihilation of the country, the attempted destruction of its peoples, the resetting of borders, decades-long occupations and fourteen years in the EU, all add up to a reality in which *The Flow Quartet* was born, delivered and received. When researching for *The Flow Quartet* historical material and narratives written in English were consulted. Other histories helped me navigate the space between history writing and memory politics.¹¹ Also located within historiography are the disciplines of memory studies, memory laws and collective memory.

Memory Studies, Memory Laws and Collective Memory

While countries in both the east and west of Europe have memory laws which legally restrict or define description or definitions of historical events, a number of Eastern European state memory

⁸ On Freire and ‘epistemological curiosity’, see Rossatto, C.A. (2005) *Engaging Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of Possibility-From Blind to Transformative Optimism* p.15. Boal and Teatro de Creación: Boal, A. (1979) *Theatre of the Oppressed*, (1992) *Games for Actors and Non-Actors* and Baldwin, C., Bicat, T. (2002) *Teatro de Creación* and Baldwin, C. (2003) *Stage Directing – A Practical Guide*. For thinking on intuition and rehearsals see Atkinson, T., Claxton, G. (eds) (2000) *The Intuitive Practitioner* and Schon, D. (1983) *The Reflective Practitioner*.

⁹ See page 22 of this thesis.

¹⁰ Matynia, E (2009) *Performative Democracy*.

¹¹ Davies, N. and Moorhouse, R. (2003) *Microcosm: A Portrait of A Central European City* and Davies, N. (2005) *God's Playground* (Volumes I and II). It is worth noting that Davies and Moorhouse's *Microcosm: A Portrait of A Central European City* was commissioned by Mayor of Wrocław, Rafał Dutkiewicz and promoter of Wrocław, ECoC 2016. See also Applebaum, A. (2012) *Iron Curtain – The Crushing of Eastern Europe* Red Famine, (2017) *Stalin's War on the Ukraine* and Snyder, T. (2010) *Bloodlands – Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* and (2016) *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* and Thum, G. (2011) *Uprooted, How Breslau Became Wrocław During the Century of Expulsions*.

laws differ from their Western counterparts. In Poland, Hungary and Russia, for example, legislation of the past is often used to give the force of law to narratives centred on the nation state. In Western European states, supported often by the EU, the goal of such laws is to promote ‘a common European memory focused on the memory of the Holocaust as a means of integrating Europe, combating racism, and averting the national and ethnic conflicts that national narratives are likely to stimulate’ (Koposov 2018: 9). The Polish Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute for National Remembrance) was established in 1998 and describes itself as the ‘Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation’. The senior directorial team is chosen by the Sejm – the Polish parliament.¹² This institution has the functions of state and justice administration, of an archive, an academic institute, an education centre and of a body which conducts vetting proceedings related to the times of communism before 1990. However, recent political events in Poland demonstrate how such laws can be used to perpetuate trauma and for other undemocratic purposes.¹³

Many countries in Europe, including France and Germany and most Eastern European countries, have memory laws which address Holocaust denial. Yet in Poland the state has taken a key role in defining the nature of historical concepts such as ‘struggle’ and ‘martyrdom’ and, understandably perhaps, an insistence that Nazi crimes committed on Polish soil are described as such. Many democratic states would feel comfortable confining such debates to the realms of historical

¹² [Link to Institute-of-National-Remembrance.](#)

¹³ For Poland, Hungarian and Russian examples of attempts to legislate on the past see N. Koposov (2018) *Memory Laws, Memory Wars – The Politics of the Past in Europe and Russia* p.10. For Russia, see Gessen, M. (2017) *The Future is History – How Totalitarianism Reclaimed Russia*, Grabowski, J. (2013) *Hunt for the Jews – Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied*. In September 2016 (three months after *Flow* and three months before *Niebo*) Jan Grabowski, Professor of Polish History at Ottawa University, wrote an article about the PiS government in Poland. He highlighted recent attacks against the Polish High Courts, journalists and the press, and changes to laws relating to collective memory and the Holocaust (<http://www.macleans.ca/news/world/as-poland-re-writes-its-Holocaust-history-historians-face-prison/>) These new laws, already approved by the cabinet, would impose prison terms of up to three years on people ‘who publicly and against the facts, accuse the Polish nation, or the Polish state, [of being] responsible or complicit in Nazi crimes committed by the III German Reich. The official response to this article, written by the Łukasz Weremiuk, Chargé d’affaires at the Polish Embassy in Ottawa, is striking if not chilling: <http://www.macleans.ca/news/world/the-polish-embassy-in-ottawa-responds-to-jan-grabowski/> Some months earlier, in January 2016 (as the first part of *The Flow Quartet* was performed) Professor Jan Gross, from Princetown University, was also under attack from the same PiS government for presenting evidence of Polish participation in post-war pogroms: <http://wyborcza.pl/1,95891,19612362,prof-gross-zasluzyl-na-ten-order.html>. It is also fascinating to hear Jan Gross explain how, in the late 1960's, his generation of young Polish historians were ‘interested in how the communists falsified history’ <https://youtu.be/GKYgyLGvzP8>. See Gross, J. *Neighbours, The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland, 1941*.

academic discourse or the wider social realm. In Poland, the way certain events from the Second World War are to be described is prescribed in law. This point is important as it relates directly to the subject of this thesis, *The Flow Quartet*. The focus upon collective trauma and citizen-centred dramaturgy took place within the context of legally determined memory laws being negotiated and legislated in Poland during 2015/6 as the diagram on page 16 demonstrates. Similar events were taking place in other Eastern European countries as well as Russia. If *The Flow Quartet* aimed to enable citizens to develop a dramaturgy of their lived experience, and to reflect upon notions of trauma along the way, then it did so within the context of these laws. This thesis will refer to the work done by historians and cultural practitioners working in this area of memory laws and collective memory studies in Poland and Europe.¹⁴

Hannah Arendt

Political theorist Hannah Arendt influences this thesis and the work of many of those cited. Arendt (1967) points out that before any collective trauma occurs the political lie is perpetrated. As we will explore later she distinguishes between ‘the *traditional* political lie’ and ‘the *modern* political lie’.¹⁵ As Caruth reflects, ‘the public realm in the modern world is not only the place of political action that creates history but also, and centrally, the place of the political lie that denies it ... Facts are fragile in the political sphere’, [Arendt] says, ‘because truth-telling is actually much less political in its nature than the lie’. (Caruth 2013: 40/41) The nature of the political lie and factual fragility within the context of Wrocław will be approached through the thesis of *The Flow Quartet* in the forthcoming chapters.

¹⁴ Olick, J.L. (2007) *The Politics of Regret – On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility*, Miller, B. (1999) *Memory, Trauma, and History: Essays on Living with the Past*, Aguilar, P. (2002) *Memory and Amnesia – The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. On transnational memory patterns – as revealed by a comparative approach of analysis of experience between countries: see Roth, M. (2011) *Memory, Trauma, and History: Essays on Living with the Past*.

¹⁵ See page 59 of this thesis regarding how Arendt distinguishes between ‘the *traditional* political lie’ and ‘the *modern* political lie’

Contemporary Poland

Perhaps it should be stated that this thesis is about the relationship between citizen-centred dramaturgy and the role of the curator *in turbulent times*. The contemporary political situation in Poland (2014 to 2018) cannot be considered subsidiary to this thesis; instead it weaves in and out. Government-led legislation to alter the Polish Constitution, to recalibrate the relationship between state and judiciary, state and the media, the state and reproductive rights and the church, all impacted on the very public processes at play in the making and presentation of *The Flow Quartet*. Adam Michnik's phrase 'Velvet Road to Dictatorship' (2015) comes to mind.¹⁶ Clearly, to attempt anything like a full analysis of this subject is beyond the ambition of this thesis. Thus, from a wide field of options, I have chosen three examples to explore in some detail.

Chapter Descriptions

Chapter One, *The Flow Quartet*, contextualises the video and photographic evidence associated with the four performances. Key concepts such as Wrocław, European Capital of Culture (hereafter ECoC) programme, Citizen-Centred Dramaturgy, Teatro de Creación, citizen, space, design and dramaturgy are presented and defined.

Chapter Two, *The Wrocław Cantata: Biography, Testimony, Witness in Music*, examines the nature of the musical processes which occurred during the preparation of *Flow II – The Wrocław Cantata* in June 2016. Interviews were conducted with four composers for the purposes of this thesis. Personal family experiences relating to the history of Poland and Wrocław are seen to have had varying impacts upon the work of the composers. Thus thinking about the political lie and musical ways of bearing witness to trauma become the central concern of the chapter. It also examines how,

¹⁶ Adam Michnik (b.1946) is a Polish historian, essayist, former dissident, public intellectual, and ex editor-in-chief of the Polish newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*. He played a crucial role during the 'Polish Round Table Talks' which marked the end of communist period of rule. See bibliography – Michnik (1985) *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*, (2011) *In Search of Lost Meaning – The New Eastern Europe Berkeley*, and (2014) *The Trouble with History: Morality, Revolution and Counter Revolution*. Also see Havel, V. and Michnik, A. (2014) *An Uncanny Era Conversations Between Vaclav Havel and Adam Michnik*
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/poland/11628799/Poland-on-the-velvet-road-to-dictatorship-after-Andrzej-Duda-wins-presidential-elections.html>

during the writing of *The Wrocław Cantata*, an encounter between myself and a composer with Poland's most recent memory legislation tells us something about how history, memory and collective trauma are entangled in a political struggle to determine the significance of the past in the present.

Chapter Three, *Ladders and Martial Law in Wrocław*, examines the work of Tomasz Domański, lighting artist (born 1962) as part of the *Spirit of Innovation* route, created for *Przebudzenie* and performed in January 2016. An interview was conducted with Domański for the purpose of this thesis. Domański created a lighting installation drawing upon his experiences as a political prisoner during the 1980's Martial Law period in Poland. His installation was located outside the prison in which he was detained for a year. The chapter examines the nature of Domański's work and making process, his experience of psychic trauma and his suggestion that making his work contributed to his recovery 35 years after the prison experience. Historian and political activist Adam Michnik's experiences of prison are also referenced. Caruth's interviews with leaders in the theory and treatment of catastrophic experience are discussed in this context. Her interviews with Dori Laub ('Traumatic Shutdown and Narrative Symbolization') and Bessel van der Kolk's concept of 'self silencing' shed light on certain aspects of the role and responsibility of the curator (Caruth 2014: 61).

Chapter Four, *The Dramaturgy of Trauma, Memory and Politics*, examines one particular incident during rehearsals for *Niebo* (November 2016) in which Iwona Rosiak, a journalist with Polish state TV (TVP), intervened in rehearsals and revealed important insights into the nature of collective trauma and the political lie. The chapter examines how the presence of both performers and visitors in the rehearsal space nudged the development of dramaturgy in various ways. These processes, outcomes and tensions in the rehearsal room are considered within the context of the 2016 fast-evolving political confrontation between wide sectors of Polish civic society, in particular women and journalists in the Polish public broadcasting services, and the *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* (PiS: Law and Justice) national government. For the purposes of this chapter an interview was conducted with Rosiak. The theoretical work of Hannah Arendt, Bertolt Brecht and sociologists working on notions

of communism and the public realm are also referenced.¹⁷

Documentation of *The Flow Quartet*

Rehearsals and performances of *The Flow Quartet* were recorded and documented in video and photography and it is this material which constitutes the main body of evidence for this PhD submission. Rehearsals and technical preparations for *Mosty* took place between November 2014 to June 2015. Five documentary videos of group workshops for *Mosty* are referenced and embedded throughout Chapter One. Links to a video documentary of the making and performance of *Mosty*, together with a comprehensive series of photographs, are also embedded. One particular project from *Mosty*, called *Hug*, is illustrated by a video documentary. Maps and supporting documents are also included. A documentary video of the making of *Przebudzenie* is accompanied by two Polish state television (TVP) broadcast recordings of the event on the performance day. The first recording captured the four processions as they moved through the streets of Wrocław while the second is a full recording of the performance in Rynek (Market Square). Additional photos of the processions and the final performance are embedded in the text for easy access. Video documentation for *Flow I* and *II* are the result of work commissioned from TVP. A short video interview with myself, photos of performances, maps and other visual materials are also embedded at regular intervals. The final project, *Niebo*, is documented in both photos and film. The performance is made available both in Polish and with English dubbing (two separate embedded links are provided).

Interviews

Six interviews were conducted in the preparation of this thesis, four of which were with the composers of *The Wrocław Cantata*. These interviews were recorded and used to make raw, literal transcriptions. Edited versions were then derived from this raw material. As all interviewees were non-native English speakers I made some corrections to their phrases and grammar to facilitate better understanding but, in doing so, did my best not to change the meaning of the material. Where

¹⁷ Matynia, E. (2009). *Performative Democracy*. Boulder: Paradigm.

ambiguities remained unresolved or were perhaps purposefully introduced into the conversation by interviewees they have been left untouched and unmodified. When quoting these interviews in the following chapters I use these final edited versions. All materials associated with these interviews, written and audio, are available for consultation via links in the endnotes.¹⁸ Edited interviews can be consulted via links in the endnotes or by referring to Appendix 3. The composers have kindly allowed me to link their scores to this thesis for reference purposes. The interviews were carried out by myself in English via Skype or Messenger.

The other two interviews, conducted with Tomasz Domański and Iwonka Rosiak, were also conducted on Skype. I asked questions in English and *The Flow Quartet* Assistant Director, Mary Sadowska, acted as my translator. Audio recordings were made of all interviews from which literal transcriptions were prepared. Edited versions in English were produced from this material. Audio files of the conversations are available for consultation via links in endnotes.¹⁹

Positionality

My position within the process of developing and delivering *The Flow Quartet* was determined, first and foremost, by a legal and contractual arrangement. All my insights were influenced by this mutually agreed legal framework through which I executed the role of Curator for Interdisciplinary Performance.

The contract required me to deliver and take responsibility for:

- four flagship performance events for Wrocław, ECoC 2016;
- encouraging citizen participation and engagement in the making of the events;
- encouraging citizens to be active makers of culture;
- attracting maximum international media and TV attention;
- using the history of the city, and the experiences of its various diasporas, as a point of

¹⁸ [Link](#) to the transcriptions of the six raw interviews; [Link](#) to audio files of interview.

¹⁹ [Link](#) to edited transcription of the 6 interviews.

departure for the content of the events;

- promoting new expressions of inter-cultural dialogue through culture making.

Every key performance decision was evaluated by myself and the team of Polish producers and directors, the CEO of Wrocław 2016, the Mayor of Wrocław and the Ministry of Culture for Poland and the EU monitoring group using the above list as a template of compliance or achievement. This happened through daily and weekly and quarterly review meetings.

During the research and rehearsal processes my own beliefs, values systems, and moral stances were as fundamentally present and inseparable to the process as my physical presence when facilitating, participating and leading the project. I was conscious that power dynamics flowed through every vein of the research process and was mindful that it was my ethical duty to attend to my role in the power interplay of the research, rehearsal and political processes in play.

An attempt to devise and apply a passive method of data collection and quantitative analysis was implemented by the University of Wrocław²⁰ but was not appropriate for myself and the team responsible for creating the *The Flow Quartet* as it was not funded to be a research organisation. As there were few technical qualitative and quantitative research methods employed I decided it was ethically important to make critical reflections about my positionality through the media. This I did through:

- ensuring rehearsals were recorded where possible;
- regular press and TV interviews about my work and previous practice took place;
- public discussion about *The Flow Quartet* and reflections on outcomes took place at regular intervals²¹;
- the use of social media and my own website to give me an opportunity to offer regular insights

²⁰ see <http://www.socjologia.uni.wroc.pl/Research-projects/Evaluation-of-the-European-Capital-of-Culture-Wrocław-2016> and, http://chrisbaldwin.eu/Wrocław-2016-reports/4593840740?fbclid=IwAR37Jt9hTVIewmNg-a3WM_cJkWmme61NFmPygSciTualG2IXVwWyXqSwwzA

²¹ Articles with the Polish press can be accessed here: <http://chrisbaldwin.eu/articles/4591336040>

to my position on ethical and cultural-political issues relating to the work in Wrocław.

Yet detailed reflection on positionality (even via social media and on my website) was not adequate enough. I decided that the place to reflect and develop my own positionality was through this thesis which has provided a safe, self-reflexive, and critical space in which to respond to questions about my own practice.

Staying in the room

‘Staying in the (rehearsal) room until knowledge is found’ is a concept I have developed through practice and reflection which posits a political and ethical stance to learning in rehearsal and aesthetic spaces. The concept is rooted in therapeutic practice (Laub), radical pedagogy (Freire) and theatre (Boal).

Psychoanalyst Dori Laub raises the question of ‘the imperative to tell’: ‘Survivors did not only need to survive so that they could tell their story, they also needed to tell their story in order to survive. There is in each survivor an imperative need to tell, and thus to come to know one’s own story, unimpeded by ghosts of the past, against which one has to protect oneself.’ (in Caruth 2014: 48). While Laub is clearly talking about his practice as a psychiatrist his clear imperative to *listen* is shared with *staying in the rehearsal room until the knowledge is found*.

Pedagogue Paulo Freire states that, ‘the educator’s role is fundamentally to enter into dialogue with the illiterate about concrete situations and simply to offer him the instruments with which he can teach himself to read and write. Indeed Freire conceptualises his approach to pedagogy and curriculum building as *dialogical*. ‘This teaching cannot be done from top down, but only from inside out, by the illiterate himself, with the collaboration of the educator’. He goes on to describe his mistrust of primers (textbooks) as they, ‘end up by donating to the illiterate words and sentences which really should result from his own creative efforts’²². It is only by *staying in the rehearsal room*

²² Freire, P. (2013) *Education for Critical Consciousness*. (page 78)

until the knowledge is found with citizen-performers that one can replace an existing script (the theatrical equivalent to a primer) with a new, authentic series of actions and images based on participant experiences of their own reality.

Augusto Boal asserts that the first word of the theatrical vocabulary is the human body, the main source of sound and movement. “Therefore, to control the means of theatrical production, man must, first of all, control his own body, know his own body, in order to be capable of making it more expressive. Then he will be able to practice theatrical forms through which by stages he frees himself from his condition as spectator and takes on that of actor, in which he ceases to be an object and becomes a subject, is changed from witness into protagonist”²³. It is the role of Boal’s joker both to lead the emancipatory process of spectator to actor and to mediate and curate the result of this process (a forum theatre) to a new group of spectators setting out upon the same journey. The joker for Boal, the curator in citizen-centred dramaturgy, thus commits to *staying in the room until the knowledge is found*.

How might insights have been different as an outside observer?

Evidence relating to how outside observers assessed and interpreted objective data is available in three forms:

- The EU post year evaluation compares and contrasts the two cities (Wrocław and San Sebastian) designated with the title for 2016 examining the background of the city and the ECOC bid, development of the project, cultural programming, governance and funding, results and legacy²⁴.
- Towards the end of 2015, the City of Wrocław appointed Wrocław University’s Institute of Sociology to undertake a local evaluation of the ECoC and its impacts. The emphasis was on

²³ Boal, A. (1979) *Theatre of the Oppressed*. (pages 125-6). Boal’s translator does not attempt to address the ‘unmarked categories’ of Boal’s gendered language.

²⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/files/ecoc-2016-evaluation-en_0.pdf

the ECoC as a process, rather than simply a series of events²⁵.

- TOWARDS URBAN GOVERNANCE IN POLAND – WROCLAW 2016 EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE AS A DRIVER OF CHANGE? by Aldona Wiktorska-Święcka, explains the state of urban governance of Wrocław and suggests that local governance is yet to become a key asset and the city lacks an appropriate citizens-oriented policy and urban governance framework²⁶.

While all three evaluations generate useful objective reflections upon the role of culture and ECoC in Wrocław, including some insights into the Flow Quartet, none examine the mechanisms under which creative work was generated or analyse the nature of citizen participation – preferring to focus on both on issues of governance and quantifiable outcomes.

The thesis concludes by identifying some of the observations, learning and insights I have gained in completing *The Flow Quartet* and from the research conducted in the preparation of this thesis.

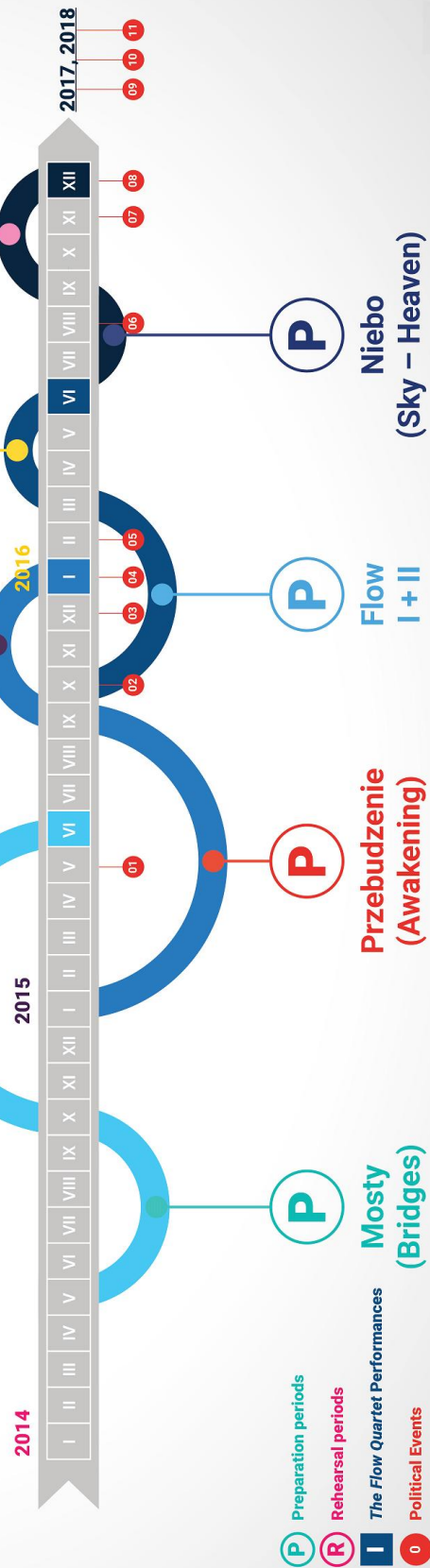
²⁵ https://www.academia.edu/35478237/Archipelagos_of_culture_Evaluation_of_the_European_Capital_of_Culture_Wroc%C5%82aw_2016

²⁶ <http://journals.sfu.ca/ipmr/index.php/ipmr/article/view/272>.

The Flow Quartet Timeline

Political Events

- 01** May 2015 – Andrzej Duda (PIS - Prawo i Sprawiedliwość) elected President of Poland.
- 02** November 2015 – PIS wins national elections and immediately provokes judicial constitutional crisis.
- 03** December 2015 – KOD (Committee for the Defence of Democracy) organize opposition to PIS constitutional amendments.
- 04** January 2016 – Jacek Kurski (PIS) and Barbara Stanisiawczyk appointed to run Polish State TV and radio by PIS.
- 05** February 2016 – Council of Europe object to constitutional changes.
- 06** October 2016 – PIS attempts to introduce total ban on abortion and restrictions on IVF.
- 07** November 2016 – Top six executives of TV and radio chosen by parliament.
- 08** December 2016 – Poland drops four points in World Press Freedom Index from 54th to 58th position.
- 09** September 2017 – New Education laws, opponents insist, aim to "raise nationalist and obedient citizens".
- 10** October 2017 – Major restrictions in reproductive medicine introduced despite no new anti-abortion legislation.
- 11** January 2018 – President signs amendments to law relating to the instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National Remembrance).



CHAPTER ONE

Wrocław and Poland, Breslau and Germany

With the stroke of a pen at the Potsdam Conference following the Allied victory in 1945, Breslau, the largest German city east of Berlin, became the Polish city of Wrocław. Its more than six hundred thousand inhabitants – almost all of them ethnic Germans – were expelled and replaced by Polish settlers from all parts of prewar Poland (Thum 2011: backcover).

The history of Poland in the twentieth-century is one of rebirth, virtual annihilation and again rebirth; a story of a multi-ethnic nation becoming one of the least ethnically diverse countries in Europe as a result of the atrocities committed by the Nazi and Stalinist regimes. The Second World War, the Holocaust and mass deportations removed entire communities from their villages and towns and left many devoid of their ‘communities of memory’. This was compounded even further by communist rule between 1945 and 1990 which officially prohibited the remembrance of some major traumatic events but used others as unifying elements for national commemoration. German crimes and occupation were commemorated in plaques and statues in almost every Polish city and town yet the loss of the Polish territories in the eastern borderlands could not be discussed until the mid-1950s. What is more, the ‘regained territories’ of Gdańsk, Wrocław and Lower Silesia were given near mythic status by the post-war Polish authorities even if uncertainty about their long-term status as Polish lands led reconstruction to be much slower than in Warsaw. This complicated event in Polish history became a central metaphor in *Niebo*, the December 2016 closing ceremony of the ECoC and the backdrop for a series of contemporary political confrontations between the EU presidency and the government of Poland which played out over the weekend. This will be discussed in chapter four of this thesis.²⁷

²⁷ For general works (in English) on Wrocław and Poland see Davies, N., Moorhouse, R., (2003) *Microcosm: A Portrait of A Central European City* and Davies, N. (2005) *God's Playground* (Volumes I and II). It is worth noting that Davies and Moorhouse's *Microcosm: A Portrait of A Central European City* was commissioned by Mayor of Wrocław, Rafał Dutkiewicz and promoter of Wrocław, ECoC 2016. See also Applebaum, A. (2012) *Iron Curtain – The Crushing of Eastern Europe* and (2017) *Red Famine – Stalin's War on the Ukraine* and Snyder, T. (2010) *Bloodlands – Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* and (2016) *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* on the Hitler/Stalin policy and legacy in Poland. For more reading on memory studies relating to Poland see Blacker, U. Etkind, A. Fedor, J *Memory and Theory in Eastern Europe*, p.173.

Wrocław had been Breslau until 1945: a German city with a Protestant cathedral in which Protestant music could be heard for 600 years on every religious occasion. A thriving Jewish population was integrated into every aspect of urban life. Yet in the 1932 elections the Nazis received 44% of the votes cast, the third highest total in Germany. In the final few months of 1945, 85% of Breslau was destroyed by war, as much by Nazi destruction as by the Soviet army. The expulsion of Germans from Breslau did not begin in 1945 but in 1933 when the Jews were driven out. However, in the three years after the war, almost the entire German population was expelled from both the city and region and uprooted Poles, from the east and other parts of Poland, colonised these lands. It is these complex events, with ramifications stretching across many countries, which became the basis for the development of everything seen in *The Flow Quartet*.

Wrocław 2016 – European Capital of Culture

Given this history, it is interesting to note that in 2011 the Mayor of Wrocław, Rafał Dutkiewicz, stated in the bid for Wrocław to become ECoC that,

We consider the question of Wrocław's future much more important than those of its past and present. Our growth has been possible thanks to quantitative reserves; they have, however, been largely exhausted. The next stage in the city's growth must be based on a qualitative change. This must involve mobilising civic, social, professional, and creative activity. Through an increased public participation in culture we want to build a stock of public trust necessary to strengthen our social development. ... We are aware that the expected economic advancement of our region is bound to bring along the phenomena well-known to the cities of Western Europe: an influx of immigrants leading to a greater social, ethnic, and religious diversity. We want to pre-empt the emergence of intolerance by developing an inclusive culture.²⁸

In the process to become an ECoC the candidate city is required to produce a comprehensive bid-book by which its candidature is judged by a panel appointed by the European Commission.

The link below takes the reader to Wrocław's bidbook named 'Spaces for Beauty':

- [*Spaces for Beauty Bid-Book*](#)

In 2013, I was appointed Curator for Interdisciplinary Performance for Wrocław ECoC 2016.

²⁸ For more on the bidding process to become ECoC 2016 see www.Wrocław.pl/files/ESK/application_revisited_en.pdf
For postyear evaluations of the entire European Capital year see [Overview Wrocław 2016](#)

My task, as defined directly by Dutkiewicz, was to create and direct the four biggest city events of the ECoC year in Wrocław. I proposed four interconnected projects which later became *The Flow Quartet* to be made by applying techniques from an approach to making work I had named Teatro de Creación. The projects were approved for implementation by the Polish Ministry of Culture in 2015.

Designed from the outset to be a series of four large scale performances, *The Flow Quartet* was the result of a research, planning and devising process over four years. Its aims were as follows:

- produce four flagship performance events for Wrocław, ECoC 2016,
- encourage citizen participation and engagement in the making of the events,
- encourage citizens to be active makers of culture,
- attract maximum international media and TV attention,
- use the history of the city, and the experiences of its various diasporas, as a point of departure for the content of the events,
- promote new expressions of inter-cultural dialogue through culture making.²⁹

Citizen-centred dramaturgy

Citizen-centred dramaturgy is a conceptual framework directly extended from **Teatro de Creación (TdC)**, both developed by myself over three decades of practice and reflection.³⁰ To explicitly define citizen-centred dramaturgy a definition of TdC is first required:

Teatro de Creación (TdC) is the root from which citizen centred dramaturgy has emerged.

Teatro de Creación is an approach to making performance which combines devising techniques, site specific work and an emphasis on contested social or collective memory. It is designed to be made in a place, be about that place, its history and problems, and its relationship between place and those with a 'stake' in that place – be it local people or diasporas. Therefore, it happens almost anywhere

²⁹ For more on intercultural dialogue from a Polish perspective (in English) see Czyzewski, K., Kulas, J. and Golubiewski, R. *A Handbook of Dialogue – Trust and Identity*. My own contribution to the book examines education and intercultural dialogue through the lens of carnival, Shakespeare and Joyce, pp. 412-415.

³⁰ See www.chrisbaldwin.eu and Baldwin, C., Bicat, T. (2002), Baldwin, C (2003), Assenova M.; Baldwin C. (2010)

except theatre buildings. The representation of time in the final piece of work reflects the needs of the storytelling and social context (relationship between performer and audience) and not any adherence to linear representations of time. Performances are not readily transferable or sellable. As a result of being made for a specific place they have limited value as a re-sellable commodity.

Teatro de Creación abandons concepts such as ‘professional’ and ‘amateur’ although professional and non-professional involvement in the process of performance making is present. But as co-makers of performative meaning we consider that the perspectives and stories of people with close attachment to places and spaces determines their importance and dedication to the project. Rehearsals begin without a text and instead with a dialogue about expectations, outcomes, stories and rehearsals and discussions are framed in performance and artistic languages, using performative and creative tools wherever possible. Long verbal discussions are avoided; so too the predominance of one voice. The work is multi directional – we celebrate storytelling over and above realism of any form.

The nature of rehearsal is dialogical and always dialogical – while using theatrical forms. Rehearsals is seen as opportunities to develop intercultural competencies. Complexity within the rehearsal process is embraced and given shape and expression within the emerging dramaturgy.

Teatro de Creación is a way of making performance, a pedagogical approach to both the training of theatre makers and also to the education of the social being, a way of thinking about citizenship, a way of transcending professional/non-professional categories, a way of defending the importance of culture as a means by which to reflect what it means to be human.

In 2013, I added four additional key concepts to Teatro de Creación, which led to the term citizen-centred dramaturgy in preparation for work on *The Flow Quartet*.

Citizen centred dramaturgy: citizens, space, design, dramaturgy.

These four key components guided the design, development and artistic trajectory of the four movements of *The Flow Quartet*.

- 1. Citizens: The voices and experiences of citizens become the basis from which dramaturgy is generated in a collaborative manner. They are invited to take part as fully-fledged performers in the events they co-devise.**

The voices, stories, in particular the unspoken and recounted traumas of residents and citizens of Wrocław, were allowed to influence significant performative and dramaturgical decisions. Curatorial decisions were made not to work with professional performers but with those who had stories to tell; ‘citizens’ became ‘principal performers’ and ‘story-tellers’. Thousands of citizens were invited to work with a small team of professional artists and many professional technicians to create the four events in which the stories of Wrocław and of the diasporas now living in Germany, Israel, Ukraine and Czech Republic were paramount. This study uses the phrase ‘citizen-centred dramaturgy’ to describe the process and emphasis on citizens becoming intrinsic to the making process.

- 2. Space: Research processes, rehearsals, communication strategies, performance outcomes and televised/streaming events are developed using the city as a palimpsest.**

Inevitably, with Wrocław’s twentieth-century history being the subject of *The Flow Quartet*, the detection of personal and collective trauma occurred within the physical context of the city. Streets, bridges, rivers, prisons, parks and buildings became meaning-laden ‘spaces’, often denoting an absence left unexplained by historical eras or political choices. Old industrial spaces and factories, adapted to be used as rehearsal spaces for *The Flow Quartet*, impacted upon the dramaturgy of the events as their histories became known.

- 3. Design (sound and visual): All design of sound and staging solutions are to be found from and within the direct surroundings and are developed ‘in dialogue’ with local specific traditions or conditions.**

Sound Design. New music had to be commissioned for all four pieces of *The Flow Quartet*. Composers from Wrocław and its diasporas were the logical choice given the emphasis we give to the voice of citizens. Composers from Wrocław, Czech Republic, Israel and Germany were commissioned.

Visual Design: Each of the twenty-six cultural bridge projects in *Mosty* developed design solutions through a collaborative process curated by myself. This multiplicity of approaches was sustained in *Przebudzenie*, designed as the opening ceremony for the year. Yet, in this case, a unifying design element, in the form of the four ‘spirits’, was also added in order to enable a linear storyline to emerge. Four processions, each some 7 kilometres long, passed through the streets of the city. Highly mobile objects and design solutions were required to respond to the fixed architecture of the city (for example trams and their overhead cables) yet create spectacle for tens of thousands of people at any one given moment. This needed to be achieved within the context of the main objective of *The Flow Quartet* – namely to make major events for the city using the voices and stories of those associated with the city as the dramaturgical base. As the video material demonstrates, four ‘spirits’ were commissioned, designed and built in steel as a result of a French/Polish collaboration. In *Flow II* citizen-centred dramaturgy decreased somewhat, becoming more focused on an extended and curated conversation between four composers. Lighting and video mapping of the old city accompanied the performance and was designed and delivered by a dedicated small professional team.

- 4. Dramaturgy: As with Teatro de Creación, citizen centred dramaturgy emphasises place, its history and problems, and its relationship between place and those with a ‘stake’ in that place – be it local people or diasporas. The representation of time in the final piece of work reflects the needs of the storytelling and social context. Rehearsals begin without a text and instead with a dialogue about expectations, outcomes, stories and rehearsals.**

The Flow Quartet is an example of an approach to curating which enabled citizens to tell stories and participate in devising over the four projects. *The Flow Quartet* aimed to place itself at the centre of a conversation about the nature of the city's identity in contemporary Poland, and that of Poland in contemporary Europe – a conversation very much contested nationally and internationally. To understand the nature of this work it is necessary to bear in mind something of twentieth-century Polish and European history and contemporary politics.

To understand how citizen-centered dramaturgy acted as a flexible methodology and differently in each stage of the four productions please see following table:

The following table describes how each of the four key elements of citizen-centred dramaturgy were applied and augmented throughout the development of *The Flow Quartet*. The table demonstrates how the approach was flexible at each point of the project enabling us to reach a “fused” climax in *Niebo*.

<i>The Flow Quartet</i>	Citizen	Space	Design - Sound	Design - Visual	Dramaturgy	Comments
<i>Mosty (Bridges) June 2015</i>	An Open Call to all under 35-year-olds in Wrocław was published widely. 87 group applications were received and 26 projects chosen by national jury of specialists. Each group was autonomously organised yet supported by monthly workshops (see videos) and dedicated technical, production and assistant directorial teams curated by myself (Chris Baldwin).	The bridges crossing the Odra river in the city. Each group identified a Wrocław bridge they would like to work with. These ideas and suggestions were mediated and negotiated as part of the jury decision making process, chaired by myself, in which public and legal accessibility issues considered. Groups were supported by professional technical team in gaining access to their chosen bridge.	Each group decided how and if sound design was important to their work. Documents and video evidence show that each group settled upon a solution which suited their artistic and cultural needs.	Each group decided how to design their visual work in relation to the bridge chosen. Some chose to focus on night time lighting, others costume, others small object design.	Each group developed its own autonomous dramaturgy but were supported in considering how best to share their work with their target audience. Assistant directors, under my direction, were allocated 6 to 8 groups to support in all dramaturgical requirements.	I, with assistant directors, supported all chosen groups by attending their rehearsals on a regular basis. While legal issues (health and safety, public liability and event management legislation) were non-negotiable, all other aesthetic and cultural decisions were left in the hands of groups. Support in group management was offered. <i>‘Autonomy through dialogue’</i> was the mantra!
<i>Przebudzenie (Awakening) January 2016</i>	Both citizens from <i>Mosty</i> and any others wanting to join were invited to do so for <i>Przebudzenie</i> . It was declared and explained that the production was to be directed by myself. It was explained through	The streets, parks and squares of the city. Four routes into the city were chosen by myself, designers and technical directors, based on criteria regarding traffic flow, legal access, height restrictions, TV coverage	Music and instruments were commissioned by myself from Wrocław Composer, Pawel Romańczuk. Romańczuk recommended 15 professional musicians to be contracted.	Design of four Spirits were commissioned by myself (on artistic criteria) and ECOC CEO (on legal criteria) from French designer Philippe Geffroy and made by	The structure of the dramaturgical frame was set by myself and developed, augmented and modified in group rehearsals by citizen-performers supported	In contrast to <i>Mosty</i> , this project was more aesthetically focused and controlled in the management of role of citizens, space, design (music and visual) and dramaturgy.

	<p>meetings and public media how more centralised emphasis on coordinated artistic vision would occur with room for Mosty like interventions at key places along the routes. Themes and learning from <i>Mosty</i> were incorporated into overall plans and designs (about themes, use of space etc). 1700 citizens joined the project. Audience: 180,000 people on the streets. 17 million on TV and digital replay.</p>	<p>AND aesthetic and thematic ideas which arose through <i>Mosty</i>. (See maps and videos).</p>	<p>Citizens were taught to perform music composed by Romańczuk.</p>	<p>a Polish technical team. Costumes, puppets and objects were designed by professional Polish design teams. An OPEN CALL was made for lighting designers for installations for “Route of Innovation” - leading to the contract for Tomasz Domański (See Chapter 3: Ladders and Martial Law in Wrocław).</p>	<p>by myself and assistant directors.</p>	<p>Citizens had significant responsibility for performances on their routes through the city but limited power to influence the performance in Rynek. However, as director, all the material developed by groups for work along the route also became ‘my’ material for the final show in Rynek (which I directed). <i>‘Structured and highly disciplined aesthetic conversation’</i> was the mantra.</p>
<p><i>Flow 1</i> <i>June 2016</i> <i>(daytime)</i></p>	<p>Change of focus. Polish citizens were joined by diaspora voices from Germany, Israel and Ukraine. Citizens who had taken part in <i>Mosty</i> and <i>Przebudzenie</i> took part in <i>Zone of Whispers</i> and <i>Zone of Borders</i>.</p>	<p>Four city zones were created. Two parks, one square and one route through streets and buildings. Each zone given a theme based on thematic analysis of <i>Mosty</i>. *Zone of Body (Israeli dance) *Zone of Whispers (Lower Silesian Stories of arrival from Ukraine) *Zone of Taste (stories of shared recipes from Poland and Germany)</p>	<p>Each group identified their own solutions. (See video documentation.)</p>	<p>Each group identified their own solutions. (See video documentation.)</p>	<p>*Zone of Dance: dramaturgy about conflict and distrust of the ‘other’. *Zone of Whispers: Devised stories based on research of people arriving in Wrocław in 1946-8. *Zone of Taste: Devised stories based on experiences of Germans fleeing Wrocław. And recipes too! *Zones of Borders</p>	<p>My curatorial direction was focused upon: 1. Encouraging the diasporas of Breslau/Wrocław to tell their own stories through performance. 2. Encourage the audience to leave their own story (see <i>Puk Puk, Kto tam?</i>). Each zone was overseen by an assistant director.</p>

		in Botanical Gardens) *Zone of Borders (Contemporary Ukrainian telling stories of their arrival in Wroclaw).			Stories devised from participant experiences.	I curated the Israeli dance zone. “Diasporas speak ” was the mantra.
<i>Flow 2 June 2016 (evening)</i>	<p>Mass choir and orchestra was a mix of professional and non professional from Poland, Germany, Czech Republic and Israel.</p> <p>Sailors and boat operatives were local boating community.</p> <p>Technical support was augmented by the support of 27 prisoners from local prison (having joined the project in Mosty)</p>	<p>The banks of the Odra River.</p> <p>Chosen by Chris Baldwin after consultation with technical and production specialists.</p>	<p>Music from <i>Przebudzenie</i> (<i>Awakening</i>) by Pawel Romańczuk used as the basis for the development of full scale, four movement Cantata for symphonic orchestra and choir. Four composers from Israel, Germany, Czech Republic and Poland were commissioned to write using Romańczuk’s signature themes. Process managed by Chris Baldwin and musical director Alan Urbanek</p>	<p>The core of the production was the music and the collaborative way it had been composed. Yet an audience of 55,000 needed a visual focus to help sustain attention. Chris Baldwin worked with projection, lighting and firework designers to produce a visual canvas which accompanied the event. The nighttime landscape of the riverside buildings were used. (See video documentation.)</p>	<p>Written by Chris Baldwin and shared widely with Wroclaw ECOC curatorial colleagues.</p>	<p>Designed to contrast with Flow 1. This event was strictly curated by myself. Music took 18 months to commission and write. Design took 6 months to design and agree contracts. Orchestras and choirs rehearsed in four countries before concluding rehearsals in Wroclaw. Citizens concept expanded by myself to mean ‘diasporas of the city’.</p>
<i>Niebo (Sky – Heaven) December 2016</i>	<p>Performers were citizens who had performed in <i>Mosty, Przebudzenie, Flow 1</i> and <i>2</i> (orchestra and choir). A professional actress played the role of the narrator. Acrobats and some musicians were also professional.</p>	<p>Only indoor venue: Hala Stulecia. (see video documentary).</p>	<p>Music from <i>Przebudzenie</i> and <i>Flow 2 – The Wroclaw Cantata</i> were combined and played by the orchestra and choir of <i>Flow 2</i>.</p>	<p>The Spirits and costumes from <i>Przebudzenie</i> were the only elements used in the performance.</p>	<p>Stories from <i>Flow 1</i> Zones of Whispers and Tastes became the foundation for the dramaturgy. Dramaturgy was written by myself in collaboration with assistant directors. This was modified in rehearsal (see Chapter Four of the thesis).</p>	<p>‘Fuse! Take from previous projects’ was the mantra. The main new element (1) two large holes in the floor through which performers arrived and left the stage. (2) a unified and integrated dramaturgy combining elements developed from previous parts of the project.</p>

The significance of this methodology in the field and the modes in which it can be adapted to different performance contexts.

Citizen-centred dramaturgy as democratic dialogue:

The educator with a democratic vision or posture cannot avoid in his teaching praxis insisting on the critical capacity, curiosity, and autonomy of the learner. (Freire 2001 p.33).

Citizen-centred dramaturgy has a democratic vision. The curator and citizen-participant are in dialogue with one another in a similar way to the educator and learner articulated by Freire. There is respect for what citizen-participants know. This is very significant in large-scale performance work and European Capital of Culture projects large-scale events where considerable production and political pressures militate against accountable, transparent and collaborative decision making.

By making the praxis of citizen-centred dramaturgy (citizen, space, design and dramaturgy) visible to both citizen participants and the professional support teams of administrators, technicians and politicians,

- critical production decisions can be scrutinised and evaluated in regards with reference to their democratic/participatory intentions,
- The power relationships underpinning decision making between citizen and support teams can be re-evaluated and re-calibrated where appropriate. For example, the constitution of an orchestra can be based on criteria developed through a cultural/political dialogue and not just by taking into consideration highly prescriptive public procurement law.

Ability to use citizen-centred dramaturgy as a diagnostic design tool:

In large scale project planning, in which more than one performance outcome is envisaged, citizen-centred dramaturgy can be used as a diagnostic tool to help design consecutive steps.

In part one of The Flow Quartet, *Mosty (Bridges)* significant emphasis and respect was placed on the artistic autonomy of participating groups. After the open call successful projects were given support

in the form of production and technical guidance but performative decisions were never overruled by the curatorial director team.

Despite the open call placing emphasis on the historical nature of Wrocław's bridges almost no group responded to the implicit and explicit invitation to explore the nature of this heritage for contemporary Wrocław and Poland. (It should be stated that almost all of the 130 bridges in Wrocław were built and designed by German architects and engineers, in some instances German Jews, and had been given German names. These were later changed and are now largely forgotten – part of a political process extending from 1945 in which the city and region has been increasingly made less German and more Polish in nature). By June 2015 it was clear to the curatorial team, led by myself, that the absence of acknowledgement of the German heritage of the bridges was either indicative of a reluctance to approach what remained a difficult or delicate subject (the appropriation of the region and city in 1945 by Poland) or pointed towards an absence of a critical consciousness able to conceptualise artistic and symbolic representations of this historical reality. This led to a series of curatorial decision to structure *Przebudzenie (Awakening)*, the second part of *The Flow Quartet* six months after *Mosty*, in a way which would make it less possible for the contested history of Wrocław to be avoided or downplayed.

Adaptability of citizen-centred dramaturgy to different performance contexts.

Example One - The Mountains of León (Spain): Rural Development and Optimism (2005-8).

One of the significant issues facing rural Spain, and indeed many parts of Europe is a sense of pessimism and lack of hope encompassing many communities and inhabitants³¹. Massive depopulation, changes in agricultural production, a radical increase in the average age of the remaining population, a steady yet incessant widening in the gap between public and private services in rural and urban areas have led to a sense of helplessness. Citizen-centred dramaturgy has been used to

³¹ https://blogs.publico.es/mundo-rural/2018/11/02/cambiamos-el-marco-de-la-espana-vacia-a-la-espana-vaciada-de-hablar-de-despoblacion-a-repoblacion/?fbclid=IwAR0p5OKXM7QLPW_Yv83Gg2ngT6L0AMfchdBsaVohvb3I5VxI6R8oI6D-2Sw&doing_wp_cron=1541203243.0906550884246826171875

support rural communities identify and examine the impact of these social trends upon their lives, their families and livelihoods and help identify political and social responses to address these disempowering effects.

As a result of a collaboration between rural citizens of León, the Junta of Castilla y León and myself as curator, a three-year project was designed, using the flexible methodology of citizen-centred dramaturgy, to encourage a movement away from this cycle of disempowerment to one which placed emphasis on transformative optimism and learning. Early group analysis, generated through curator led theatre-based workshops, identified the debilitating presence of wide spread fatalism³² over a municipality of 140 remote and isolated villages. In 2008 I curated a citizen-centred dramaturgy process in which a group of local citizen-performers from the mountains of Omaña, León, containing ex-miners, teachers, pensioners, farmers, students, a nurse and home-makers, developed a play about the fictitious “Javier”, a man deciding to return to his village after an absence of some decades in order to begin a business in Ganadería (cattle farming). Over ten scenes the play presented the difficulties encountered by this character. These included,

- Resistance from his aged father, a farmer who still farms in a traditional manner.
- The reaction of local resident to Javier’s wife, a city dweller from Barcelona
- The resistance of the Alcaldesa (mayoress) to the idea
- The lack of infrastructural and professional support
- Lack of social and economic solidarity between other farmers
- The complexity of official help from the Junta and EU regulations.

The piece was researched and rehearsed by the citizen-performers to present to a weekend meeting of farmers to discuss an extraordinary range of difficult issues facing them at that moment - specifically the advantages and disadvantages of setting up a cooperative³³.

³² TRANSFORMATIVE OPTIMISM - looks at social power with emphasis on collective action. It is hopeful about the future. BLIND OPTIMISM - This shies away from examining balances of power. It indicates “oblivion conditions” that prevent consciousness of self determination. FATALIST OPTIMISM - Recognises the problem of unequal power yet is without hope of changing it. RESILIENT OPTIMISM - Transforms at the individual level and gains hope transforming social power imbalances

³³ [https://medioambiente.jcyl.es/web/jcyl/MedioAmbiente/es/Plantilla100/1284211471165/ / / /](https://medioambiente.jcyl.es/web/jcyl/MedioAmbiente/es/Plantilla100/1284211471165/)

Example Two: Mapping the North West of Bulgaria.

During 2009 financial support from the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe facilitated the project “1989 - Mapping the North West Project (Bulgaria)”, designed to encourage Bulgarian young people and history teachers look for signs in their cities of the changes brought about by the political events of 1989. The project placed citizen-centred dramaturgy techniques at the heart of project development, in particular theatre and drama, the still image (photographic and drawn), the written word and oral narrative techniques.

The objectives of the project were:

- to identify how young people today (who had not been born in 1989) connect with their recent past;
- to provoke young people to get interested in the “1989” topic and to start asking questions about this recent past;
- to involve young people in a constructive dialogue with their parents so as to identify the emotions of “1989”;
- to investigate how recent history is taught in Bulgarian schools;
- to conduct this enquiry through the use of citizen-centred dramaturgy techniques and to promote applied arts as pedagogical tools in Bulgarian schools.

The project was subsequently extended to various cities across Bulgaria³⁴.

The Flow Quartet – *Mosty* (Bridges), *Przebudzenie* (Awakening), *Flow I and II*, *Niebo* (Heaven)

***Mosty* (Bridges)**

On 20th June 2015, twenty seven of the 130 Wrocław bridges were transformed into cultural spaces, performance sites, exhibitions, festivals, multimedia presentations, cinemas and animated

³⁴ download of book: Mapping the North West of Bulgaria - Applied Arts and the Teaching of Disputed Histories (2010) http://www.chrisbaldwin.eu/download/i/mark_dl/u/4012716697/4628058879/Notes%20on%20Mapping%20the%20North%20West%20of%20Bulgaria.pdf

concert sites for new music. More than 25,000 people took part in events organised by 1,700 citizen performers and artists: ‘The city gave itself permission to enjoy this rupture in the everyday rhythm of urban life and to explore the both extraordinary and traumatic histories and events associated with many of the bridges.’³⁵

Designing Playfulness

When planning and designing any citizen-centred dramaturgy project its visual design approaches are not pre-determined or predicted. In the case of *The Flow Quartet* the ‘playfulness’ of the scenography was decided upon as a result of the specific conditions and conversations stemming from conversations with participants. In other examples of citizen-centred dramaturgy projects visual design solutions have been quite distinct as evidenced by work available online³⁶. *The Flow Quartet*, with its emphasis on disrupting and questioning settled notions of collective memory, needed an approach to visual design and dramaturgy which would support this aim rather than contribute to a more settled and homogeneous reading. I was keen to encourage all visual and sound designers to be conscious of the disrupting qualities of the carnivalesque.

In *Rabelais and his World*, Bakhtin discusses the carnivalesque (or ‘folk-humour’) a speech-genre which occurs across most notably in carnival itself. A carnival is a moment when everything (except probably violence) is permitted and occurs on the border between art and life, and is a kind of life shaped according to a pattern of play. It is usually marked by displays of excess and grotesqueness. It is a type of performance, but this performance is communal, with no boundary between performers and audience. In this respect it has an objective in common with citizen-centred dramaturgy; both create situations in which diverse voices are heard and interact enabling genuine dialogue; both create the chance for a new perspective and a new order of things³⁷.

For Bakhtin, carnival and carnivalesque create an alternative social space, characterised by

³⁵ www.chrisbaldwin.eu/flow-quartet-1-mosty/4590910659

³⁶ see www.chrisbaldwin.eu (projects)

³⁷ See Introduction in Bakhtin, M. (1984) *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington. Indiana University Press.

freedom, equality and abundance. During carnival, rank is abolished and everyone is equal and indiscretions permitted. As Stanley Brands states in *fcarnivals and fiestas*, ‘Drunks appear rowdy and disruptive, and their apparent inability to control what they say can be embarrassing and offensive...but with uncanny precision, the accuse onlookers of having transgressed this or that moral rule’. People are reborn into truly human relations, which were not simply imagined but experienced. Nevertheless carnivals have turned into state-controlled parades and this danger was always present in the work in Wrocław. This thesis contends that the structure of citizen-centred dramaturgy at minimum makes conscious this tendency and at best attempts to resist it. Bakhtin believes that the carnival principle is indestructible. It continues to reappear as the inspiration for areas of life and culture as in the design solutions in Wrocław and other aspects to citizen-centred dramaturgy. Carnival contains a utopian promise for human emancipation through the free expression of thought and creativity. Rabelais stands up for a style which is irreducibly unofficial and unserious, and irrecoverable by authoritarianism³⁸.

Mosty (Bridges)

In July 2014, 87 Non-Governmental Organisations, artist collectives, schools and individuals applied to take part in *Mosty*. From 87 applications 26 projects were selected and awarded financial support to facilitate their work over the coming year. One additional *Mosty* project, directed by myself, was added to the project at a late stage to ensure a night-time signature project could bind together a planned city sports activity with the *Mosty* project. The invitation to apply was conducted as an open call to the young people of Wrocław to ‘adopt a bridge and tell its story’. In doing so, the project was positioning itself to talk of Poland’s complex sensitive past, potentially to delve into Wrocław's and Poland's wartime trauma, its shifting borders and massive post-war migration. Given Wrocław's specific history as a German city until 1945, the project encouraged participants to explore the bridges’ pre-Polish origins and links to Germany and other parts of Poland.

³⁸ Brandes, S (1988) *Power and Persuasion - Fiestas and Social Control in Rural Mexico*. (p. 1). See also Baldwin, C "Participatory Arts and the Agile Citizen in Spain" (2008) pdf at <http://chrisbaldwin.eu/writing-2/4592344937>

I made the city's multicultural history a central theme of *Mosty*, thus aligning the project with ECoC's explicit recommendation to 'open up local debate around the value of a European dimension', to start a 'conversation about Europe amongst the local population' so that '[b]y emphasizing the city's connections to other European cities and countries, these hosts, which in one way or another could be viewed as being at the margins of Europe, are transformed from a peripheral locality to one of centrality and significance' (Garcia, Cox 2013: 17).

Equally important for the philosophy of the ECoC initiative is its participatory character or the 'citizenship dimension', understood as widening the participation in culture in general but also as involving local citizens in planning cultural events to ensure relevance, and a deeper and long term cultural legacy of the project. In *Mosty's* open call to the community, the proposals had to be participatory in character and emerge from young people (under 35s). Only those projects which fulfilled these essential criteria were supported with funding. So important was the concept of participation that the actual bridge stories which was told by the 26 successful groups were not prescribed by myself, the curator, or assistant directors, but nurtured through a creative dialogue embedded in Paulo Freire's pedagogy of hope and possibility.³⁹

It is worth mentioning Victor Turner's concept of 'social drama' in preparation for viewing the *Mosty* video material below. His concept of 'a community's movement through time' in a dramatic fashion, involving the breaking of rules in a public space, the ensuing conflict and eventual resolution, is a good description of the overall objective of the *Mosty* project. As Richard Schechner argues, and as the videos demonstrate, this process involves a transformation from within the community.⁴⁰

The videos below document the monthly *Mosty* workshops led by myself which took place in the first half of 2015. The workshops and videos became key in introducing participants to the concepts which have been discussed above (Teatro de Creación, citizens, space, design, dramaturgy,

³⁹ See Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed*

⁴⁰ See Turner, V. (1974) *From Ritual to Theatre. The Human Seriousness of Play* and (1982) and Schechner, R. (1988) *Performance Theory*.

citizen-centered dramaturgy, in the context of Wrocław and *The Flow Quartet*).

- **Mosty Workshop Videos:** [Workshop 1; Workshop 2; Workshop 3; Workshop 4; Workshop 5](#)

The culmination of *Mosty*, a 24-hour festival across 27 bridges, took place on 20th June 2015. Police estimated that 25,000 people visited the events over the day and tens of thousands more participated in the Wrocław night marathon the same day which incorporated *Mosty*. The two events were co-managed to ensure that runners used some of the bridges transformed by the *Mosty* project. Below photos and a documentary of the making of *Mosty* can be accessed:

- [Photos of Mosty Projects](#)
- [Documentary of the making of Mosty](#)

One of the twenty-six projects commissioned by *Mosty*, a project named *Hug*, was designed to bring a hidden social story into the public realm. *Hug* explicitly dealt with issues of identity by encouraging participants and onlookers to reflect upon the notion of difference in their own social context. The artistic activity focused on making a series of porcelain hand rails using the imprint of the participants' hands to create hundreds of unique grip-imprinted pieces. Participants were also invited to record their experiences of difference to be used as a soundtrack for those visiting or encountering the ceramic pieces. In this way, *Hug* became a powerfully symbolic piece of work questioning the still dominant notion that Poland is unproblematically homogeneous.

- [The Hug Video](#)

For a full written description of all the bridge projects which took place as part of *Mosty* click below:

- [Mosty projects individual project descriptions](#)

Przebudzenie (Awakening)

Przebudzenie was designed to be the main event for the opening of Wrocław, ECoC 2016. It took place on 17th January 2016 – six months after *Mosty*. Official figures state that 120,000 spectators saw the event from the streets of Wrocław – almost 30% of the population. Approximately 17 million

views of the performance highlights were seen online in the 10 days following the event.

A significant number of *Mosty* participants joined in the preparations and rehearsals and dramaturgical planning for *Przebudzenie* and many more joined in the four months of rehearsal. In total, 1800 performers were involved in *Przebudzenie* and the event gained considerable national and international media attention.⁴¹ The following video consists of footage of the performance and interviews with artists and citizen-participants during the rehearsal period:

- [Video of Przebudzenie rehearsals](#)

At the creative centre of the project were the four six metre-high ‘Spirits’, animated steel constructions designed by French designer Philippe Geffroy to move through the city and avoid tram cables by ‘folding down’ to 3.5 metres where necessary. Where space permitted, each Spirit could rise to 6 metres high. Musical instruments were specifically designed and built by Wrocław composer Pawel Romańczuk.

For each ‘Spirit’, an identity was negotiated and agreed based on a theme or ‘value’ associated with aspects of the city which had emerged during initial research and *Mosty*: The Spirit of Rebuilding, The Spirit of Flood, The Spirit of Many Faiths, The Spirit of Innovation. Four routes into the city, one for each ‘Spirit’, started from places 5 to 7 kilometers distant from the central market square. This would allow for a magical notion of ‘the spirits are on their way’ to infuse proceedings over the opening weekend and for the routes, streets and bridges to inform the dramaturgy of each Spirit, based on citizen-centred dramaturgical conversations.

Only when the Spirits met together in Rynek, the central market square, was the audience to understand why the spirits had to come together for the very first time in the history of the city – to reenact a new awakening. The emphasis of the entire event was to be on the integration of citizen artists, space, design/music and dramaturgy, the city as the story, the places through which the spirits move as they tell their own chapters and verses. The following map identifies the routes taken by the

⁴¹ The event has also been embedded into the exhibition *Wrocław 1945-2016* at the Centrum Historii Zajezdnia <http://www.zajezdnia.org/>

four Spirits and the places performances happened along the way:

- [*Map of the Routes*](#)

The Spirit of Rebuilding: In 1945, Wrocław began the long and painful process of rebuilding, this time as a Polish city. This Spirit was associated with the search for a new beginning, a new home. Beginning at Grabiszyńska Street near the old tram depot, two groups of migrants, one with their luggage on the old tram, the second with all their possessions on the Spirit were joined by musicians performing on instruments made by Romańczuk. The first stop was a viaduct. They met a messenger who showed them the way to a shelter, but when they arrived they were told there was no space for them. They resumed their journey and soon encountered the Sea of Humanity, literally a flowing sea made up of hundreds of mobile citizens, symbolised by hundreds of cyclists, blocking their way. Another group of 40 wheelchair users helped the migrants overcome this apparent obstacle. The final challenge was at Legionów Square – a wall of fire and destruction. Our characters realised that only by making a huge sacrifice would they be able to break through the wall of fire. Everything gets burned but the characters are rewarded with an image of a more creative yet equally complex future. The music changed, became more harmonic, played on new instruments. The group safely reaches the Rynek, the market square. Photos of the Spirit of Rebuilding can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of The Spirit of Rebuilding*](#)

The Spirit of Flood: In 1997, the River Odra flooded Wrocław, the region and neighbouring countries. The city responded with a huge demonstration of civic pride by rescuing treasured books and artefacts from the university libraries and carrying them to safety. In fact, one of the *Mosty* projects was dedicated to precisely this event. The Spirit of Flood was designed to be both powerful and benign – she was nature, and as such could not be controlled and cajoled. She insisted we find the way to give her space, to live with her and not in confrontation against her.

The route began at the Dąbie Tram Depot. The sound of water dripping – a simple pulse of water – could be heard. As the Spirit moved for the first time she rose up and then fell, causing waves

of excitement. Long pieces of blue and green material were also seen moving forward and flowing down the streets. At the Wrocław Zoo, animals escaped the flood through the gates and tried to reach the Spirit, searching for safety. Forty musicians, with specially designed water pipe glass instruments, waited for the Spirit at Zwierzyński Bridge. At Reagan Roundabout, another group of dancers and performers developed the theme of waves and the symbolic picture of a floating city. At Grunwaldzki Bridge, a human barrier was encountered by the Spirit. At Społeczny Square, a large open junction near the centre of Wrocław, the waves of materials spread through the passages and streets. When the route reached Galeria Dominikańska, a major shopping complex in the centre of Wrocław, the flood was at the highest point. Photos of the Spirit of Flood can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of The Spirit of Flood*](#)

The Spirit of Many Faiths: Wrocław is a city of many faiths, as witnessed by its architectural heritage, musical traditions, liturgies, and languages. The Spirit left the tram depot at Legnicka Tram Depot as a choir called it to awaken. When the Spirit reached Magnolia Park it encountered a ‘dance of fools’ – a moment where hundreds danced the ‘religion of consumption’ provocatively in the street. As the Spirit moved through Legnicka Street it was called to by four different choirs representing the religious traditions of Wrocław. A church choir sang from the roof of the Contemporary Art Museum representing the Protestant tradition. A Jewish choir from Warsaw waited on the roof of the Theatre School representing the faith and music of the Jewish heritage of Wrocław. All choir music was connected through Romańczuk's musical composition and played on different kinds of bells. At Kładla Nabycińska Street, the Spirit met members of an Orthodox choir singing music from their tradition. The last choir waited at Jana Pawła II Square, where Catholic music was sung from the balcony of the building between Ruska and Mikołaja street. Photos of The Spirit of Many Faiths can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of The Spirit of Many Faiths*](#)

The Spirit of Innovation: The Spirit of Innovation started at Tadeusz Kościuszko Land Forces

Military Academy, in the north of the city. As the Spirit woke from its slumber, everything around it started to illuminate. Along Asnyka, Kasprowicza, Żmigrodzka and Na Polance Streets there were lighting installations designed by some of the best young lighting designers from Poland. When the Spirit approached Osobowickie Bridge it started to ‘evolve’. A tram, especially designed for the occasion, joined it as it moved along Reymonta, Staszica, Pomorska and Dubois Streets. Just before entering the Rynek Square the Spirit passed over University Bridge – the icon of the interconnectedness of war, politics and flood – all in their own ways mediated by different kinds of innovation – social, cultural, technological. Photos of the Spirit of Innovation and television coverage of all four processions can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of The Spirit of Innovation*](#)
- [*Live Video of the four processions of the Spirits*](#)

Rynek Square: When the Spirits arrived at the Rynek, the second part of the story commenced. The spirits joined together to form a base on which a new city, with a new steeple incorporating geometric designs of the religious traditions, could emerge. Once completed, a woman was seen raising a bell in the steeple. A narrator asked, ‘who is this woman who rings the bell?’ but he proposed no answer. We, the audience, observed, listened and rang the bells we had brought from home for the occasion. The Capital of Culture had commenced with a question, ‘who is this woman?’. The answer would only become apparent at the end of the year in the performance of *Niebo* (December 2016). As the woman hit the bell, musicians from the Polish Army Band and Police Bands appeared at 80 windows in Rynek. Their anthem was followed by acrobats and a storm of feathers falling from the sky above them – feathers which had been seen falling across the city and are now associated with the choirs of the Many Faith route. Photos and television coverage of the performance in Rynek square can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of Rynek Square*](#)
- [*Video of the Event in Rynek Square*](#)

Flow I and II: (Location: The Centre of Wrocław around the Odra River)

To understand the nature and function of *Flow I* and *II* we need to bear in mind the aims and outcomes of *Mosty* and *Przebudzenie*. In June 2015, *Mosty* had aimed to encourage young creative voices to develop collaborative art practices as a means to promote new expressions of inter-cultural dialogue – the project *Hug* being a good example. *Mosty* wanted to facilitate multiple conversations about the traumatic history and legacy of the city, focusing upon the hidden histories of the bridges.

In taking the history of the city as a starting point, *Mosty* aimed to prepare the groundwork for *Przebudzenie*. Yet *Przebudzenie* went further in many respects, and designed into the structure of rehearsals and the show itself were hints of themes to emerge only more fully in *Niebo*. *Przebudzenie* enabled me, as curator, to take a more ‘sculpturing’ role with the emerging musical form and dramaturgical line than had been possible with *Mosty*.

Mosty emphasised the importance of citizen-centred dramaturgy and multiple, non-hierarchical co-existing stories and performance registers. *Przebudzenie* was led through curator-driven design and music responding to urban patterns and stories embedded in buildings, streets, the palimpsest that is Wrocław’s landscape, together with the participation of citizens from *Mosty*.

Built into the ‘roll out structure’ of the four parts of *The Flow Quartet* was a ‘radical to conservative’ progression. After having spent a year in the city planning the events it seemed that risks needed to be taken early and for ‘safer’, more recognisable cultural forms to be employed as time went by. This would, I hoped, create the conditions under which all four projects would be successfully completed. Having ensured that citizen artists, their voices and stories were embedded in the early events I thought it essential to be able to draw upon them as *Flow* developed. *Flow*, the third event in *The Flow Quartet*, could place emphasis on something which, until this point, had remained relatively untouched – the voices of the other, the diasporas, and the potential pleasure and joy in encountering these voices.

I had decided that *Flow* would revolve around a musical conversation between five composers drawn from the countries linked to the diasporas of Wrocław: Poland, Germany, Israel, Ukraine and

the Czech Republic. However, working with Ukraine as planned was complicated. In 2014 and 2015, building cultural relations with the Ukrainian authorities was proving impossible as a result of the political crisis manifested by the Euromaiden protests and the incursion by Russian proxy troops into the Crimea. Photos of the *Flow* rehearsals and an interview with myself (during rehearsals) can be accessed here:

- [Photos of Flow Rehearsals](#)
- [Video Interview During Flow Rehearsals](#)

Flow was not designed for a concert hall but for a massive outdoor audience, one which would not be seated, possibly facing uncomfortable outdoor weather conditions, and general in make-up (children to adults). Any musical conversation between five composers over a period of an hour needed to be curated with these additional considerations in mind. Furthermore, *Flow* was to be divided into two parts for reasons of dramaturgical politics. By this I mean it was essential that the hard-won emphasis on multiple, non-hierarchical co-existing stories and multiple performance registers were retained and celebrated while still creating an opportunity for a single focus event for 51,000 people to take place.

Flow I took place in four different open spaces during the day around the River Odra and centre of the town, thus reminding audiences of *Mosty*. Each zone was given a title: Body, Whispers, Taste and Borders. A map of the zones and evening performance space can be accessed here:

- [Map of the Four Zones for Flow I](#)

The Body Zone: (Locations: Wyspa Piasek, Bielarska Island, Barka Tumaska).

Three of the best contemporary dance companies from Israel were invited to perform on an open-air stage on an island on the Odra. Nadine Bommer Dance Company performed *Invisi'BALL*, transforming the space into a surprising and multicultural football field in which it was revealed that all the male players were actually played by female dancers. Batsheva Dance brought fifteen ensemble dancers and punctuated their performance with the eclectic sounds of Japanese pop, reggae

and vintage television themes, making a celebratory multicultural experience for audience and performers alike. Machol Shalem Dance House in cooperation with Teatr Tańca Zawierowania performed 'HA-E' (*The Island*) – a creation for dance and theatre that dealt with our basic needs as human beings searching for love and communication in a war-torn world.

In the same zone an exhibition could also be visited on a large boat hotel called Barka Tumaska. The project, *The Floating Boat of Memory*, was a visual and oral history project giving voice to the experiences of the Lower Silesian Polish Jews. *The Floating Boat of Memory* involved Polish, English and Yiddish with Polish and English subtitles and the work of a researcher from the University of Wrocław. Photos of both The Body Zone and The Floating Boat of Memory project can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of The Body Zone*](#)
- [*The Floating Boat of Memory*](#)

Zone of Whispers: (Locations: Nowy Targ to Park Juliusza Słowackiego).

The street performance, *Pewna Historia* (A Certain Story) took place in the form of a walking trail in which different urban spaces were used to explore hidden stories of Polish families from Lower Silesia in the second half of the twentieth-century – focusing upon those who arrived from the East after the expulsion of the German prewar population. The performance moved between Nowy Targ Square, Hala Targowa market, blocks of flats near Frycza Modrzewskiego Street, the square in front of the Academy of Fine Arts, Purkyniego Street between the Radisson Hotel and the National Museum and Park Juliusza Słowackiego. In the same zone, an international dance collaboration between Holland-based dance studio *Dancenest* and young people from Wrocław was performed. A series of workshops also took place in Park Juliusza Słowackiego run by young artists from every corner of Europe. The emphasis on both elements of this zone was 'communication and confusion'. Photos of The Zone of Whispers can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of The Zone of Whispers*](#)

Zone of Taste: (Location: The Botanical Gardens)

The German-built Botanical Gardens became the location for *Marmalade!*, an international Polish-German collaboration whose focal point was jam. Theater der Jungen Welt, Leipzig with ECoC Wrocław, prepared this theatre and music installation covering two acres of park with a story-telling event focusing on the notion of taste memory – memories of German and Polish prewar home and the jams made by grandmothers using their well-kept secret recipes. Audiences were invited to come and see the Botanical Gardens as never seen before, to share recipes and memories from Poland and Germany. Photos of The Zone of Taste can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of The Zone of Taste*](#)

The Zone of Borders: (Location: Uniwersytecki square)

The area of Uniwersytecki Square was divided into ‘stories of departure and arrival’ told by Ukrainians living in Poland. Specially prepared border guard installations enabled audiences to move freely as performances happened throughout the day, all of which were created and performed by people of Ukrainian origin after a devising period lasting three months. Audiences were invited to come and peek into the houses and dreams of others. Photos of The Zone of Borders can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of The Zone of Borders*](#)

Puk, puk ... Kto tam? (*Knock, knock ... Who's there?*)

In order to create a trail which would enable audiences to move from one zone to another, a chain of 21 specially prepared wardrobes were placed in the connecting streets. At each wardrobe, audiences were given an opportunity to write down and leave messages for others about their dreams to travel, ‘to arrive’ or ‘to leave’. These texts were later used to inform dramaturgical decisions for *Niebo*. Photos of *Puk, puk ... Kto tam?* can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of Puk, puk... Kto tam?*](#)

And a video of events from *Flow I* can be accessed here:

- [Video of Flow I](#)

Flow II – The Wrocław Cantata: (Location: The River Odra and surrounding buildings).

This after-dark event, organized on the river Odra between Wyspa Piasek (Sand Island), Bielarska Island and the Pokoju Bridge, was designed to be a spectacle for a large city audience. Based on an initial four part scenario written by myself, Romańczuk created a musical frame – a few bars at the beginning and end of each of the four parts drawing upon music written for *Przebudzenie*. Four young composers from Germany, Poland, Israel and the Czech Republic were then commissioned to write sections of a symphonic cantata based on Romańczuk's framing device. The piece was performed by an orchestra drawn from orchestras and choirs from four nations intimately related to the history of Wrocław.⁴²

Dramaturgy of the Cantata

A series of meetings and research sessions took place in Wrocław during 2015 and 2016, led by myself, Romańczuk and Musical Director and conductor Alan Urbanek, to support the composers in their writing. Huge significance was placed upon developing links between the institutions from which these young composers came in an attempt to deepen the links and cultural impact of the project for years to come.

All composers were given the prepared scenario for the cantata and music prepared by Romańczuk. After negotiations it was agreed that each composer would take responsibility for a given movement and not co-write movements as I had first suggested. In chapter two of the thesis I examine

⁴² **Composers:** Jiří Kabát (Czech Republic), Udi Perlman (Academy of Music and Dance, Jerusalem, Israel), Adam Porębski (Music Academy of Karol Lipinski in Wrocław, Poland) and Amir Shpilman (Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber, Dresden, Germany) composed the four parts of the cantata over a period of almost a year.

Orchestra: The Orchestra of the Beethoven Academy, The Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance Chamber Choir, members of the Jerusalem Academy's Mendy Rodan Symphony Orchestra, Karol Lipinski Music Academy in Wrocław, Music Conservatory in Pardubice, Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber from Dresden, Chamber Choir Le Colisee Erkelenz, Academic choir Camerata Jagiellonica from Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Academic choir of University of Life Sciences in Lublin, choir of University of Life Sciences in Wrocław, Gaudium choir of University in Wrocław, Ars Cantandi – choir of Wrocław University of Economics.

in detail the nature of the writing process of *The Wrocław Cantata*.

Multimedia and Boats

Parallel to the development of the music, a video-mapping, lighting and design process was also initiated. *Flow II* was to be a multidisciplinary media event with a live orchestral performance at its core. The buildings around the river, including the Cathedral and other church buildings, were to reinforce the narrative lines developed by the music. More than fifty boats were incorporated into the performance and cast as actors in the show, becoming integral to the story of the movement of refugees in times of war in twentieth-century Wrocław. Photos and a video of the entire performance can be accessed here:

- [Photos of Flow II](#)
- [Video of Flow II](#)

Niebo (Location: Hala Stulecia)

Six months after *Flow*, the final event, *Niebo*, the closing ceremony of Wrocław ECoC 2016, took place at one of the most symbolic and emblematic buildings in Europe. Hala Stulecia, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, was designed by German architect Max Berg for Breslau and constructed between 1911 and 1913.⁴³

There was no mention in this particular exhibition that Berg was German and the city was German and called Breslau. When it became Wrocław in 1945, the building rapidly hosted the *Recovered Territories Exhibition* and the *World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace* which Pablo Picasso, Bertolt Brecht, Irene Joliot-Curie, Tadeusz Kotarbiński, Anna Seghers, Jorge Amado, Zofia Nałkowska and Michaił Szołochow all attended.

⁴³ One of the greatest ironies to this day is how names remain contested sites for asserting identities, as attested by this quotation from an exhibition in the main reception hall in Hala Stulecia in December 2016: ‘Together with the development of democracy, other buildings will be constructed making ideas and art available for everybody ... in the prewar period Wrocław has already created its own ‘cathedral of democracy’ <http://halastulecia.pl/en/about-the-hall/history/recovered-territories-exhibition/>

The rehearsals for *Niebo* began in October 2016 in the same space as the opening ceremony – a converted train-making factory in which Jewish slave labour made armaments during the 1940s when the city was Breslau. On a key occasion, the presence of visitors in rehearsal nudged both the dramaturgy and the performances in various ways. To understand this more fully one would need to consider events which led to the deterioration in the independence of public broadcasting in late 2016 in Poland under the national PiS government. This will be the subject of Chapter Three.

Niebo synthesised and advanced many elements prepared in *Mosty*, *Przebudzenie* and *Flow*. Musical collaborations between composers and orchestras and choirs culminated in *Niebo*, and narrative and dramaturgical ideas were extended and introduced into the fictional character development for the first time in the *Flow Quartet*. Multimedia projections, the architectural form of the building and the re-use of the ‘Spirits’ of Wrocław and associated costumes allowed for a heightened dramaturgical plane to be achieved. One hundred citizens of Wrocław, from 4 year old children to 84 year old women, from prisoners to Ukrainian refugees, from Israeli musicians to professional Wrocław actresses, made a performance which explored, through fictional constructions and lived non-fictional experience, the consequences of the city’s multicultural inheritance.

Niebo was narrated by a mysterious woman who first entered the stage from the audience. She provoked the action, introduced the city to the audience, and introduced the character Nina. In the opening minutes Nina is working in the city, cooking and feeding the workers who are building and maintaining its infrastructure. Nina falls in love with a circus performer called Bluebird. Their child, Anna (and the second important woman in this story) is seen growing up. Yet the city also changes and both Nina and Anna are transformed into ‘others’ by neighbours and colleagues. The narrator did not explain why. War breaks out and the increasing isolation and vulnerability of mother and daughter envelops their lives. In a bombing raid, Nina is killed and her Bluebird also dies as the war envelops the city.

Anna survives the war. She witnesses the complete abandonment of the city by its occupants – her fellow citizens. She is the only one who remains. After a moment of silence in the music new

people begin to arrive. Anna is a witness of history as her presence on stage links one epoch to another. Anna meets and falls in love with one of the new arrivals, Josef, a new arrival from the East. At first Anna is rejected by the new citizens, as she is clearly a ‘remainder’ from other times – but only thanks to her relation to Josef does she begin to gain acceptance. They have a child called Maria, the third important woman in the narrative. Maria goes to school as a child and later to university to study architecture and, significantly, takes part in political demonstrations and is attacked by riot police. We will return to this in Chapter Three of the thesis.

In the last few moments of the show the mysterious narrator takes the place of the actress playing the 22 year old Maria. It is revealed that she, the narrator, is Maria.

Maria the narrator directs the building of the steeple as it is placed upon the ‘Spirits’ – the key image from *Przebudzenie*. She then oversees the raising of the bell into the steeple also as seen in *Przebudzenie* almost a whole year before. It is Maria who rings the bell. And at this moment the question from *Przebudzenie* in January 2016, ‘who is this woman?’, is finally answered. The woman who rings the bell is representing three generations of women and the three principal ethnic and religious traditions of the city. At last, after a year has elapsed, the audience who saw *Przebudzenie* have an answer. The bell is rung by all of the city’s ancestors as personified in Maria. Photos of Niebo rehearsals can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of Niebo Rehearsals*](#)

Design: The design of the show was based on three interlocking elements:

Two Holes

Two holes in the floor of Hala Stulecia were specially constructed. Through these holes the whole cast (around 100 people) could enter and exit the stage – acting as a poetic metaphor for those who left the city and arrived in the city during the twentieth-century. This idea was inspired by the sculpture in a Wrocław street entitled, ‘Pomnik Anonimowego Przechodźnia’ (The Statue of the Anonymous Walker) in which some people are seen disappearing into the ground with others

appearing on the other side of the street.

The Spirits of Wrocław

Designed by Philippe Geffroy for *Przebudzenie*, each ‘spirit’ represents a different part of the soul of the city: rebuilding, flood, many faiths, and innovation. In *Przebudzenie*, these Spirits travelled through the streets of Wrocław, waking up the town and telling multiple stories about each of their souls. Their return to this show was deeply symbolic. Not only did they represent the four essences of the city, but the architect behind their ‘coming together’ is our narrator. It is she who raised the bell in *Przebudzenie*.

The Spirits were important characters in their own rights in *Niebo*. They are seen rising up from 3.5 to six metres, but then being destroyed and collapsing. We, the audience, see how much effort it takes to rebuild them again – there are no hidden machines, all is done by rope and human force and muscle, in front of the eyes of the audience – another central metaphor of this city.

At the climax of the performance, the four Spirits were physically reunited and a fifth element, the steeple, is flown in from the sky (*niebo*). Of course, this is not magic. It is the consequence of human ingenuity overseen by the narrator, Maria. And embedded in the geometric design of the steeple is her symbolic message: the three religious geometric patterns associated with the religions of the city, and with her own family, are present ... for those who wish to see. Photos of open rehearsals and the final performance can be accessed here:

- [*Photos of Niebo – Open Rehearsal*](#)
- [*Photos of Niebo – Performance*](#)

Multimedia use of Hala Stulecia

The walls and floors of the building were used to create the feeling that the audience is immersed in the event. Designed by Pawel Pajak (lighting) and Piotr Masuszak (animation), the work incorporates images of the city drawn from the entire twentieth-century. Photos of multimedia and

projections offer an insight into how the walls and architecture of the building were drawn into a dramaturgical role (The videos of the performance concentrate more on action and less on the projections and animations).

- [*Photos of Multimedia and Projection*](#)

Music

The music for *Niebo* was a synthesis of the musical collaboration between the five composers for *The Wrocław Cantata* and music written and performed for *Przebudzenie*. As with the design, dramaturgy and rehearsal techniques, *Niebo* set out to create a performance from a synthesis of all the work achieved in the previous three parts of the *The Flow Quartet*. The composition process is discussed in Chapter Two. The following two videos are of full performances of *Niebo*. The first is in Polish while the second is with an English voice over:

- [*Live Video of Niebo in Polish*](#)
- [*Live Video of Niebo with English Voice-over*](#)

This chapter has contextualised the video and photographic evidence associated with the four performances of *The Flow Quartet* and introduced key concepts such as citizen-centred dramaturgy and Teatro de Creación. In Chapter Two we deepen our theoretical exploration of the practice by examining musical ways of bearing witness to trauma and how history and memory are entangled in a political struggle to determine the significance of the past in the present.

CHAPTER TWO

The Wrocław Cantata – Biography, Testimony, Witness in Music

Poland, like other countries going through the painful process of transformation, has to deal with a set of questions about ways of handling the past. Is the proper arrangement of present, past and future a necessary condition for the sound functioning of society? Is it possible to construct time in which people make crucial political decisions? How broad are the limits of the manipulation of time? Is social amnesia a requisite condition for the well-being of a society in transition? (Koczanowicz 2008: x)

It is interesting to see how Wrocław-based philosopher Leszek Koczanowicz highlights the presence of social amnesia as a potential requisite for well-being in society. Some would suggest, myself included, that it is equally likely that social amnesia can be a result of the very collective trauma often intentionally provoked by the political lie.⁴⁴ While Koczanowicz goes on to distinguish between social time and political time, this chapter will suggest that, alongside these two forms of time, we can identify a third category – that of musical time, or aesthetic time. I suggest that musical time can act as a kind of distinct witness to historical events.

Hannah Arendt, Adam Michnik and Cathy Caruth - Regaining a Sense of Biography

In his book *In Search of Lost Meaning*, Polish historian, journalist and Solidarność activist Adam Michnik reflects upon the early 1980's during Martial Law in Poland. From his first-hand experience of the country's transition from communism to democracy he analyses the nature of the historical lie as a political weapon, and with considerable irony shows how the same lie is perpetuated in contemporary political discourse. He describes how 1980's police denunciations of Solidarność activists have again been used to condemn these very same activists almost thirty years after the fall of communism. He concludes: 'The experience of that time, historical and personal, cannot be spoken of in the language of police denunciations... we ourselves must attempt to comprehend what we managed to accomplish. We must regain the sense of our own biographies.' (Michnik 2011: 23)

⁴⁴ See Aguilar, P. (2002) *Memory and Amnesia – The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* and Assenova, M., Baldwin C. (2010) *1989 – Mapping the Northwest Bulgaria: Applied Theatre and the Teaching of Disputed Histories*, p. 7.

Hannah Arendt also offers insights into the intimate relationship between politics and the political lie in her writings some decades earlier. In *Truth and Politics* (1967) and *Lying in Politics* (1971), she reflects upon the consequences of historical facts being reconfigured or denied, the political lie, as an overt political strategy. If politics is important as the place in which the individual and group can ‘act’ within the Greek ‘polis’, then the political lie is a strategy in which action can be diverted. The political lie is therefore designed as a political action within itself and one deployed with systematic intent to alter the course of history. As Caruth reminds us the public realm in the modern world is not only the place of political action that creates history but also the place of the political lie that denies it.

Arendt (1967) distinguishes between ‘the *traditional* political lie’ and ‘the *modern* political lie’. The traditional political lie, she asserts,

so prominent in the history of diplomacy and statecraft, used to concern either true secrets – data that had never been made public – or intentions, which anyhow do not possess the same degree of reliability as accomplished facts; like everything that goes on merely inside ourselves, intentions are only potentialities, and what was intended to be a lie can always turn out to be true in the end.⁴⁵

Her description of the traditional political lie places emphasis on the presence of certain mitigating circumstances;

Moreover, the traditional lie concerned only particulars and was never meant to deceive literally everybody; it was directed at the enemy and was meant to deceive only him. These two limitations restricted the injury inflicted upon truth to such an extent that to us, in retrospect, it may appear almost harmless. Since facts always occur in a context, a particular lie – that is, a falsehood that makes no attempt to change the whole context – tears, as it were, a hole in the fabric of factuality. As every historian knows, one can spot a lie by noticing incongruities, holes, or the junctures of patched-up places. As long as the texture as a whole is kept intact, the lie will eventually show up as if of its own accord. The second limitation concerns those who are engaged in the business of deception. They used to belong to the restricted circle of statesmen and diplomats, who among themselves still knew and could preserve the truth. They were not likely to fall victims to their own falsehoods; they could deceive others without deceiving themselves. Both of these mitigating circumstances of the old art of lying are noticeably absent from the manipulation of facts that confronts us today.⁴⁶

In contrast, the modern political lies,

deal efficiently with things that are not secrets at all but are known to practically everybody. This is obvious in the case of rewriting contemporary history under the eyes of those who witnessed it, but it is equally true in image-making of all sorts, in which, again, every known

⁴⁵ Arendt (1993) *Between Past and Future* (p. 251).

⁴⁶ Arendt, H. (1993) *Between Past and Future* (p. 253).

and established fact can be denied or neglected if it is likely to hurt the image; for an image, unlike an old-fashioned portrait, is supposed not to flatter reality but to offer a full-fledged substitute for it. And this substitute, because of modern techniques and the mass media, is, of course, much more in the public eye than the original ever was. [. . .]⁴⁷

The extensive and systematic rewriting of history not only negates the history of the past but moves forward to the creation of what Caruth calls an ‘entirely fictitious world’ (Caruth 2014: 43). This has fundamental consequences for any society’s ability to identify and respond to the outbreak and repercussions of collective and intergenerational trauma. Collective trauma, I suggest, can often be seen as a desired outcome of the political lie. Consequently, it is only an array of cultural practices, of which citizen-centred dramaturgy is one, which can attempt to explicitly engage, reveal and re-narrate history from, in the words of Michnik, ‘the sense of our own biographies’, and thus thereby limit the harm. This chapter examines the implications of this within the context of the preparation and performance of the music for *The Wrocław Cantata* and *Flow*.⁴⁸

If the political lie is an attempt to create an entirely fictitious world, then a major consequence of such a strategy is, as Derrida points out, ‘the annihilation of the capacity to bear witness’ (Caruth 2013: 78). Cultural practitioners have often felt the imperative to address the themes of collective trauma and the politics of memory. Polish filmmakers Andrzej Wajda and Pawel Pawlikowski repeatedly examine the confusions, traumas and consequences of history as denial and, if not annihilation, then clearly the fracturing of witnessing. Major compositions by Polish composers Henryk Górecki and Krzysztof Penderecki also make such themes central to their work and have influenced younger generations of Polish composers.⁴⁹

The Wound and its Voice

Here we encounter a key concern in this thesis; the nature and relationship of *the wound* (in

⁴⁷ Arendt, H. (1993) *Between Past and Future* (p. 253).

⁴⁸ See Appendix Two

⁴⁹ Andrzej Wajda: *Człowiek z Marmuru* (Man of Marble) (1976), *Bez Znieczulenia* (Without Anaesthesia) (1978), *Człowiek z Żelaza* (Man of Iron) (1981), and Pawel Pawlikowski *Ida* (2014) examine the confusions, traumas and consequences of history as denial and the fracturing of witnessing. Polish composers Henryk Górecki *Third Symphony* (1976) and Krzysztof Penderecki’s *Polish Requiem* (1980-2005) also approach these themes. *Wrocław Cantata* composer Adam Porębski refers to both composers in his interview with me.

this case social, intergenerational trauma in Wrocław and Poland) to *the voice* which attempts to articulate this wound (in this case the art and processes associated with *The Flow Quartet*). Caruth articulates this more thoroughly than most. Her work, both as theorist and writer, is profoundly influenced by Freud's writings on trauma. Trauma, she suggests, '... is much more than a pathology, or the simple illness of a wounded psyche: it is always the story of a wound that cries out, that addresses us in the attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available'. (Caruth 1996: 4).

Ruth Leys draws our attention to Caruth for over-emphasising the disruptive effects of trauma without giving enough regard to the path to recovery (Leys 2000: 15-16). The disorientating effects and political consequences of prolonged periods of unaddressed collective trauma upon a society have already been mentioned in this thesis. I assert that an approach to recovery which helps individuals and communities bring a historical perspective to what has happened to them, and to do so through cultural means such as the ones described in this chapter predicated on intercultural dialogue, is one approach. As Caruth points out:

If Freud turns to literature to describe traumatic experience, it is because literature, like psychoanalysis, is interested in the complex relation between knowing and not knowing, and it is at this specific point at which knowing and not knowing intersect that the psychoanalytic theory of traumatic experience and the language of literature meet. (Caruth 1996: 3)

Caruth's use of the word 'literature' is too narrow in the context of this thesis. Here we can afford to widen it, replace it with the phrase *citizen-dramaturgy and creation*. Here we are interested in the 'regaining the sense of our own biographies' for the four young composers tasked with writing *The Wrocław Cantata*, and how this was facilitated by myself, as curator, by clinging to something akin to Lanzmann's notion of blindness and refusal to understand as an 'ethical and operative attitude'. In the preparation of this chapter I conducted online interviews with the four composers responsible for the writing of *The Wrocław Cantata*. The interviews, most lasting around one hour, were recorded and transcribed word for word. Shortened versions were prepared for inclusion within this thesis.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ All edited interviews, unedited transcripts and audio recordings are available [here](#).

The interview with composer Amir Shpilman raised an important example of how Poland's most recent memory legislation indicates something about the ways history, memory and collective trauma are entangled in a continuing political struggle. On the front page of his score he dedicated his work to 'the memory of my beloved grandfather, Avraham Shpilman, who escaped from Europe and the Neustadt and Shpilman families, who were murdered in Poland during the Second World War.'⁵¹

On receiving the score the official reply from ECoC management was forthright:

The dedication constitutes a beautiful image in memory of your family members. However, the expression you have used '... who were murdered **in Poland** during the Second World War' is highly inappropriate. I am sending you below the precise justification concerning this situation which is suggested by the words used by you 'in Poland'. I therefore ask you to use the correct expression in the following form '**in concentration camps set up by the Nazi Germany in the territory of the occupied Poland**'. And if you meant only geographic context - it is better to write '**in the territory of the occupied Poland by the Nazi Germany**'.⁵²

This instance of the application of a supposed memory law is all the more interesting as it seems to have preceded the introduction of a new law by more than twenty months.⁵³ Yet the use of memory and collective trauma to service a political struggle was also raised by *The Wrocław Cantata* composer Udi Perlman, from the Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance, Israel:

Now it has become a very big industry with high-school students in Israel around the age of 17-18, right before they are about to finish high school education and start mandatory service in the Israeli army, they are taken to Poland for about a week and they go to Auschwitz-Birkenau and Treblinka and Majdanek and Warsaw to see the ghetto. It is part of the education system ... of the teaching [of] history ... there is a lot of criticism from different parts of society about this kind of trip basically [because] it is a kind of indoctrination. And the narrative that is presented is immediately related to upcoming military service. So basically they make an immediate connection between modern history and the fact that they are going to the army and that they need to protect the country and never again! So, it is a very common phenomenon and it is well funded by Israeli government – this is a complex issue.⁵⁴

Aesthetic Responses to Collective Trauma and Healing

As already mentioned in Chapter One, short musical introductions and closing quotations for

⁵¹ [Full interview with Amir Shpilman](#)

⁵² Email, producers ECoC Wrocław 2016.

⁵³ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/full-text-of-polands-controversial-holocaust-legislation/>

⁵⁴ [Full interview with Udi Perlman](#)

each of *The Wrocław Cantata* movements were prepared by lead composer Pawel Romańczuk. These were to act to frame the whole work which otherwise was without form. The composers of the four movements were given scores and a wav file containing detailed written scenarios and all four musical introductions and closings:

- [*Wrocław Cantata: The four musical quotations*](#)

While three composers agreed to work within the frame of this game, composer Shpilman categorically refused to do so. An Israeli composer living in Berlin, and composer of the second movement ‘Destruction’, his work drew on both his family history in Poland during the Second World War and his service in an elite Israeli military unit. In my interview with him he said:

The story is that my grandfather came from Poland – from Nowy Sącz, as we talked about during the process, and this is something that was never spoken about in the family, never by him – for sure. But some remote cousins of my father found a book in Yiddish that described that town. And in the book there is a description – very clear description of a witness, of a witnessing [of] a pogrom ... by Polish people, by Polish neighbours at the beginning of the war when probably people felt that ... Hitler was coming to power and invading Poland everything [was] OK to do. And basically most of the family were murdered in their beds at night in a pogrom. And the ones who survived died in the German death camps. So that was very sensitive story for me and [through] doing this process I thought a lot about my grandfather, who was a pioneer in Israel, who built roads and worked the land and left [Poland] at a very young age. And actually during this process I had some kind of maybe psychoanalysis of this unfolding of feelings where I somehow oversaw him [imagined him] – I did not see him as my grandfather but as a young boy, as a young man and trying to think how does it feel that I am maybe in his age back then – and for the first time I saw him as someone younger and not as a grandfather. I think that was very helpful. So obviously this opened many emotions and made the project very complicated emotionally for me.⁵⁵

In both the preparation of scores and in rehearsals, Shpilman dismantled expectations of many of the musical colleagues and artists tasked with responding to his work. As the score demonstrates, Shpilman was uncompromising in his determination to reconfigure any expectation of linear musical narrative, time sequence or counting, the very way musicians and singers were to make sounds from their instruments and the printing of notation and score. His musical solutions disrupted and pulverised linear narrative, western chord sequences and rhythmic bar conventions consistent with

⁵⁵ [Full interview with Amir Shpilman](#)

any classical tradition. His intention seemed to be to destroy music itself – until, that is, the music came together in rehearsal and performance. Only in late rehearsals did his aesthetic and his argument become clear. His aesthetic response to collective trauma was to ‘traumatise’ every musical expectation that raised its head. Maria Cizmic, in her thesis of music and trauma in Eastern Europe, points out that ‘Because music’s ability to reference reality and convey some kind of content tends to be more oblique than other media, it is just as relevant to consider whether the formal features of an aesthetic work can also bear witness to trauma’ (2011, p.18). Shpilman’s score can be accessed here;

- [*Score Movement Two: ‘Destruction’*](#)

So radical and disruptive were Shpilman’s demands of musicians that a series of training videos were prepared to teach musicians and singers from four countries how to reconfigure their playing styles accordingly. The videos demonstrate this in detail:

- [*Videos of teaching musicians and singers how to use their instruments*](#)

Shpilman’s composition technique, a hybrid version of micropolyphony, a term which composer György Ligeti uses to describe a ‘net-structure’, is apparently at first about disruption, if not destruction, of melody and rhythm.⁵⁶ Yet Shpilman inserts a melody which was recognisably traditional with words in Yiddish and sung by a child. The effect is immediately startling:

- [*Link to sound file of child singing*](#)

While destroying almost all melodies, linear narratives and classical time notation, was it a coincidence that one melody was allowed to remain intact? After minutes of music in which the destruction of melodic conventions seemed overwhelming, the voice of this child emerges from the cacophony. This musical image was later to become central to the final work in *The Flow Quartet, Niebo*. When the voice of the child is heard it is at the turning point of the performance; where her

⁵⁶ For more on micropolyphony, György Ligeti and ‘net-structure’, see: <http://qutmusic.pbworks.com/w/page/4663881/micropolyphony>

father and mother are dead and Breslau is on the brink of becoming Wrocław.⁵⁷ Once again we encounter the transformative power of regaining ‘the sense of our own biographies’. Shpilman explained this as follows in my interview with him:

I had a lot of historic descriptions in your text but there was also a text about the deportation of the Jews, of the Jewish Community. I also related to that and I went and met the head of the Jewish community and the head of the Synagogue in Wrocław. I tried to include them in the piece ... how could I make a personal inclusion of the local community in a moving way for these people? And Bente Kahan told me [as] we ... brainstormed together ... that her father was an Auschwitz survivor and that after the war a lot of them ended up in Paris [in] some kind of a transition camp ... and in Paris, he was among other survivors from other places and he heard someone singing in Yiddish. And because her father was a cantor, a singer, he wrote down the words and the melody ... He used to sing it to her and the lyrics, the title of the song is ‘Mami bite kumen tsurik’ in Yiddish – ‘Mummy, please come back’. And it is basically a child who lost her mother and is crying and asking for her mother to come back. And then Bente grew up to become a Yiddish specialist and taught her daughter how to sing that song in very articulately perfect Yiddish and made that recording of her daughter, Voja Kahan Gleichgewicht, when she was 8. Now her daughter was already 21. But when I heard this recording I had tears in my eyes – it was very strong – I played it to my mother – I played it to my family and it was a very, very moving gesture.

Czech composer Jiří Kabát (born 1984) was responsible for writing Movement Three – ‘Silence and Reawakening’. His choice of lyrics also seem to bear witness to the theme of absence:

I chose from ‘The Book of Lamentations’ because I thought [of] a lamentation over the streets of Jerusalem ... like crying over the destroyed Jerusalem... First of all, I started from Pawel [Romańczuk] and then ... I wanted to use the Bach choir speaking – [to represent] the day after the communism, because the song was in German and was saying ‘there is no peace in my soul still, it has not still brought peace in my soul’. That was what the choir sang ... so I chose the special motif of the beginning of this Bach music as a second theme.⁵⁸

To develop his musical landscape further, Shpilman approached building sounds in a clinical way, virtually devoid of emotion. He drew upon his experience as a soldier and of violence to construct the nature of sound in these circumstances:

How can I make the performer become themselves with my material ... so that the material [remains] authentic – what does a bullet shot sound like? What is the rhythm of it? How does it echo? How does a gun, how does a bomb, sound? How do the sounds of war unfold in musical notation? – when we are thinking about the precision of it, or the procession of the event, the back blow – all these details that we hear, that we feel... It is not just the explosion itself...it is the ramifications of the explosion and, for me, this is first-hand artistic material.

⁵⁷ In *Niebo*, six months after *Flow*, the audience witnesses this same child growing up and giving birth to her own child with her husband from Lviv in 1945. In the play we see the daughter becoming the architect of a new Wrocław, built upon a recognition of all the traditions which constitute the history of the city. A musical process which began with emphasising ‘the sense of our own biographies’ is here placed into a wider generational story about trauma and confusion and recovery. The degree to which this closing image actually reflected Polish political reality or acted more as a means to measure a political breach remains unclear

⁵⁸ [Full interview with Jiří Kabát](#)

Yet while the ‘authenticity of sound’ is important to him, a second layer of socio-dramaturgical ideas also emerges:

If we look today at the examples of the Arab Spring – or Occupy Wall Street or other movements we see that they did not really have clear leadership – these were many different groups, with many different motives, who somehow had a collective awareness to come together on that day, to make a demonstration. And that really fascinates me – how we can take something so structural, and so hierarchical, like an orchestra, and by composing make it become more malleable? ... So if I give general instructions – like ‘Drift up’ – that gives enough space for someone to take part in it – but if I have to be micro managing each player – then I give less space to this collective awareness that we all have – We are all going up right now – OK – then there is this mass movement of going up and on the way interesting artistic things happen.

In answer to one question about approaches to configuring sounds, Shpilman described how technical solutions needed to be justified by returning to the dramaturgy. He said that in our meetings and discussions I, as curator, had helped him to find an appropriate compositional form:

[We] talked a lot about community and different communities and trying to think about the place of the individual within these communities and the place of each individual between all these events – while reading your text, your historic research, describing the street to street fighting, the artillery, the siege of the Soviets, the German soldiers [who] according to your text eventually, towards the end of the war, were not German Soldiers anymore but only German children who Hitler used during the fighting. All these descriptions from your text helped me to form a shape of events, and I was thinking more about images, imagery and things come and go, things appear and disappear and I was trying to see how can I make every player of this community – the orchestra community or a big choir community – be an independent voice within these sets of images and what I – the composition technique that I used is called micro-polyphony. And that is why there was this huge division – initially for 16 voice parts, later on, reduced to 8 voice parts – but for me, it was very important for each individual to have its solo part within the global picture.⁵⁹

Rehearsal sound files can be accessed here:

- [*Movement Two: Destruction – Rehearsal Sound File*](#)

As Cizmic states, ‘postmodern fascination with a collapse of linear conceptions of history resonates with the understanding of trauma as a ‘disease of time’ ... fragmented memories return unintentionally through flashbacks and nightmares and blur the distinction between past and present. If an individual’s experience of trauma causes a breakdown in the linear nature of personal memory, how might this manifest in aesthetic responses to trauma?’ (Cizmic 2011: 13).

⁵⁹ [Full interview with Amir Shpilman.](#)

The first movement of *The Wrocław Cantata*, ‘Construction and Rhythm’ (later renamed ‘Concerning Spring’ after the 1928 poem by Bertolt Brecht) was written by composer Udi Perlman. While taking a radically different approach to Shpilman, he was equally conscious of the socio-political/historical context of his writing.⁶⁰ Perlman’s score can be accessed here;

- [*Movement One: Construction and Rhythm – Score*](#)

In terms of the artistic challenge I liked the idea also of the opening... I learned about the age – I found it fascinating and that there were so many options to explore. So, that was my choice of the movement. I would say – even though there were so many concrete, actual, things to refer to – we talked about the choreography, the dance and architecture... Maybe the fact that I am also from Israel and Jewish – and I felt also that this time in history is even in a way, even more connected as a catastrophe to my life, at least to my modern identity as a Jew. I mean at that time there was a kind of international Jew, I mean Breslau was a Rabbinical centre and very important for the religious aspects of the Judaism. But for me as non-religious, as a secular Jew, it was just very interesting to see the role of Jewish authors and Jewish thinkers and Jewish architects at this time and these things were all in my mind while writing I would say.⁶¹

Yet where Shpilman’s approach is micropolyphonic, Perlman takes a contrasting approach. In my interview with Perlman it is striking to note how many times he uses the word ‘swirling’ or ‘swirl’ to describe his sense of the Weimar Republic. He states at one point: ‘I tried to depict all these things in the music... in a more abstract way – trying to relate to what I felt was the most prominent characteristic or aspect of this time, of this period. Which was something I would say – subjective – kind of emotional – this feeling of constant progression and constant change and things...being not stable’.⁶²

Perlman's approach to composition, depicting the chaos, flux and swirling of events in the Weimar period, is one based on the most emblematic of Western music – the utilization of the interval cycles of the fifth/seventh. Rehearsal sound files can be accessed here;

- [*Movement One: Rehearsal Sound File*](#)

I analysed it from a musical theory aspect – how I expressed these ideas through musical terms. I used as an embryonic form for the whole piece one interval – which is the interval of the fifth. And this interval is – you can say – the most connotative, the most basic interval

⁶⁰ This movement was later renamed ‘Concerning Spring’

⁶¹ [Full interview with Udi Perlman.](#)

⁶² [Full interview with Udi Perlman.](#)

in Western music. When you move from tonic to dominant – which is the basic progression of Western harmony – that is the interval. So you hear that and it is very clear. That is on one hand – but on the other hand – the same interval at the beginning of the century, by composers like... Schoenberg or Charles Ives in America used this very same interval in order to create kind of satirising. This interval, using it extensively like – instead of just doing once – tan tan tan, did it tan taan taaaan taaaaan taaaaaan – again and again and again – this kind of a swirl into a loop – they created very modern nonconventional musical structures. This was more of an unconscious decision but from a musical theory point of view – everything is derived from structures, from this very basic interval – and I chose it because I felt that on the one hand I could allude to this Brechtian idea of the lost spring because of very traditional connotations but on the other hand a feeling which is so much a characteristic of this Weimar republic time – things fast moving and governments changing every week – such a swirl.⁶³

Wrocław-born Adam Porębski's approach to the historical canvas of Movement Four 'Rebuilding Flood Rebuilding', was distinct again. Born in 1990, the dramaturgical arc of this movement coincided with the arc of his own early life. While conscious of this, Porębski insisted that such biographical considerations could never be at the forefront of any musical decision making. In my interview with him I asked if there was any relationship between the history of his family and what he wrote about in the movement:

It is an interesting question because I don't know actually how it works – I am a composer, yes, so I can write music, I can write notes and sometimes I don't know why I write this kind of notes and what about the sense of the notes, because I think – I am composer – so what can I do is – I can steer the music to obtain for example feeling, climax, and emotions... I think – I can't say that in my music we can hear influences from world war, from my family, from the history of Wrocław after 1990, I don't know – maybe some musicologist can do.⁶⁴

Czech Jiří Kabát insists that his decision to tell a story of Wrocław's post-war period was deeply rooted in his own knowledge of post-war Czech history. Through a comparative analysis of both countries' histories of war and communism, Kabát settled on a form of musical witnessing embedded in empathy:

... first of all was the nature of the city that was destroyed and rebuilt. That is something we hadn't experienced in the Czech Republic at all ... we had no bombs and nothing was destroyed... and the second thing was that I was thinking about the music, describing it ... and when you think – there is this peace which is after the war and people are fascinated by that... in our country they actually voted for the communists by themselves and there wasn't much of the pushing now. People were just so happy that the Russians ended this Nazi occupation... so that was the first joy and I think it lasted just a few years. Then they saw there were these monster processes in Czech – they were executing many people, including

⁶³ Ibid. Please see the Appendix to the Interview in which Perlman writes about the 5th/7th Interval Cycles and its application to this movement.

⁶⁴ [Full Interview with Adam Porębski](#)

you know probably Milada Horáková and then they started to execute some communists as well. You know, they were trying to find out inner and outer enemies ... The will of the people who were at first happy that the war is over and then in their souls they knew this is not the real freedom, that it is something else and we want it but we can't have it yet. So this was the thing that I liked and that I wanted to put in my music.⁶⁵

Kabát's score and rehearsal sound files can be accessed here:

- [*Movement Three Score*](#)
- [*Movement Three Rehearsal Sound File*](#)

The four composers discussed in this chapter have been examined with regard to how their composition choices and techniques reflect various perspectives of how music can act as testament and as a witness to history. We will now examine how one of the same movements can be used to explore the notion of cultural practice as a rehearsal for democracy.

Rehearsing democracy through rehearsal

In moving from testament to healing within a collective context, one approaches a theme familiar to many post-authoritarian countries in both Europe and beyond – how can democratic societies be nurtured when embedded within a historical legacy of authoritarianism? As political philosopher Leszek Koczanowicz points out, for pragmatist philosophers John Dewey and George Herbert Mead ‘... democracy is a system of habits and ways of doing things that express themselves in institutions and procedures, and not the other way around. Democracy, thus, has to be anchored in a community defined by a form of life ...’ (Koczanowicz 2015: 91-2).

In his explanation of ‘the politics of dialogue’ Koczanowicz asserts that this pragmatist concept of democracy has been attractive to many political theorists as it allows them to discard the tight corset of the procedural notion of democracy and look for alternative solutions. Dewey's reasoning that democracy was an open-ended and never-ending endeavour was an attractive response to the notion that democracy constituted a series of stable institutions which only required a few

⁶⁵ [Full interview with Jiří Kabát](#)

modifications in particular circumstances⁶⁶.

While Held suggests 'deliberative democrats put a premium on refined and reflective preferences'⁶⁷, Koczanowicz goes some way to contest the deliberative democracy consensus offering a model of critical community that fosters the understanding of difference rather than the demand for full agreement. Using the ideas of Bakhtin and carnival⁶⁸ he suggests that dialogue in democracy could be reinforced by concepts of 'critical community' and 'critical dialogue' - necessary additions where 'deliberative democracy seems to be irresistibly located among the democratic visions that see this political system as inherently interconnected with consensus. At the opposite pole, there are theories of democracy - or of society in general - which highlight its inevitably conflictual nature'.⁶⁹

In his book *Politics of Time – Dynamics of Identity in Post-Communist Poland*. (2008) Koczanowicz analyzes the changes which took place in the public and private spheres in the period of socio-political transformation in Poland and proposes a concept of democracy as social dialogue that pursues understanding rather than agreement. The experience of living under a totalitarian system, he states,

... made me highly sceptical about theories of totalitarianism which posit the system as a space in which the state exercises absolute control over individuals. The stance is most fully exemplified, of course, in Hannah Arendt's concept of totalitarianism (Arendt 1966). Such theories, however, fail to capture the fact that any totalitarian power needs an opposite pole, i.e. a hidden society of bonds, dialogue, everyday communication, spontaneous solidarity, and support. The hidden society evades gaze precisely because it is so evident that it becomes transparent and eludes all attempts at conceptualization and control. It visibly reveals itself in occasional moments of anger and rebellion only to recede into the penumbra of abstract ideologies again. This hidden society is first and foremost a society of dialogue.

A perennial challenge is to make a transition from everyday dialogue, which pervades all human bonds and relationships, to political dialogue, which could establish rules of political struggle. As my observations and analyses of the transformation period evince, democracy is not simply a system of institutions and rules, but primarily a certain form of life, an ensemble of habits, which must necessarily ensue from everyday life if it is to be effective in the first place.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Koczanowicz 2015: (p.6)

⁶⁷ Held, David (2006) *Models of Democracy*, 3rd Edition, Cambridge: Polity Press. (page 232)

⁶⁸ See Chapter 2: "Dialogue, Carnival, Democracy - Mikhail Bakhtin and Political Theory" in Koczanowicz (2015): (pages 42 to 90)

⁶⁹ Koczanowicz 2015: (p.157)

⁷⁰ quoted at <http://www.2018-2019.eurias-fp.eu/fellows/leszek-koczanowicz>

In an article written in late 2016 entitled 'The Polish Case - Community and Democracy under the PiS', Koczanowicz states,

Democratic politics cannot be reduced to agendas developed by political professionals. Ultimately, political alternatives emerge in and from spontaneous mass movements, which, to a degree, reflect society's consciousness.⁷¹

When a community is scarred by decades of collective and intergenerational trauma then the nature of the response needs to be cultural first and foremost. It is the contention of this thesis that democracy-building in post-authoritarian societies benefits greatly from those cultural projects which help 'rehearse' ways of doing things predicated on developing empathy, critical thinking, collaborative working methodologies and learning to engage with the 'other' in close proximity.

One example of this will now be examined in some detail. In the interview carried out during the writing of this thesis, Shpilman draws our attention to a notation he used which made specific demands upon the musicians preparing his work for performance. He explains the nature and purpose of a series of 'grey gestic boxes' incorporated into the score at various points:

While classical music is not a natural thing for the body – a metronome is not a natural thing for the body – it is a metrical time – it is not a human time and that is why...I put in the score a lot of spaces that are not functioning on this time level – like for example these grey (gestic) boxes – ...this idea that you can play what is written inside the box precisely if you want, but you do not have to. That is how it is written in the instruction at least – you can play in the style of what is written inside the box – you can play it in your own style, you can develop it, you can improvise it. But if you feel insecure to improvise, or insecure to take an initiative then you can just read precisely what is written and it is your own choice but that is what makes it a personal engagement with the text.⁷²

These gestic boxes, he suggests, were designed to lead to a freedom, if limited, for musicians to have an input into compositional choices. They were encouraged to work and perform autonomously at these moments yet without disregarding the musical frame of the moment – a combination of freedom and responsibility to not endanger the common aim. At such points a responsibility to act autonomously was requested from musicians and privileged over fidelity to and compliance with written notation.

Yet the reception of Shpilman's approach to composition, and his play on freedom and

⁷¹ New Left Review 102, November/December 2016 <https://newleftreview.org/II/102/leszek-koczanowicz-the-polish-case>

⁷² [Full interview with Amir Shpilman](#)

responsibility, met with significant waves of resistance from musical directors, orchestras and choirs in Poland and to a much lesser degree those in Germany and Israel. A series of negotiations between musical institutions resulted in threats to withdraw from the project from almost all Polish participants if Shpilman's work was allowed to remain incorporated into the whole event. I remained convinced that the composition's emphasis on autonomy, freedom and responsibility rather than leading to chaos actually mirrored aspects of any correctly functioning community. The movement was leading us to a fascinating possibility; the potential for creative processes, in particular rehearsals, to act as a means by which a community and thus democracy, could be rehearsed. While the complexity of certain choral divisions was reduced from 16 to 8 groupings and after negotiations incorporated by Shpilman into his score, the integrity of the work remained intact. Threatened legal action against him was avoided and his score circulated for rehearsals which began in four countries simultaneously. Shpilman's choir rehearsal sound files can be accessed here:

- [*Movement Two: Destruction – Choir Rehearsal Sound Files*](#)

Polish composer Adam Porębski, composer of Movement Four – 'Rebuilding, Flood, Rebuilding', mentioned in his interview the importance he invested in the symbolic nature of the orchestra and choir formation. Porębski's score and rehearsal sound files can be accessed here:

- [*Movement Four – Rebuilding, Flood, Rebuilding Score*](#)
- [*Movement Four – Rebuilding, Flood, Rebuilding Rehearsal Sound File*](#)

Porębski: There are lots of symbols, definitely – the orchestra and choir – meeting these people – not just playing in the concert, having rehearsals, drinking beer, talking about history, about something else ... Four composers but from totally different directions and then Alan, Paweł, you and the Wrocław people, a multicultural project. And maybe this is good – yes, it is good, because we [were] very Multi-Kulti: the same during war and before the war.

Baldwin: Are you suggesting that the construction of the orchestra and choir was a symbol of the prewar city?

Porębski: Yes, because we can speak with people from Israel, now by skype or during the project we can meet, during the rehearsal and there is nothing strange in this – nothing difficult. In 1930, during WWII people travelling was otherwise ... without planes, but the main idea was the same – you can go to Germany and live there, you can go to the Czech Republic and live there or you can go back to your country. So it was kind of symbolic meeting with those

four nations, even more.

Baldwin: It was a metaphor, a symbol of prewar Breslau – but are you suggesting that the multicultural-ness of the city did not exist after the war?

Porębski: After the war it was complicated because of closed boundaries, so we didn't have passports for example in Poland – so generally it was more difficult – now is very easy of course, without borders – so it [was a] symbolic back to the world without boundaries.

Baldwin: What other symbols do you think existed in the work? I just would like to ask you that question.

Porębski: Maybe cooperation with people not from Poland but from other countries. Cooperation like – making themes for example, or building something very important – and we cannot build only with our hands, we have to have more hands from other countries for example – so we have to be like one builder, one worker ...

Baldwin: So, there was a metaphor in the construction of the evening – with the different orchestra and choirs – and the composers, of course, becomes a metaphor for the need to find a way of working together?

Porębski: Yes, and we have one piece, one show, made by lots of different people, lots of different histories but without boundaries.⁷³

Democracy, if embedded in habits and ways of doing things, requires practice in order to reinforce civic resilience in the public realm. Communities need to rehearse their ability to identify and deflect the conditions under which collective traumas are generated by the political lie. The political lie, let us recall, is designed as a political action within itself and deployed with systematic intent to alter the course of history at regular intervals.

I have suggested in this chapter that musical rehearsals for *The Wrocław Cantata* and the approach to building dramaturgy (both musical and dramatic) through citizen-centered practice was a way to reinforce the skills required to protect the public and democratic realm. Culture, I hope, can find ways to bring people together and keep them together, even if only long enough to rehearse the fundamentals of community. This is particularly important in contemporary societies when, as Leszek Koczanowicz points out, ‘Anthropologists show that our identities are, to a considerable degree, constructed through the negation of the Other’s identity, which makes the inner tensions an intrinsic

⁷³ It is interesting to note that while Porębski mentions the multi-cultural construction of a prewar, even midwar, Breslau, the main reason he gives for a new ‘non multi-cultural’ era after WW2 is to do with the closed borders of the communist period and not Hitler’s racial wars and Stalin’s determination to create ethnically orientated post-war nations. [Full Interview with Adam Porębski](#). For an analysis of Memory Laws and Poland in March 2018 see [The Guardian](#).

part of pluralistic, democratic society' (Koczanowicz 2015: 92).

CHAPTER THREE

Returning to the Site: Tomasz Domański – Ladders and Martial Law in Wrocław

Throughout this thesis we have examined how history and collective memory can be used as means by which to manipulate a community or nation, thus setting the conditions for repeated, intergenerational trauma. Such strategies are alive and well across Poland at the time of writing this thesis.⁷⁴ Cultural practices, citizen-centred dramaturgy in particular, can contribute to the kind of resilience building in civic society which names and resists such strategies as part of a wider process of transformation. Nobel prize poet and writer Czesław Miłosz points out that such transformations begin 'The moment when society learns to consider itself as a subject, rather than as an object manipulated by those who govern.'⁷⁵ In this chapter we focus upon the nature of politically-initiated trauma as it impacts upon the human body and psyche. We will look at how this trauma formed the artist Tomasz Domański and how, 35 years later, the making of *Wolność umysłu* (Freedom of Mind) for *Przebudzenie* enabled him to bring his experiences to this large piece of public art.

When he was 20 years old, Domański spent a year in prison. In reality his punishment was to be extended over many more years. Martial law, a period in Poland which lasted from December 1981 to July 1983, enabled the communist authorities to drastically restrict normal life in an attempt to destroy the increasingly organised opposition to its rule. Thousands of people were imprisoned during the period by military courts and indeed some, like Michnik, remained in prison long after its suspension.⁷⁶ Had the consequences not been so serious, the actions which led to Domański's arrest had the hallmarks of a Dadaist happening associated with Wrocław's Orange Alternative movement.⁷⁷ Wrocław, along with Gdańsk, was a centre for resistance against the communist

⁷⁴ For an analysis of Memory Laws and Poland in March 2018 see: www.theguardian.com

⁷⁵ Czesław Miłosz's preface to Michnik, A. (1986) *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*. (xi)

⁷⁶ Michnik, A. (1986) *Letters from Prison and Other Essays* (introduction).

⁷⁷ www.cambridge.org

authorities, led by academics and students. This is discussed further in Chapter Four of this thesis. On a number of occasions resistance took the form of artist-led street happenings involving the appearance of graffiti gnomes on walls and buildings provoking from the authorities ‘responses ranging from hostility to ostensible sympathy to simple bafflement’ (Tyszka 1998 14(56): 311-323). Domański described the nature of the events leading up to his arrest in an interview with me:

When I was caught, imprisoned, I was 19. And that was in Wrocław... the situation was not really dramatic – it was pretty banal. What is most important is that it was a turning point for a young person. I wasn’t even in *Solidarność*. I was too young. When the war state [the Polish term for martial law *stan wojenny* literally translates as state of war] began, I got into printing. I was helping to print by night – illegal press [*samizdat*]. I was making photos of the police interventions and the military interventions too. I was imprisoned for running into the WKU (Wojskowej Komendzie Uzupełnień), the Military Police barracks, and leaving them some ‘wanted’ posters of General Jaruzelski! It was totally anarchist of course. This was during martial law and it was a military office. They knew who went in and who went out and they found me very quickly ... And it happened not even a month after the declaration of martial law in Poland, on 13th December 1981. Everything started to happen very fast. Martial law sanctioned special courts so they could immediately work against me. They really needed victims to feel scared. It took only three weeks from the moment they caught me to the moment they told me I was to stay in prison for three years.⁷⁸

The violence and trauma of prison was, for all its cruelty and brutality, carefully crafted and part of a political strategy extended across many institutions:

That first half year ... It was immensely depressing ... physically and psychologically. Food, torture ... everything. They tried to destroy me morally. It was normal for the prison warden in charge of us to come in the morning and say: ‘You motherfuckers, you won’t come out from here alive’. It was normal for the military forces to come in the middle of the day and begin beating us and throwing everything they had at us – to just start hitting. They tried to destroy us. We were fighting, we stopped eating, we tried to fight back in any possible way. And somehow July arrived and it got quiet. At some point the Church started to act and they actually made things better...except the fact that we were still imprisoned.

Michnik also identifies such strategies in his writing. He examines ‘the psychology of captivity’ associated with martial law and how its memory remained imprinted on the bodies and minds of many of those who lived through this collectivised trauma for decades. Prison acts on the mind by physically restricting the body. While in Białołęka prison in 1982, Michnik wrote:

A slave revolt has little in common with a movement for social or political change. The rebellious slave does free himself for a moment; but his main desire is revenge, which is rarely constructive. The rebellious slave will at best look for a better tsar, but he has been deprived of his community, his ideals, and his language ... I believe that the August 1980 workers' revolt and the activities of *Solidarność* have terminated this psychology. In those fifteen months people had a taste of freedom; they forged their solidarity and discovered their strength; they

⁷⁸ [Full interview with Tomasz Domański](#)

again felt themselves to be a civic and national community. I do not want to idealise *Solidarność* ... I know about the demagogy and baseness – residual effects of the captivity of psychology – that were present in it. But these are inevitable aspects of every mass movement and the unavoidable heritage of years of slavery. (Michnik 1986: 51)

Indeed Domański said something very similar in his interview with me. When asked if his resistance was political he answered:

Domański: There was an enemy. It was a totally different situation than today – because in those times, 35 years ago, the communists were the only enemy of the nation. There were no other enemies. And this is how I treated the whole situation ... back then we were not even thinking about democracy; we fought for freedom. Democracy was supposed to come later. So it was an inner need of a young man to stand against these dictators.

Baldwin: So that young man was able to politicize all this at that time? It was a political act?

Domański: Well, it's difficult. It's not as we understand a political act today. As much as I was young, then it was an inner need, standing against something it was political in the way everybody was politically tangled or involved in politics ... it was some kind of politics but it wasn't purely showing political options or political ideas. It was more like a young person's need to fight against the situation.

As he went on to describe the mechanism of state-induced, politically-motivated trauma was not concluded on his release from prison. Many more years of terror were to unfold in which his mental health was used as a chess piece:

Domański: I came out of prison and went to a psychiatrist to get treatment. I did not want to go back ... so I wanted to be under psychiatric care in order not to go back to prison. I simulated. I had great doctors helping me learn how to simulate. Having all the story of my illness and with the help of the doctors I came in front of the commission and I showed them the documents and all the data about my illness. They sent me to a psychiatric hospital. The interesting thing was that the hospital was on the other side of the street to the prison. So I could see the prison from the hospital!

Baldwin: I didn't know that building was on the other side of the road!

Domański: Absolutely! Amazing story. It had the same bars ... So, I was there for two months under some medical care and then after two months the amnesty for the sentence arrived. I thought that imprisonment would be the hardest time but it wasn't. So, the situation was as follows: I was in the hospital, I came out and then two months after I received a letter with an obligatory call to military service. I thought to myself, 'you wrote the leaflet against Jaruzelski⁷⁹ who is the chief of military services in Poland, so you if you go to the army it is a 100% certain death sentence. I would be putting myself into the mouth of the wolf.' And this became a three-year fight with the commission. I appeared in front of three commissions, doctors ... and simulated, simulated, simulated ... It took me three years to get through the commissions with papers fighting not to go to military service. Only after three years did they allow me to definitely, finally cancel. And these three years were an even bigger nightmare than the prison.

⁷⁹ First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (Communist Party) from 1981 to 1989 and thus leader of the People's Republic of Poland.

Adam Michnik's political, socialising stance towards his incarceration seems to have enabled him to create a form of psychic defence against its most extreme traumatic consequences – something which took much more time for the younger Domański to cultivate. Michnik avoids the categorisation of the powerless slave instead opting for a political solidarity rooted in change, community ideals and language. A prisoner held for political reasons could easily perceive their treatment as victimisation. Victims often talk of feelings of helplessness followed by being silenced. Psychiatrist Bessel van de Kolk insists that, as Michnik mentions, language is important here:

Not because language resolves the trauma, but because language at least gives you a voice and provides the possibility of being in touch with the rest of the human race. Language at least offers the possibility that people will acknowledge what happened to you, and believe you. But talking won't make it go away – it makes a connection, and it overcomes a terrible godforsaken loneliness that's part of the trauma story. (Caruth 2014: 163)

The very absence of language, speechlessness, can indicate the depth of certain traumas. As van de Kolk also points out, brain scans show how trauma patients suffer a shut down in the part of the brain responsible for the generation of symbols:

... once you realise that trauma is most of all imprinted in the spatial/emotional part of the brain, then therapy should involve moving in space, which, of course, traditional psychotherapy completely ignores. But when you start doing psycho-drama, theatre, or sandplay you actually can make use of what we know happens in trauma, and you can start resolving it by making spatial rearrangements, and not only verbal reorganisations ... The trauma is not primarily encoded in language, and insights and understanding have only tenuous pathways into the areas of the brain that hold fear and internal dissolution.⁸⁰

Domański's *Wolność umysłu (Freedom of Mind)* aimed to conjure up, through laughter, some of the strategies of political anarchy he describes in his interview; the kinds of aesthetic-political strategies which, in the words of Miłosz, even encouraged a society 'to consider itself as a subject rather than as an object manipulated by those who govern.' Photos of the project can be accessed here:

⁸⁰ Bessel van de Kolk in Caruth, C. (2014) *Listening to Trauma – Conversations with Leaders in the Theory and Catastrophic Experience*. (pp.164-166). Sandplay is a powerful therapeutic method that facilitates the psyche's natural capacity for healing. In a 'free and protected' space provided by a trained sandplay therapist, the client creates a concrete manifestation from his or her imagination using sand, water, and miniature objects, Oct 26, 2017 'What is Sandplay Therapy' – Sandplay Therapists of America, www.sandplay.org.

- [Photos of Wolnośćumysłu \(Freedom of Mind\)](#)

By considering how Wolnośćumysłu (*Freedom of Mind*) commenced, we can gain perspectives on both the relationship between trauma/body and art and also the role of the curator in citizen-centred-dramaturgy in helping the artist reach out to a public:

Domański: When you showed me the map of the route the topography of the city started to scream at me.

Baldwin: And what screamed at you?

Domański: The past, the prison screamed at me.

Baldwin: Tomasz, did you want to approach that subject or did you want to run a thousand miles in another direction? What was your reaction?

Domański: I really wanted to start work. I even remember the ladders were a common idea somehow, that it was some kind of a collective work in the end.

Baldwin: When did the ladders appear in your process? What was the next step during conceptualization? First of all you decided: okay, I can do something, I have the topography of this map screaming at me – the prison! What was the conceptual process from there?

Domański: I am a professional. I remember the idea of the ladders as a common idea, as something that came out of the meeting. Ladders ... running away from the prison ... but for me that was too simple. But then I thought: 'okay, it's for the people. It has to be for the people, so it has to be understood'. What I was searching for then was some kind of philosophical understanding of those ladders. And that's when the biblical dream of Jacob appeared... The ladders were supposed to be a kind of a symbol. Symbolic in the way that Jacob dreams about climbing a ladder to the Heavenly Kingdom, so the ladder as a symbol of getting into the new world, the Solidarność, the freedom, the new future, a better world ... [T]he second element was the catapult, the leaflet boxes, you know, that were exploding, which were even more important. And I think even now that there weren't enough of them. So what was the idea? To bring in an element of positive destruction. In all those kinds of events, people's events, there is this atmosphere of something simple, something nice. And those leaflets were supposed to turn over this situation, bring some kind of uncomfortable element. Because those leaflets being thrown from the catapult were copies of governmental leaflets. They were official governmental information leaflets about martial law.

These leaflets can be accessed here:

- [Leaflet 1: Detention Report](#)
- [Leaflet 2: Synchronisation](#)

Baldwin: Let's talk about the leaflets. They were copies of the original, early 1980's leaflets distributed by the government? They were official governmental information leaflets about martial law.

Domański: Yes that was one official element. But there were parts of the police instructions, the secret communications between the police regarding how they should behave towards people in certain situations. How they should shake them up, make them scared ... So all those,

internal police instructions. These are kind of documents that usually people don't know and don't see.

Earlier it was discussed how van de Kolk's 'theatres of healing' emphasizes healing through embodying a different person, taking on a role that is different to one's habitual role. As a result, the traumatised body and brain gain an opportunity to experience what it is like to be other than one's own frozen self. Body and spatial relationships are given parity with linguistic expressions of identity and testament. In Tomasz Domański's working methodology, we see something akin to what van de Kolk is describing. Despite Domański's work being a lighting installation devoid of performers, the rehearsal and installation process involved repeated spatial visits to the site of the trauma – namely the perimeter and inside the prison. The spatial/emotional part of the brain was, as Domański himself states, being activated.

Psychoanalyst Dori Laub also raises the question of 'the imperative to tell' for many survivors of trauma: 'Survivors did not only need to survive so that they could tell their story, they also needed to tell their story in order to survive. There is in each survivor an imperative need to tell, and thus to come to know one's own story, unimpeded by ghosts of the past, against which one has to protect oneself.' (in Caruth 2014: 48)⁸¹ I asked Domański how his period in prison had affected his life. His answer seems to support Laub's notion of 'the imperative to tell':

Domański: It had a great impact on me. It was like an illumination. Like a ray of light. I realised that only the art could save me.

Baldwin: Why did you come to that conclusion? And how did you come to that conclusion?

Domański: I came to the conclusion that I was not able to live in society! I realized that art was the only way I could keep myself and find myself, like keeping my independence ...

Baldwin: Was that something you discovered in 1986 at the end of this period, fighting against the military service? Or was this a process which took some years from 1986 onwards?

Domański: It wasn't as simple as that. It was a longer process. It started in prison. Because when I left the prison I had already become an active artist. I had already started creating some stuff. While I was fighting the military service commission I was already creating and working and doing some things. Because to go through the prison you have to somehow turn off your feelings. You have to turn off your empathy, you have to turn off love, you have to turn off missing others, and you have to become deeply introverted to not be sensitive to what is really

⁸¹ See also Shaughnessy, N. (2012) *Applying Performance – Live Art, Socially Engaged Theatre and Affective Practice* (pp. 58 to 67) and Thompson, J. (2009) *Performance Affects – Applied Theatre and the End of Effect* (pp.15 to 42).

happening. And this helps you go through it all and so, when you come to the world of literature for example, you just are in that book, you don't ... you stop seeing the world around. You close yourself within some unreal story because you have to.

Baldwin: That's what happens when you're in prison. But what happens when you're an artist? What's happening there? Are you compensating for the stuff you turned off? Are you doing the opposite to what you had to do in prison?

Domański: It's not that easy. This is difficult because when you're an artist your task is to be very sensitive to the world around. And you are aware of the fact that you see the world differently, that you see different things in the world and they might be worth showing, they might be worth presenting. It's like a state of being sensitive to everything that is happening all the time. So, on the one hand, on the one side you're gifted but on the other hand you're cursed ...

While listening to Domański for the interview the importance of listening deeply was reinforced – both in devising *Wolnośćumysłu* in 2015 and also when revisiting this subject in the course of this thesis. And here we return to my concept of the curator 'staying in the room'⁸² while learning and rehearsal takes place. Laub's idea of 'a totally present listener who creates a holding space' (Caruth 2014: 48) raises comparisons with the role of the curator in citizen-centred dramaturgy. The first conversation between myself and Domański can be characterised as the curator being at the complete disposition of the artist. Tomasz was invited to look at the map of the proposed Route of Innovation, and at the way it passed through the northern districts of Wrocław. It was he who pointed to the site of the prison. It was he who gradually began to tell his story about his year in the prison. My role as curator was to remain totally present and to create a holding space away from judgements. The holding space needed to be maintained not just through the initial session of story recounting but through conceptualisation, project planning, contract signing and delivery. At each stage, the relationship between myself as curator and Domański was one based on trust and as an empathetic yet critical companion. As Laub suggests, 'To get (trauma) out in the interpersonal space there has to be a companion. Basically I think it's also the necessity for an internal companion, because the process of symbolisation and the formation of narrative only happens within an internal dialogue. And a listener temporarily takes the place of that internal other, that addressee.' (Caruth 2014: 48)

Revisiting the Site of Trauma

⁸² see page 21 of this thesis

Domański was conscious of how the revisiting of the site of trauma was a complex process and not without certain risks. Yet his need to drive the art process forward, to find symbolic expression for the political trauma and transmit this to an audience, drove Domański and his creative process to a conclusion shared with a city public of tens of thousands of people.⁸³ The technical mechanisms he used in the installation were symbolic references to the 1980's. Prison and Solidarność were referenced in the choice of objects used in his art work:

The installation consisted of 6 steel ladders 8 meters long and 1 meter wide and they were illuminated with light wire connected to an electrical steering system. Very simple switches. An interesting fact was that the electricity came from the prison which I managed to get straight from the guard gates. And then catapults which were installed on the lanterns with a very simple system through a triggering mechanism. In the times of Solidarność they had much better systems – by radio ...

His re-experience of the physical topology of the prison and his building of relationships with present day prisoners also enabled him to revisit his own story unimpeded by ghosts of the past:

... what was important for me was that I managed to get the prisoners to help me and to install all those ladders. By working with these guys I thought that would free myself from any trauma connected with the prison. When I got inside and all the doors were closed behind me and I heard all the sounds of doors being closed – then I began to panic. Yes, still, still working, ha! But I had a very good relationship with the prisoners helping me. When I explained that I had sat in the same room all those years ago, I realized that there was some kind of spiritual understanding with them. Around 1980 and 1981 there were a lot of very strong strikes in prisons. They were fighting for better conditions. And for sure Solidarność was the reason for that to happen. There's still the kind of echo of the respect for Solidarność. It was not easy because all those ladders were pretty delicate and had light wires, so they're very sensitive to jolting and it was really difficult to put them at the height and hang them. Even without any special preparation those guys were better than some crews that are prepared for technical work. There was one thing that really made me scared and yet fortunately turned out well in the end. I didn't expect so many people. A huge crowd of people came. I just thought that it was going to be a group of people going through the streets. And instead people were everywhere, you know, everywhere! And all the electric cables were laid along the walls. The wires, connections and everything. I was standing and shouting: 'don't go this way because there are wires here', it didn't help at all. But fortunately we took care of it and nothing was disconnected. And everything started the way it was planned. That was a big surprise, I didn't expect it otherwise I would have put the wires in the trees.

If aesthetic symbols of collective trauma through citizen-centred dramaturgy can contribute to resilience building in civic society, then can such an impact be observed? I suspect there are moments embedded within this artistic event which jolted, through surprise or momentary shock, the audience/society to consider itself as 'a subject, rather than as an object manipulated by those who

⁸³ Police estimated that there were 40 to 50,000 people on each route.

govern'. (Michnik 1986: xi). As Domański points out:

When they [the audience of fifty thousand people] were approaching, let's say the middle of the space, the first ladders were turned on, one after another, in the centre. So it looked pretty spectacular, especially as the wall [of the prison] was also lit. It was unexpected and it also confused people. Because they really didn't know what it was about. And only when we released the leaflets...then they didn't know what's going on even more!!!! But that's good. Actually, what happened was the dissonance between the night's atmosphere and this story we were telling. That is exactly what it is like in life. And the story we were telling was a terrible story. It was a story of terrible times. In conclusion right now, and maybe this is also important, perhaps it was supposed to be important as a lesson about past times. We have to learn our history, we have to learn about what is happening. When we look at what is happening right now the sad conclusion is that maybe we haven't learnt anything.

This is what resilience building in civic society through culture means for Domański, the survivor, at this moment in his life:

It's about the context of things. Because the context then was very concrete. The enemy was communism and we were fighting for freedom. That was then. And now when we have to fight for democracy, about the freedom to be different, to be someone else, it turns out that what was simple then has to be learnt again. We have to learn democracy from the very beginning. But then it was simple as it was one enemy and a fight for freedom. Right now, when we have to fight for it, we can't really describe the enemy. These dreams of freedom still remain. For me personally the project was important, because it was like winning again, and maybe finally, fighting the spirits of the past. Everything that happened during the Route of Innovation was like meeting again and defeating the spirits of the past. We say it in Polish, that the spirit of the past is when something which happened in your life is still with you, you know, somewhere in the air. When we finally meet them again it's like ... meeting the spirit of the past ... It's like the Greek spirit of the past; you meet yourself, you meet your own story again. You find yourself in the moment of the day.

The Companion Curator

While listening to Domański I was reminded once again that the role of the curator in citizen-centred dramaturgy is to act as a companion, a totally present listener, not only with an individual as in the case of Domański, but also in group contexts as with the composers in *The Wrocław Cantata*. Yet this is only the first step in a long path to an externalised aesthetic symbolization of the trauma. While Laub speaks of the necessity of the process of symbolisation and formation of narrative occurring within an internal dialogue, the curator, at one point or another, invites the 'survivor(s)/citizen/artist to consider finding aesthetic forms in which to share trauma or story with a wider community, the audience. In this initial act of listening the curator is waiting for the moment or conditions under which it is safe and positive for the survivor(s) to begin shaping their experiences, to lead a collaborative process to find penetrating, resonant aesthetic symbols in which a survivor's

narrative can contain the symbolic truth of their experience. Laub is explicit: ‘The historian is more attentive to the facts and to the written document ... The psychoanalyst is more attentive to the internal reality and has a difficult time with the external reality. With the literary scholar, it’s imagination. It’s not limited to reality. It continues a back-and-forth flow between reality and imagination.’ (Caruth 2014: 58)

To summarise: literary scholar, curator, artist - all specialists in the analysis or making of aesthetic symbolisation and narratives. The ability to form and control the development of our narratives, to consider ourselves ‘the subject, rather than as an object manipulated by those who govern’ is a struggle which has, for many, resulted in deeply traumatic experiences. In 1973, Michnik wrote:

Attempts to capture control of the human mind are a fundamental feature of the regime under which I live ... But as far as the powers-that-be are concerned, ‘defining things down to the last detail’ is not limited merely to shaping a vision of the present. It also involves remoulding that of the past. No wonder: those who can succeed in reigning over perceptions of the past will also be able to manipulate thoughts about the present and the future ... Uncovering lies about the past frequently allows us to discover our own identity. A key to the past can unlock many of the myths being created today. (Michnik 1986: 201)

Tomasz Domański experienced psychic trauma as the result of the political lie. Over the 35 years since the events of that trauma, his art has been impacted by and acted as a conduit for psychic processes related to those experiences. In Chapter Four we extend this thesis by examining a particular moment which occurred during rehearsals for *Niebo* which, I believe, revealed contrasting yet important insights into the nature of collective trauma and the political lie and its mediation through citizen-centred dramaturgy.

CHAPTER FOUR

Returning to the Site: The Dramaturgy of Trauma, Memory and Politics

In October 2016, rehearsals for *Niebo*, the final part of *The Flow Quartet*, commenced. Music from *Przebudzenie* was arranged with music from *The Wrocław Cantata (Flow)* and musical rehearsals began in Poland and Israel. The Spirits of Wrocław, first seen on the streets in *Przebudzenie* in January 2016, were to be used as the principal scenic elements. Rehearsals with performers drawn from all previous parts of *The Flow Quartet* began in October. More citizens of Wrocław joined the team along with prisoners, professional acrobats and a narrator and a full technical support team. Hala Stulecia was to be the venue for the performances of *Niebo* – a space with a capacity for 14,000 people reduced to 5,000 people when the technical needs of the performance were incorporated into the event plan. Again, the show can be accessed here:

- [Link to full performance of 'Niebo' in English](#)
- [Link to full performance of 'Niebo' in Polish](#)

Journalist in Rehearsal

This chapter is about one unexpected moment in rehearsal which lasted about ten minutes. Towards the end of the eight-week rehearsal period in December 2016, a TV crew from the Polish national state television company (TVP) visited rehearsals to make a short programme about the process. Journalist Iwona Rosiak (born in Wrocław in 1962) had taken considerable interest in the Wrocław ECoC and *The Flow Quartet* in particular. During the making of the recording of the rehearsal Iwona Rosiak approached my assistant director clearly agitated by what was happening with the scene. After discovering the nature of her anxiety, I invited her to direct the scene for herself. Her intervention changed the direction of rehearsals and a particular action in the show. In my interview with her she explained:

[Ever] since we were awarded the title of ECoC the president and the government of the city were telling the people that this [was] a great city, could have great events, could handle amazing stories, that the people are wonderful ... this feeling of being a great and wonderful city was being thrown at people and they believed it – they had this energy of being part of the wonderful city of Wrocław... So yes, people wanted to be part of this whole story as it was a very important moment for their city.

When I asked if the excitement was generated by being named an ECoC or the need to explore the story, the trauma of the twentieth-century, her reply was clear:

It's not that the people of Wrocław wanted to talk about trauma. Because they have not been through a trauma. They feel that their experience was a victory. The Germans went through a trauma. They lost everything. Our parents and grandparents, yes, they were [from] Lwów⁸⁴ and lost almost everything yet they are almost gone now. So, we don't really feel the trauma. The younger generation, my generation ... want to have a good story. We are friends with Germans and we are making friends in every direction ... we don't have borders. Now people openly say: 'yes, this tree was seeded here by Germans. But the next one is ours. This can even be our common city'. There is no feeling of trauma in the people of Wrocław right now. They don't feel as if the city could change hands again.⁸⁵

The apparent absence of trauma in her generation is worth examining more closely and is perhaps connected to an idea developed by psychotraumatologist Onno van der Hart. He suggests that when we are confronted with overwhelming danger such as facing death or annihilation, we cover our eyes, we cringe, 'and that's what's stuck in the trauma, that subsystem of defence'. van der Hart suggests that with traumatised individuals there are 'two parts of the personality that have divided along its basic fault lines: the apparently normal part of the personality (ANP) which is associated with action systems related to teaching, positive stimuli, and the emotional part of the personality (EP), which is the part that experienced the trauma and remains stuck there, which is associated with the action system of defence' (Caruth 2014: 188). However another interpretation also is useful to consider.

Wrocław – Apparently a Normal Place

My suggestion here, as elsewhere in this thesis, is not that the individuals discussed or interviewed as part of my research are necessarily traumatised victims but rather that Wrocław the city, the ecosystem in which Rosiak grew up, is only 'apparently a normal' place. What's more, when

⁸⁴ Lviv/Lvov, now in Ukraine, was part of Poland until 1945. Its fate was similar to Breslau/Wrocław under the Yalta agreement with a transfer of ownership and massive ethnic cleansing or transfer of populations. It is estimated that 10% of Wrocław's post-war population came from Lviv/Lvov. The tram driver in *Niebo* is from Lviv. Perhaps 30% of post-war Wrocław university academics were also from Lviv/Lvov.

⁸⁵ [Full interview with Iwona Rosiak](#)

we learn more about her story, we discover that she was impacted by political events which could be described as terrifying. What we are witnessing here is an vivid example of how post-catastrophic memory, 'lives on through the subsequent generations, as the survivors who struggle with their traumas give way to the descendants who mourn the victims of the catastrophe'. Marianne Hirsch's influential concept of 'postmemory' as opposed to trauma or the posttraumatic might be nearer to explaining rather than psychotraumatologist Onno van der Hart.⁸⁶

In Chapter Two, we examined the nature of the Holocaust on the music-making processes associated with *The Wrocław Cantata*. Chapter Three examined the nature of the political and psychological violence inflicted upon Tomasz Domański and how this gained aesthetic expression in his work *Wolność umysłu (Freedom of Mind)*. It might seem less surprising to hear Rosiak declare her generation free of political trauma when considering the insights offered by Hirsch's concept of 'postmemory'. Yet on the day she visited rehearsals for *Niebo*, something clearly was triggered in her:

I saw a kind of misunderstanding. The young people who were supposed to be playing the story of '81 [1981]⁸⁷ didn't understand what they were really showing because they didn't know it. I also saw the older group of people standing close to the ZOMO [riot police]⁸⁸ and when I reacted [to the young people] this older group said: 'It was perfect that you did that, because back then we were young, we also remember it'. What I saw was a group of people, of young people, who were having fun, who were having kind of fiesta while making the protest, when actually the people who really lived through those times knew that they could be expelled from the academy, from the university, lose their job, have really serious problems in their future lives, they didn't know what would happen next, they did not know that there would be, in the future, a time of freedom. The young people were playing the scene as if they had already won, that this was fun. When, in reality [the original protesters] were playing with fire ... confronting real danger.⁸⁹

Links to photos taken of *Niebo* rehearsals can be accessed here:

- [Link to Photos of Niebo Rehearsals – The Demonstration Scene](#)

⁸⁶ For quote and reference to Hirsch see Ektind, A. (2013) (page 14).

⁸⁷ As discussed in Chapter Three, martial law refers to the period from 13th December 1981 to 22nd July 1983, when the authoritarian communist government of the People's Republic of Poland drastically restricted normal life by introducing martial law in an attempt to crush the political opposition.

⁸⁸ The ZOMO (*Zmotoryzowane Odwody Milicji Obywatelskiej*) were communist-era riot police – played in *Niebo* by prisoners from Wrocław prison. For documentary film of the ZOMO confronting students in Wrocław in 1981, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7si5Dphr8co>

⁸⁹ [Full Interview with Iwona Rosiak](#)

Before examining Rosiak's actions and intervention on that day in rehearsal it is necessary to know a bit more about her own experiences of 1981:

In 1981 I started studying. And within two or three days I started to sleep at the university and join in the protest with the older colleagues and friends. It was they who decided to start protests as of course I was younger. But I remember those times. All the windows were boarded up. We could see the police and the armed forces hitting the doors. We were arm in arm with the professors. I remember this as my own story... I was 19 or 20 [and] studying History of Art... In 1981, Poland was still not a free country. We were not protesting *against*, we were protesting *for* freedom, to be free of communism, free of oppression... We were totally entangled, totally chained up. I was studying Art but couldn't go to Paris and see these buildings I was studying. We didn't have passports; we didn't have permission to travel. The only thing I could do was to look at them in black and white photos. At the beginning of December 1981 the strike committee already had declared that this was a very difficult situation so they sent us home... And then on the 13th December, martial law was declared. The dorms were closed so students from other cities had to go home. I was from Wrocław. And many of my student friends stayed at my house, waiting to see what would happen. But martial law continued – it didn't stop. Students returned to the university at the beginning of spring. We were, of course, under observation, and told by the military what would happen if we tried to strike again. There were still curfews each night. After martial law ended there was a movement, a distribution of leaflets. We were meeting, talking, discussing what was happening. Some friends were searched by the police and went into hiding. Some of the strike committee were hiding and here I could help. One of the girls looked very similar to me so when she wanted to travel she used my ID and travelled around Poland.

Communism's Four Kinds of Citizen Engagement

The precise description of life for Rosiak as a young student in 1982 Poland is distinct from the extreme experience of violence and abuse suffered by Tomasz Domański.⁹⁰ Yet Rosiak's description is revealing as it identifies a conception of the public sphere and citizen engagement very particular to communist states. In her book *Performative Democracy* (2009), Polish American Sociologist Elzbieta Matynia suggests:

Already prior to the 1980 shipyard strike [in Gdańsk] one could identify the existence of separate, though probably unwritten, policies applied by the [Polish] party state to four kinds of citizen engagement. From the point of view of the authorities the first and most desirable were those that I call here *preferred and rewarded*; the second were engagements that were *permitted, but limited*; the third were activities that, because of their unclear status of those 'in between' or borderline, I shall refer to as *unofficial*; and the fourth were those that were strictly *forbidden*. (Matynia 2009: 35)

Matynia develops this analysis by suggesting that all four forms of engagement, from the point of view of society, were ways of coping with a state mechanism predicated on controlling and

⁹⁰ See Chapter Three for more on Tomasz Domański.

minimalizing the vibrancy of the public realm. *Preferred and rewarded* engagements were those in which citizen events were officially organised by the state. *Permitted but limited* engagement consisted of ‘transactional space’ which depended on the good will of the communist regime such as activities organised by the Catholic Church after the death of Stalin. The *permitted, but limited* social interactions were allowed as semi-private encounters between intellectuals and artists not generated by the state. An example of such an initiative would have been a poetry or film group relatively restricted to a small group of intellectuals. The *unofficial* and *forbidden* categories of public expression or communication were those which overtly questioned state legitimacy or policy. Michnik, writing in 1972, can be read here moving from an *unofficial* to *strictly forbidden* expression of public engagement in the course of just one short sentence: ‘Czechoslovakia is an example of the fragility of totalitarian stability, and also of the desperation and ruthlessness of an empire under threat...’ (Michnik 1985: 139). His arrest by the Polish authorities was, within the rules of public engagement of the times, predictable to say the least. However, by 1982, change was palpable:

Once the signing of the Gdańsk agreement⁹¹ was seen on national TV, the unimaginable became real. The *unofficial* and the *forbidden* came out of their hiding places, along with the suppressed narratives – communicated now by an entirely new subject: the self-discovered, autonomously speaking ‘I’. The visible public happiness that accompanied this shift from private to public, from the *I* to *we*, helped to create a widely felt belief in the invincibility of this new public collectivity that had originated in the shipyard (Matynia 2009: 39)

In 1982, the Polish military began to paint over the forbidden Solidarność logos which had appeared in Wrocław during previous months. Wrocław student and artist Waldermar Frydrych and a couple of supporters took direct action by painting dwarfs onto the ‘canvasses’ created by the act of painting over the illegal logos. As historian Berenika Szmanski-Düll points out:

[the] People’s Republic of Poland did not approve of anyone showing any kind of presence in the public sphere without prior approval – no matter how harmless it was. It was precisely this regulation of ‘aisthesis’ that the actors dressed up as gnomes were rebelling against. Krzysztof Albin stresses that ‘we were fighting for it to become normal that a guy could play his guitar underneath an underpass without the militia arresting him for it.’ The living gnome became the symbol of this fight as well as the biggest challenger of Wrocław’s militia. In the eyes of the Orange Alternative, however, the militia on the street was by no means their fierce adversary. Instead, they saw them as their co-actors. Frydrych’s manifesto implies that ‘even a single

⁹¹ The Gdańsk Agreement (*Porozumienia sierpniowe*) was an accord reached as a direct result of strikes that took place in Gdańsk which eventually led to the creation of the trades union and political movement Solidarność.

militiaman on the street was a work of art'. (Szymanski-Dull 2015: 41(4), 665-678)

This is the moment Rosiak witnessed as a student in Wrocław in 1982 and watched being re-created in the *Niebo* rehearsal room in December 2016.

A Generation Free of Political Trauma?

The interview with Rosiak helps us piece together what happened in rehearsal and examine how her reaction was based on a socio-historical postmemory of a politically-induced trauma:

Baldwin: I understand a little bit about who this Iwona was, the Iwona who walked into the rehearsal room. She was walking into something that she'd lived through!

Rosiak: Exactly. It was my story. Exactly, that was it. That was *my* story.

Baldwin: So, tell me – what was your emotional reaction to seeing these young people getting it so wrong?

Rosiak: It wasn't a bad reaction. I just wanted to explain, I really wanted to explain. Because I saw they were missing the truth. They really didn't know what was going on in '81. They had good intentions but they just didn't understand.

Baldwin: What were they missing?

Rosiak: The seriousness of the situation.

Baldwin: ...You arrived at the rehearsal as a journalist but what happened? What did you have to do to teach these young actors, these young citizens, who were not professional actors, what did you have to do to show them what you thought they should be doing?

Rosiak: I had to tell them my story. I had to show them that I had been afraid, that this had been very difficult for us, we didn't know what would happen; that we were really were walking on a knife edge. We didn't know what was going to come. We didn't know that there would be freedom, that there would be transformation, that the tanks would abandon the city. We were really afraid and I had to show this. I had to tell my story ... We were not just a sad group of people back then in '81. There were romances happening, people were meeting new friends ... but all the time we were very aware that it was a really serious situation.

Baldwin: When you were in that rehearsal that afternoon, Iwona, the only thing you had as a tool was language. And you were talking to some very young people, people who were 18 or 19. Did you have to change your language? What were the gaps between you and them? ... What did you have to do to impress on them the importance of what they were doing?

Rosiak: I had to use language but with my own emotions from the time, to create the necessary impact. And then they really listened to me. When these young people saw the truth of my words they really began to care about what I was saying.

Baldwin: You just said, 'when the young people *saw* the emotions.' That would suggest it wasn't linguistic, that would suggest that it was physical. We don't see language, we see a body, a person ...

Rosiak: Yes, I was very expressive. So perhaps it was more in the expression than in the language itself. In my eyes first and foremost!

Baldwin: As a journalist, when you came into the room I remember you were keeping a distance, you wanted to observe what was happening, but then something snapped inside you, something made you break into the rehearsal space. You ‘transgressed’ by moving into the theatre space. Do you remember that?

Rosiak: Yes, I do... I was observing and I saw the group and their faces, and I saw the leader of the group, the girl who was climbing up on the Spirit. I looked at her and I said ‘no, they can’t play around with it! It’s too important; they just can’t have fun right now’. I saw a girl climbing up onto the spirit who was flirting with the crowd, trying to say those words but in a coquettish way, and I said to myself, ‘No, no, she can’t just do it this way, it wasn’t like that!’.

Recognition in Rehearsal

Hannah Arendt reminds us: ‘the chief difference between slave labour and the modern free labour is not that the labourer possesses personal freedom – freedom of movement, economic activity, and personal inviolability – but that he is admitted to the political realm and fully emancipated as a citizen’ (Arendt 1998: 217). Rosiak’s reaction in the *Niebo* rehearsal is, I suggest, directly related to the notion of the political realm and emancipation. Her frustration at the young woman in rehearsal was a frustration based on having herself experienced the result of the application of severe repression within the public realm albeit not at the level of slavery.

Regrettably no video footage of this rehearsal exists. Yet the final version of the scene is recorded and is evidence of the outcome of Rosiak’s intervention into that scene. The girl leading the demonstration against the ZOMO is clearly taking her responsibility seriously as can be seen in this clip:

- [Clip of scene in English](#)
- [Clip of scene in Polish](#)

Citizen-Centred Dramaturgy and Bertolt Brecht

The intervention by Rosiak into the *Niebo* rehearsal was not expected but neither was it unwelcomed by myself as curator. Such merging of roles and responsibilities in citizen-centred dramaturgy is predicated on such moments, and has a historical lineage reaching back to the 1930’s,

as can be demonstrated by this short letter written to the Swedish theatre producer Paul Patera by Bertolt Brecht in the last days of his life:

Dear Mr Patera,
The Decision was not written for an audience but exclusively for the instruction of the performers. In my experience, public performances of it inspire nothing but moral qualms, usually of the cheapest sort. Accordingly I have not let anyone perform the play for a long time. My short play *The Exception and the Rule* is better suited to performances by non-professionals (Brecht 1990: 558).

In our conversation, Rosiak wanted to return to the theme of me as curious curator with a need to ‘get things right’ about the story yet dependent on local citizens to provide the authenticity:

Rosiak: ...I knew that you were showing the story but that you were a guy from the outside. And when someone is showing the story from the outside it can be very good, but at this moment I knew that it was not right ... it was actually endangering the story, as it was not the truth.

Baldwin: I don't remember what happened, Iwona ... Did you ask my permission to intervene or did you just push me out of the way?

Rosiak: I asked Mary, your assistant, and she came to you and asked. And then you said: ‘okay, then make her go and tell them how it should be’. Yes, it was exactly like this.

Baldwin: Were you surprised by that? Were you expecting that, Iwona?

Rosiak: I was surprised. And scared.

Baldwin: And scared?

Rosiak: Because it's easy to criticize something emotionally but when you have to confront it yourself it's much more difficult. I did something stupid [by intervening] but then the director, you, who I really respected, asked me: ‘yes, go’, and so I had no choice now. I had to go and say something.

Baldwin: You talked to the young people who were playing this, you talked to the girl who was being a bit flirty, which you thought was just not serious enough. Do you remember anything else about this intervention? Did they get it right when you were there?

Rosiak: I remember that the crowd of young people somehow stopped and started to think after my very expressive speech. I remember them looking and thinking, having this moment of reflection. But I remember even more strongly what other people in the rehearsal, those aged between fifty to sixty, came to me and said. They said, ‘Thank you for doing that, because we remember those times.’ And that was even stronger for me.

Citizen Centred Dramaturgy – Action and Contemplation

Brecht points out that ‘Bourgeois philosophers insist on a fundamental distinction between action and contemplation. But the true thinker (the dialectician) does not make this distinction. If you do so, you leave politics to those who act and philosophy to those who contemplate; whereas in reality the politician must be a philosopher and the philosopher a politician.’ (Jameson 1998: 65). Citing

Brecht thus, Frederic Jameson reminds us that this definition of dramaturgy is an act of philosophy. Brecht's doctrine 'suddenly raises the possibility of a philosophical dramaturgy, or even of philosophy as dramaturgy, after which the idea of dramaturgy as philosophy will itself already seem less paradoxical'. Rosiak is clearly pointing to something akin to this:

Rosiak: ... when you take part in this kind of [rehearsal] you take responsibility for how it's going to be done, of all its parts; it's not just a question of repeating the words of the director. It's much more important and it's a much more responsible thing to do. It is much more than just a performance on the stage.

Baldwin: As a result of your intervention in the rehearsal you were developing the meaning of being a citizen.

Rosiak: That is what I feel and what I felt in there. Because for non-professionals it is totally different than for professional actors. For non-professionals taking part in the rehearsal was an event itself – as if taking part in the final performance ... Because they weren't doing a project like an actor does. They were doing something important also for themselves. They were creating some important things for themselves.

Baldwin: Yes, they were rehearsing being citizens. Did you see the show live or did you see it on television when it got into Hala Stulecia?

Rosiak: Both.

Baldwin: And what was your response to it because you had this very key role in the rehearsal.

Rosiak: So, Hala Stulecia was definitely much more emotional. It was an event; it was the music, the acrobat, the whole atmosphere of Hala that we love, like Max Berg as a part of our story. More lights, you know, the whole context. And then the television was more about details, more about single elements. I saw the face of the girl and some parts of the story in more detail.

Citizen-Centered Dramaturgy as Political Philosophy

Brecht is going beyond the notion of dramaturgy as philosophy when describing the validity of abandoning onlookers and working with non-professionals. Rather he is talking about rehearsal as an aesthetic/political form in itself requiring no additional philosophical validity. As with citizen-centred dramaturgy he is making the case for rehearsal as an auto-referential and auto-pedagogic act. Rehearsal, not just dramaturgy, is for Brecht just as it is for my citizen-centred dramaturgy, political philosophy applied in action. It has already been stated that this thesis is about the relationship between citizen-centred dramaturgy and the role of the curator *in turbulent times*. The contemporary political situation in Poland (2015-2018) cannot be considered subsidiary to this thesis; instead it weaves in and out. As we examine Rosiak's intervention in *Niebo* rehearsals, perhaps we see how

rehearsals can be both a way to examine the historical organisation of the social realm (in Poland in 1981) and a symbolic intervention into the social realm of today.

After the rehearsal on that evening in December 2016, Rosiak telephoned Mary Sadowska, my assistant, to apologise for her behaviour and intervention in the rehearsal. She was convinced that she had broken the professional protocol of journalism by abandoning her detachment from the events being presented to her. A residue of this emotion remains with her 18 months later:

Rosiak: ... it was deeply un-professional. You can't intervene into the rehearsal of some other director. I had no right to do it.

Baldwin: Maybe we can accept that. But from the point of view of a citizen of Poland, from the point of view of someone who came in and discovered the story of her life being told, she had every right and perhaps even an obligation, to intervene. You knew what I was doing in Wrocław; asking people to make the story and the process their own. I suggest you may have had an obligation, as a citizen of Wrocław, to participate and to make the scene more truthful using your own words.

Rosiak: Thank you.

Baldwin: This feeling of shame, did it stay with you for long?

Rosiak: Yes.

Baldwin: Until now?

Rosiak: A little bit.

Baldwin: Did your colleagues say anything to you after the event?

Rosiak: They were surprised but on the other hand they said like: 'It's good that you did it.'

A few days later, on 15th December 2016, the final rehearsals for *Niebo* commenced in Hala Stulecia. In recent days, senior directors at TVP had been dismissed, the reach of the Polish constitutional courts was being restricted and the PiS government's attempts to introduce more draconian laws against abortion had provoked massive street protests around the country.⁹² On the day of the performance of *Niebo* demonstrators surrounded the Polish Sejm and the president of Poland and other senior ministers could not attend the performance of the show as planned. As Rosiak pointed out in her conversation with me, 'It was getting worse and worse. We knew by then that we

⁹² Koczanowicz offers a near contemporary analysis of this moment: <https://newleftreview.org/II/102/leszek-koczanowicz-the-polish-case>

were starting to lose democracy. This is why before *Niebo* Donald Tusk⁹³ was invited to give a speech – you remember? That's exactly why, because he stood behind us. Wrocław is the basis of democracy.' Rosiak saw the performance of *Niebo* both live and on television. When asked how she felt when she saw her that her intervention in rehearsal had altered the presentation of the scene, she replied:

Rosiak: A winner! Like a winner!

Baldwin: Why a winner?

Rosiak: Because I contributed my thoughts and they were accepted and taken.

In the few lines of Brecht's 1956 letter we see him not simply questioning the importance of audience. His use of the word *exclusively* also indicates his willingness to abandon entirely the notion of onlooker – a step he was contemplating from the early 1930's. His point about non-professionals being 'better suited' as performers seems to be preparing the ground for a philosophical definition of aesthetics that rejects the separation of action from reflection. As Iwona Rosiak suggests in citizen-centred dramaturgy, and indeed at the core of Teatro de Creación, the 'non-professional', or the citizen, takes considerable ethical, political responsibility for what happens in the rehearsal room as the outcome will be much more than just a performance on stage. The rehearsal has become a rehearsal of democracy and the performance a celebration of that fact.

⁹³ Donald Tusk, President of the European Council and ex-Polish Prime Minister. A video of Tusk addressing the pre-*Niebo* press conference, and myself and other curators making a protest in favour of press freedom can be accessed here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CD0sMsle5iQ>

CONCLUSION

The Need to Tell – The Need to Understand

The Flow Quartet set out to enable Wrocław to tell its stories of the long twentieth-century to itself, to Poland and beyond. And in many important ways it succeeded in this ambition. How was this achieved?

The curator's role and position is fundamental in citizen-centred dramaturgy. Throughout this study I have demonstrated how the curator is embedded in both aesthetic leadership (the director of performance) combined with a precise, political and pedagogic commitment. 'Staying in the rehearsal room' until knowledge is found, until the performative structures are conceptualised and realised are at the core of this methodology. The concept is rooted in theatre (Boal and Brecht and carnival) radical pedagogy's approach to dialogue (Freire) and in therapeutic practice (Laub). One might have presumed that it was the special circumstances of Wrocław and its traumatic inheritance which made the therapeutic practice of Laub relevant to the work of the curator in citizen-centred dramaturgy. But this thesis shows it is not the case. 'The imperative to tell' is not confined to societies struggling to manage profound instances of collective trauma stemming from war and massive movements of populations. Examples of other citizen-centred dramaturgy projects, such as 'The Mountains of León (Spain)' and 'Mapping the Northwest Project – Bulgaria', demonstrate the absolute imperative of a curatorial methodology based on active listening.

Freire conceptualises his approach to pedagogy and curriculum building as *dialogical*. Teaching cannot be done from top down, but only from inside out, by the illiterate him/herself, with the collaboration of the educator. And dialogue is at the core of citizen-centred dramaturgy. It is only by staying in the rehearsal room until the knowledge is found with citizen-performers can one replace an existing script (the theatrical equivalent to a primer) with a new, authentic series of actions and images based on participant experiences of their own reality. From this point a new aesthetic and cliché free performance be developed for an audience in a specific time and place.

Augusto Boal asserts that the first word of the theatrical vocabulary is the human body, the main source of sound and movement. It is the role of Boal's joker both to lead the emancipatory process of spectator to actor and to mediate and curate the result of this process (a forum theatre) to a new group of spectators setting out on the same journey. The joker, with his/her roots in medieval theatre and the vice-figure, is the forbearer of the curator in citizen-centred dramaturgy.

This thesis has also precisely defined citizen-centred dramaturgy as having four tenants upon which everything else is built:

Citizens: The voices and experiences of citizens become the basis from which dramaturgy is generated in a collaborative manner. Citizens take part as fully-fledged performers in the events they co-devise.

Space: Research processes, rehearsals, communication strategies, performance outcomes and televised/streaming events are developed using the city as a palimpsest.

Design (sound and visual): Design of sound and staging solutions are found from and within the direct surroundings and respond to local specific traditions or conditions.

Dramaturgy: As with Teatro de Creación, citizen centred dramaturgy emphasises place, its history and problems, and its relationship between place and those with a 'stake' in that place – be it local people or diasporas. The representation of time in the final piece of work reflects the needs of the storytelling and social context. Rehearsals begin without a text and instead with a dialogue about expectations, outcomes, stories and rehearsals.

This study while presenting citizen-centred dramaturgy as a methodology does so by examining its application in a complex city (Wrocław) at a precise moment in its political and cultural trajectory – 2016 and its designation as the European Capital of Culture. Wrocław's twentieth-century history was unique. No other European city experienced such destruction accompanied by a near total replacement of populations, language and religion, followed by a decades long official sanction against talking about what had happened. As pointed out by Francois Davoine and Jean-Max

Gaudilliere, the disciplines of history and psychoanalysis were made to encounter one another (Davoine and Gaudilliere 2004: xxx). Yet this meeting has been a difficult one often confined to the relative privacy and security of conversations between individual client and therapist⁹⁴. So much of European history and psychoanalysis acts as witness to the collective traumas of the twentieth-century Europe often reaching far across borders and generations. This thesis has shown that citizen-centred dramaturgy extends our attempts to understand the repercussions and implications of such processes through developing what we do in large format socio-cultural spheres.

Collective traumas are routinely reignited or initiated for political purposes, as Hannah Arendt reminds us, and it seems this is not going away. Citizen-centred dramaturgical practices, as developed by myself in the making of *The Flow Quartet* constitute not just occasional additions to public cultural programming but are becoming important components in the building of democratic, resilient civic societies. *The Flow Quartet* attempted to infiltrate the protective walls of a major European, state-sponsored initiative – a European Capital of Culture. Yet in the end its success will remain limited if it fails to make any structural impact on the design of such initiatives in the future.

We understand our lives through the stories we tell; we understand our decisions through the narratives we pass between one another. These are, first and foremost, acts of cultural transmission but, as pointed out in this study, ‘anthropologists show that our identities are, to a considerable degree, constructed through the negation of the Other’s identity, which makes the inner tensions an intrinsic part of pluralistic, democratic society.’ (Koczanowicz 2015: 92) This thesis demonstrates how citizen-centred dramaturgy enabled Poles, Germans, Czechs and Israelis belonging to those ‘descendants whose task it was to transport, from generation to generation, pieces of frozen time’⁹⁵ to bring their work and ‘need to tell’ to an international cultural stage through the media of performance, television and the internet reaching millions of people.

Our European twentieth-century was a catastrophe. The stories embedded in both the making of and

⁹⁴ (Davoine and Gaudilliere 2004: xxx)

⁹⁵ (Davoine and Gaudilliere 2004: xxx)

performances of *The Flow Quartet* linked audiences and participants across countries to those often unspoken narratives of twentieth-century Europe. The project, through its multiple conversations, rehearsals and performative moments, allowed untold stories to be inscribed in time and to move into the wider social realm.

Brecht's 1956 statement which questions the centrality of audience and also contemplates non-professionals as 'better suited' to be performers should, if any doubt existed, be taken seriously as a result of what is proposed in citizen-centred dramaturgy and achieved by *The Flow Quartet*. The groundwork for a philosophical definition of collective-based aesthetics, which rejects the separation of action from reflection, was made by Brecht. But the large-scale performances built up from that premise have now been broadcast on television across Europe as a present-day crisis unfolds in Poland and, to some degree, in other European states and beyond. This is the principal idea we should care about. Yet it is disappointing that none of the post-2016 official evaluations of the Wrocław ECoC addressed this subject – a consequence of political circumstances in Poland together with a more systemic reluctance by cultural evaluators to engage with such 'hard to quantify' complexity.

In his *Philosophical Investigations (1945-1949)*, Wittgenstein explained his inability to refrain from 'jumping from one topic to another' comparing his book to a journey 'over a wide field of thought, criss-cross in every direction'. (Wittgenstein 1958: 33) My work as the curator of *The Flow Quartet* has often resembled the pattern described by Wittgenstein. At certain fleeting moments things have felt considerably less like 'jumping around' as a result of the work undertaken for this study. Dozens more case studies could have been generated. It would also have been fascinating to examine the impact of the work on audiences across countries and generations, on those who were present on the streets or in venues, or who saw the work on television. Perhaps, as this particular study concludes, a new work is being imagined.

APPENDIXES:

Appendix (1)

Literature Review: From Trauma to Collective Trauma.

The word 'trauma' comes from the Greek word for wound, and was originally used to explain physical injury before being used in psychology by the end of the 19th century (Breuer and Freud, 1895, cited in Balke, 2002: 9). Defined as a psychological 'wound' and an event which suddenly overwhelms a person, threatens his or her life or personal integrity, trauma leaves no escape, and triggers accompanying horror which overwhelms the individual's ability to understand and cope with the situation (Herman, 1992; Joseph, Williams & Yule, 1997, cited in Balke, 2002: 9). Examples of traumatic events include: natural disasters, including earthquakes, tidal waves, hurricanes, as well as those resulting from human initiated actions such as war, terrorism, and domestic violence.

Trauma is also defined as 'the destruction of the individual and/or collective structures' via a traumatic situation, which in turn is defined as 'an event or several events of extreme violence that occur within a social context' (Becker, 2004: 3, quoted in Clancy & Hamber: 9).

Trauma is perceived as both a consequence and a cause of conflict. Novakovic (2017) takes Mitchell's definition of trauma (1981:71 cited in Novakovic, 2017) as 'an inter-related cluster of emotions, attitudes, prejudices and perceptual distortions that accompany most forms of conflict, and lead to its continuation and exacerbation.'

'Trauma is among the most important root causes for the form modern warfare has taken. The perpetuation, escalation and violence of war can be attributed in part to posttraumatic stress.' (Levine, 1997: 225, cited in Novakovic, 2017), The legacy of trauma is expressed 'as fear, separation, prejudice and hostility. This legacy is seen as fundamentally no different from that experienced by individuals - except in its scale' (Levine, 1997: 225).

These definitions help to place the concept of trauma within a context of violence and political manipulation establishing a relationship between its impact on body and mind at both the individual level and the collective level.

At individual level, trauma biology research (Trauma Informed Care: Center for Substance Abuse Treatment, U.S., 2014) confirms that when facing individual trauma there is a 'cascade of biological changes and stress responses, which are associated to PTSD, and other mental illnesses' in the short, medium and long term. These responses include changes in the brain and hormones affecting the limbic system functioning and changes in the cortisol level produced by hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis activity. Trauma becomes stored in the limbic system, while verbal communication and logic are located in the neocortex. Both Herman (1992) and van der Kolk (2011), note that in PTSD patients, the areas of the brain responsible for language shut down in response to the traumatic experience, and have been shown in studies to shut down during flashbacks to the traumatic event and moments of emotional distress as well. The inability of the language centres of the brain to function during these times represents a challenge for survivors to be able to put their stories into words. Instead, these memories remain trapped in the body being relived rather than remembered verbally (Van der Kolk in Tippet, 2011).

Novakovic (2017) affirms that: *'hard experiences of conflict, war and trauma have inevitable and negative impact on social, economic and political life of individuals and communities, with long term effects on their function and development, creating numbers of dysfunctional individuals and traumatised societies, and trauma transfer on generations. Trauma is in newer [research] seen not only as the legacy but also as the cause of conflict, building a raising spiral' and that there is a 'need for trauma healing... Experiences [from] communities, which [have] survived war and genocide*

show difficulties in their reconciliation, recovery and progress, and their interrelation with the high level of trauma.'

Collective Trauma:

Collective trauma, defined by Cordero (2014) is 'an experience of extreme stress that is shared by a group of people within a common geographic area or who have a shared social or cultural identity' (Paez, Basabe, Ubillos, & Gonzalez-Castro, 2007, cited in Cordero, 2014: 1). To this one might add a shared political identity. Collective trauma '*may have a stronger adverse impact on social support, social sharing, social participation, and behaviours reinforcing social cohesion*' (p. 118). Cordero (2014) demonstrates that '*an important type of collective trauma is exposure to violence emerging from political upheaval, revolution, and/or rebellion that frequently involves people becoming refugees.*' Garrigues (2013) also defines collective or historical trauma as a phenomenon that '*happens to large groups of people — attempted genocide, war, disease, a terrorist attack.*'

The concept of collective trauma was first acknowledged within psychiatric literature by Erickson (1976) when describing the impact of a manmade flooding disaster on the small mining communities of Creek buffalo in the U.S. in which 125 people died. He defined collective trauma as a '*blow to the tissues of social life that damages the bonds linking people together*' (Erickson, 1976: 302, and also quoted in Krieg, 2009: S29). He noticed that the community affected by this disaster suffered from 'loss of commonality,' loss of connection to one's surroundings, particularly a sense of separation from other people, difficulty caring for others and loss of meaningful connection with the self.

In the social context, Zelizer (2008) argues that the concept of trauma started to develop more than a century ago with Freud's initial ideas and studies of war-affected soldiers in the 20th century. During this period, trauma was seen as a weakness and their symptoms were perceived as a '*detachment of the larger social and political context*' (Zelizer, p. 82). During World War I, trauma was associated with the notion of war neurosis or shell shock in many soldiers with symptoms such as anxiety, startled reaction, numbness and inability to function. This was also seen as a weakness and soldiers were treated in such a way as to help them accept responsibility for their duties so that they could return to combat. World War II brought some new understanding and recognition that extreme stress could. Treatments available at the time were hypnosis and talk therapy with temporary relief cause breakdown and this was not a sign of weakness or genetic precondition. (p. 81).

Acceptance of the concept of collective trauma took place in the U.S., in the context of the Vietnam War, when veterans were suffering the impact of war. PTSD was acknowledged for the first time and this led to its introduction in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Disorders (DSM-III, 1980), confirming that symptoms experienced were not caused by personal weakness (Balke, 2002: 11-12). Bessel van de Kolk's (interviewed by Caruth (2014), p.161) notion of, 'the body keeps the score', extends this analysis by examining the history of shell shock and government responses. Onno van der Hart also examines PTSD and war situations. He asserts (interviewed by Caruth (2014), p.188) that multiple cases of individuals with 'structural dissociation of the personality', where the 'emotional part of the personality' (EP) and the 'apparently normal personality' (APN) can be identified is often associated with cases of collective trauma.

Lifton and Mitchell (1995) in their examination of on the consequences for American society of the Hiroshima nuclear bombs identify the relationship between collective trauma and historical memory. Laub (interviewed by Caruth (2014), p.52) identifies the individual and collective 'collapse of witnessing' resulting from collective trauma.

Audergon (2006), based on research carried out on the Croatian conflict, affirms that trauma has consequences for accountability and responsibility at personal and collective levels. Silence, hopelessness, loss and despair as well as revenge are symptoms that define collective trauma.

Volker Heins and Andreas Langhenol (2013, p. XIV) assert that massive suffering of many

individuals does not necessarily create collective trauma and cite the case of Germany in the post WW II period and China under Chairman Mao (Quoted in Alexander and Breece, 2013). Novakovic (2017) demonstrates that victimisation does produce collective trauma. This would suggest that collective trauma is related to interpretation/self-interpretation and thus is a matter of identity politics. For Balke (2002: 16), traumatic events have effects at the social level as:

Traumatic events call into question basic human relationships. They breach the attachment of family, friendship, love and community. They shatter the construction of the self that is formed and sustained in relation to others. They undermine the belief system that gives meaning to human experience. They violate the victim's faith in a natural or divine order and cast the victim into a state of existential crisis. Traumatic events have primary effects not only on the psychological structures of the self but also on the systems of attachment and meaning that link with her community (Herman, 1992: 50, quoted in Balke, 2002: 16).

Novakovic (2017) establishes the existence of collective trauma, and its relationship to peacebuilding. Novakovic affirms that 'Trauma creates not only dysfunctional individuals, it creates dysfunctional, traumatised societies, in which capacities to change and progress are inevitably affected and significantly lessen[ed]... trauma is related to relational issues and their rebuilding affecting inevitably on the whole process of building sustainable peace.'

Cathy Caruth juxtaposes psychoanalytical theory with literary, political and historical analysis. She sees traumatic experience not as a pathology of falsehood or displacement of meaning but 'of history itself' (Caruth 1995: 5). In this respect she is offering a definition of historical practice which pushes at the boundaries of historiography. Her interviews with psychologists and psychiatrists working in the field of collective trauma (Caruth 2014) are cited at regular intervals throughout the study.

Roth (2012) asserts that collective trauma poses significant challenges to historiography and historical meaning - a concern raised by Etkin (2013) discussed in more detail later in this review. Davoine and Gaudilliere (2004) assert that unspoken, catastrophic histories and trauma link patient and analyst to the historical events of the twentieth-century. Miller (1999) and Aguilar (2002) examine the consequences of collective trauma on a post-communist German and post-fascist Spanish society and disputes regarding historical memory.

The degree to which collective trauma impacts upon concepts such as collective memory, transnational memory patterns and memory laws is the focus of a wide interdisciplinary field of or theory. Olick (2007) asserts that psychological traumas cannot be passed down through the generations, 'Vietnam was traumatic not just for American individuals – to say nothing of the Vietnamese individuals – but also for the legitimating narrative that we as individuals produce for us as a collectivity' (p.32). Blacker, U.; Etkind, A; Fedor, J (eds) (2013) extend this into post-war eastern European examples of how post-catastrophic memory, 'lives on through the subsequent generations, as the survivors who struggle with their traumas give way to the descendants who mourn the victims of the catastrophe'. It is here we encounter Marianne Hirsch's influential concept of 'postmemory' as opposed to trauma or the posttraumatic. (p. 9). Kaposov (2018) presents case studies linking collective trauma and new memory laws with the whitewashing of crimes in contemporary Russia.

Etkin (2013) examines mourning theories in the context of Soviet terror and collective trauma stating that, 'An individual subject who has suffered trauma... cannot represent the traumatic situation; this representational inability is precisely what constitutes trauma. In contrast, mourning is all about representation'. (p.14) His critique of Marianne Hirsch's concept of 'postmemory' is useful; 'Remembering its losses, a post-catastrophic culture lives on through the subsequent generations, as the survivors who struggle with their traumas give way to the descendants who mourn the victims of the catastrophe... It is easier to understand Marianne Hirsch concept of 'postmemory' as a domain of mourning rather than a domain of trauma or the posttraumatic. The (idea) that trauma with its subtle

psychological dynamic can be passed down through generations, is conceptually more complex and empirically less verifiable'. (p14). Blaive, M.; Gerbel, C.; Lindenberger, T. (2013) present case studies of 'postmemory' and 'clashes of memory' within the context of communist repression and the Holocaust.

The employment of the concept of collective trauma in this thesis

1. This Thesis asserts that curatorial practices of citizen-centred dramaturgy, predicated on co-negotiation of dramaturgies and performance of stories (citizen-centred dramaturgy) can employ representations of these traumas as a means to facilitate richer postmemory mourning processes and, in some cases, impact upon the effects of social and collective trauma.
2. Recognised symptoms of trauma, individual and collective, such as isolation, silencing, reactions of anger and political intolerance can be mediated or reduced through citizen-centred dramaturgy. It is useful to raise the Etkin formulation (2013) here; 'Remembering its losses, a post-catastrophic culture lives on through the subsequent generations, as the survivors who struggle with their traumas give way to the descendants who mourn the victims of the catastrophe... It is easier to understand Marianne Hirsch concept of 'postmemory' as a domain of mourning rather than a domain of trauma or the posttraumatic. The (idea) that trauma with its subtle psychological dynamic can be passed down through generations, is conceptually more complex and empirically less verifiable'. (Thesis, p. 98).
3. Externalisation techniques, such as semi-open rehearsals, non-linguistic approaches to rehearsal, disruption of expected hierarchies in the creative and making processes, help negotiate the moving on from collective trauma (and postmemory as a domain of mourning).
4. This Thesis examines the deployment of citizen-centred dramaturgy within the context of intergenerational and collective trauma (Caruch 1995 and 2014) in Poland and makes a link with memory laws by citing Kopolov (2008); 'legislation of the past is often used to give the force of law to narratives centred on the nation state'. (Thesis, p. 12).
5. The Thesis asserts that in many European post-authoritarian countries, such as Poland and Spain, deployment of memory laws to collectively re-traumatise is widespread, intergenerational and endemic – the result of war, ethnic cleansing and systematically applied political and cultural strategies sustained over years and decades. (Thesis, p. 9)
6. The existence of 'collective trauma' within a society can be appropriated, promulgated even, to favour particular political actions and outcomes. (Thesis, p. 8) Kopolov (2008), Blacker, U.; Etkind, A; Fedor, J (eds) (2013) Olick, J. L. (2007), Roth, M. (2011).
7. State regulated approaches to memory laws and even the development of particular cultural practices can lead both to political consequences and secondary traumatisations of whole groups or populations. In such instances, manifestations of collective trauma are sustained and passed across generations impacting upon contemporary political and social decision making. Such examples of collective trauma have been shown to play a key role in group identity formation. Poland is such a place. Wrocław is such a city. (Wolf, C. (1997) ,Cizmiciu, M. (2012) Miller B. (1999) Aguilar, P. (2002) _Roth, M. (2011), Miller, M. (1999), Olick J.L. (2007) Kemp-Welch, A. (1999) and (2008) Davies, N. and Moorhouse, R. (2003) Thum, G. (2011) Garton Ash, T. (1991) and (2002) .
8. While countries in both the east and west of Europe have memory laws which legally restrict or define description or definitions of historical events (and collective traumas), a number of Eastern European state memory laws differ from their Western counterparts. In Poland, Hungary and Russia, for example, legislation of the past is often used to give the force of law to narratives often describing collective traumas centred on the nation state. In Western European states, supported often by the EU, the goal of such laws is to promote 'a common European memory focused on the memory of the Holocaust as a means of integrating Europe, combating racism, and averting the national and ethnic

conflicts that national narratives are likely to stimulate' (Koposov 2018: 9).

9. The Polish Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute for National Remembrance) has the functions of state and justice administration, of an archive, an academic institute, an education centre and of a body which conducts vetting proceedings related to the times of communism before 1990. However, recent political events in Poland demonstrate how such laws can be used to perpetuate memories of collective trauma and for other undemocratic purposes.

10. The extensive and systematic rewriting of history not only negates the history of the past but moves forward to the creation of what Caruth calls an 'entirely fictitious world' (Caruth 2014: 43) - *a way of instrumentalising history to perpetuate memories of a given collective trauma for political ends*. (Thesis, p. 57)

11. The nature and relationship of *the wound* (in this case social, intergenerational trauma in Wrocław and Poland) to *the voice* which attempts to articulate this wound (in this case the art and processes associated with *The Flow Quartet*). Caruth articulates this more thoroughly than most. Her work, both as theorist and writer, is profoundly influenced by Freud's writings on trauma. Trauma, she suggests, '... is much more than a pathology, or the simple illness of a wounded psyche: it is always the story of a wound that cries out, that addresses us in the attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available'. (Caruth 1996: 4) (Thesis, p. 58)

12. I assert that citizen-centred dramaturgy is an approach to moving from collective trauma to postmemory as a domain of mourning (Etkin 2013, p. 14), helping individuals and communities bring historical perspective to what has happened to them, and to do so through cultural means such as the ones described in Chapter Two (Thesis, p. 55) As Caruth points out:

If Freud turns to literature to describe traumatic experience, it is because literature, like psychoanalysis, is interested in the complex relation between knowing and not knowing, and it is at this specific point at which knowing and not knowing intersect that the psychoanalytic theory of traumatic experience and the language of literature meet. (Caruth 1996: 3)

Caruth's use of the word 'literature' is too narrow in the context of this Thesis. Here we can afford to widen it, replace it with the phrase *citizen-dramaturgy and creation*.

13. The interview with composer Amir Shpilman raised an important example of how Poland's most recent memory legislation shows ways in which history, memory and collective trauma are entangled in a continuing political struggle. (Thesis, p. 59).

14. Maria Cizmic, in her study of music and trauma in Eastern Europe, points out that 'Because music's ability to reference reality and convey some kind of content tends to be more oblique than other media, it is just as relevant to consider whether the formal features of an aesthetic work can also bear witness to trauma' (2011, p.18). (Thesis, p. 64).

15. As Cizmic states, 'postmodern fascination with a collapse of linear conceptions of history resonates with the understanding of trauma as a 'disease of time' ... fragmented memories return unintentionally through flashbacks and nightmares and blur the distinction between past and present. If an individual's experience of trauma causes a breakdown in the linear nature of personal memory, how might this manifest in aesthetic responses to trauma?' (Cizmic 2011: 13).

16. Chapter Three (Thesis p.57) focuses upon the nature of politically-initiated trauma as it impacts upon the human body and psyche. It looks at how politically initiated trauma (collectivised through repetition) formed the artist Tomasz Domański and how, 35 years later, the making of *Wolność umysłu* (Freedom of Mind) for *Przebudzenie* enabled him to bring his experiences to this large piece of public art.

Victims of collective trauma often talk of feelings of helplessness followed by being silenced. Psychiatrist Bessel van de Kolk insists that, as Michnik mentions, language is important here:

Not because language resolves the trauma, but because language at least gives you a voice and provides the possibility of being in touch with the rest of the human race. Language at least offers the possibility that people will acknowledge what happened to you, and believe you. But talking won't make it go away – it makes a connection, and it overcomes a terrible godforsaken loneliness that's part of the trauma story. (Caruth 2014: 163) (Thesis, p. 74)

17. Psychoanalyst Dori Laub also raises the question of 'the imperative to tell' for many survivors of collective trauma: 'Survivors did not only need to survive so that they could tell their story, they also needed to tell their story in order to survive. There is in each survivor an imperative need to tell, and thus to come to know one's own story, unimpeded by ghosts of the past, against which one has to protect oneself.' (in Caruth 2014: 48)

18. If aesthetic symbols of collective trauma developed through citizen-centred dramaturgy can contribute to resilience building in civic society can such an impact be observed? I suspect there are moments embedded within this artistic event which jolted, through surprise or momentary shock, the audience/society to consider itself as 'a subject, rather than as an object manipulated by those who govern'. (Michnik 1986: xi). As Domański points out (Thesis, p. 78):

When they [the audience of fifty thousand people] were approaching, let's say the middle of the space, the first ladders were turned on, one after another, in the centre. So it looked pretty spectacular, especially as the wall [of the prison] was also lit. It was unexpected and it also confused people. Because they really didn't know what it was about. And only when we released the leaflets...then they didn't know what's going on even more!!!! But that's good. Actually, what happened was the dissonance between the night's atmosphere and this story we were telling. That is exactly what it is like in life. And the story we were telling was a terrible story. It was a story of terrible times. In conclusion right now, and maybe this is also important, perhaps it was supposed to be important as a lesson about past times. We have to learn our history, we have to learn about what is happening. When we look at what is happening right now the sad conclusion is that maybe we haven't learnt anything.

19. The Companion Curator. The role of the curator in citizen-centred dramaturgy is to act as a companion, a totally present listener, not only with an individual as in the case of Domański, but also in group contexts as with the composers in *The Wrocław Cantata*. Yet this is only the first step in a long path to an externalised aesthetic symbolization of story, in this case of the collective trauma associated with Wrocław. While Laub speaks of the necessity of the process of symbolisation and formation of narrative occurring within an internal dialogue, the curator, at one point or another, invites the 'survivor(s)'/citizen/artist to consider finding aesthetic forms in which to share trauma or story with a wider community, the audience. In this initial act of listening the curator is waiting for the moment or conditions under which it is safe and positive for the survivor(s) to begin shaping their experiences, to lead a collaborative process to find penetrating, resonant aesthetic symbols in which a survivor's narrative can contain the symbolic truth of their experience. Laub is explicit: 'The historian is more attentive to the facts and to the written document ... The psychoanalyst is more attentive to the internal reality and has a difficult time with the external reality. With the literary scholar, it's imagination. It's not limited to reality. It continues a back-and-forth flow between reality and imagination.' (Caruth 2014: 58) (Thesis, p. 80).

20. In Chapter Four the apparent absence of collective trauma in the generation of Rosiak is worth examining more closely and is perhaps connected to an idea developed by psycho-traumatologist Onno van der Hart. He suggests that when we are confronted with overwhelming danger such as

facing death or annihilation, we cover our eyes, we cringe, ‘and that’s what’s stuck in the trauma, that subsystem of defence’. van der Hart suggests that with traumatised individuals there are ‘two parts of the personality that have divided along its basic fault lines: the apparently normal part of the personality (ANP) which is associated with action systems related to teaching, positive stimuli, and the emotional part of the personality (EP), which is the part that experienced the trauma and remains stuck there, which is associated with the action system of defence’ (Caruth 2014: 188).

21. Wrocław – Apparently a Normal Place. My suggestion here, as elsewhere in this thesis, is not that the individuals discussed or interviewed as part of my research were necessarily traumatised victims but rather that Wrocław the city, the ecosystem in which Rosiak grew up, is only ‘apparently a normal’ place. Hirsch’s concept of postmemory is useful in this context. What’s more, when we learn more about Rosiak’s story, we discover that she too was impacted by political events, which she described as terrifying. Yet again, we need to be sensitive to the notion of ‘postmemory’ as cited above. (Thesis, p. 82).

A Generation Free of Political Trauma?

The interview with Rosiak helps us piece together what happened in rehearsal and examine how her reaction was based on a socio-historical memory of a politically-induced trauma (Thesis, p 86).

Appendix (2)

The Wrocław Cantata – Biography, Testimony, Witness in Music Orchestras, Choirs and Composers in Wrocław Cantata

Orchestra:

The Orchestra of the Beethoven Academy, The Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance Chamber Choir, members of the Jerusalem Academy's Mendy Rodan Symphony Orchestra, Karol Lipinski Music Academy in Wrocław, Music Conservatory in Pardubice, Hochschule für Music Carl Maria von Weber from Dresden, Chamber Choir Le Colisee Erkelenz, Academic choir Camerata Jagellonica from Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Academic choir of University of Life Sciences in Lublin, choir of University of Life Sciences in Wrocław, Gaudium choir of University in Wrocław, Ars Cantandi – choir of Wrocław University of Economics

Movement Composers:

* Udi Perlman, studying at the Academy of Music and Dance, Jerusalem, Israel chose *Movement One: 1920's in Breslau – 'The Dancing and Building Decade'*

* Amir Shpilman, from Tel Aviv and studying at Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber, Dresden, Germany, chose *Movement Two: 1930's and 40's in Breslau – 'Destruction'*

* Jiří Kabát, composer and musician from Czech Republic, chose *Movement Three: 1940's Wrocław 'Silence and Reawakening'*

* Adam Porębski, student at the Music Academy of Karol Lipinski in Wrocław, Poland, chose *Movement Four: 1990's 'Rebuilding, Flood, Rebuilding' – Politics and Water*

Lead Composer: Pawel Romańczuk:

<https://zamowieniakompozytorskie.pl/kompozytor/pawel-Romańczuk/>

<https://arts.mit.edu/artists/pawel-Romańczuk/#about-the-residency>

Appendix (3)

Scenario/Thematic Brief for *The Wrocław Cantata*

The Wrocław Cantata was performed as part of *Flow* in June 2016. This after-dark event, organized on the River Odra between Wyspa Piasek (Sand Island), Bielarska Island and the Peace Bridge, was performed to an audience of 51,000 people and broadcast live online. The cantata was performed by an orchestra drawn from orchestras and choirs from four nations intimately related to the history of Wrocław. Preparations began in 2015 when four selected composers were presented with a written scenario by myself and a ten bar musical introduction and closing for each movement prepared by *The Flow Quartet* lead composer, Pawel Romańczuk.

‘Movement One: 1920’s in Breslau – ‘The Dancing and Building Decade’: The period of the Weimar Republic was most significant for the development of housing in Breslau/Wrocław, bringing many interesting modernist solutions of a European dimension. This was a great period for cooperative housing in Germany in general. The large-scale new housing estates constructed in Berlin and Frankfurt am Mein, with their hygienic, functional, technical, social, economic and social aspects were a model for other European states. The greatest names were Bruno Taut, Martin Wagner, Ernst May and Walter Gropius. Dance in Germany of the 1920’s was also of international importance. Three choreographers who influenced the development of twentieth-century dance and dance and actor education, Kurt Jooss, Rudolf Laban and Mary Wigman. These three practitioners are recognized for their innovative practice and all three made very different choices as the political situation worsened. Jooss chose to leave Germany, Laban prepared **mass dance and choir events** for the Olympic Games in 1936 but was later incarcerated and eventually escaped to England. Wigman stayed in Nazi Germany during the whole period. This extraordinary decade could and should be interpreted musically through the architecture and dance of the period.

Movement Two: 1930’s and 40’s in Breslau – ‘Destruction’: How did an ethnic community, so integrated into the life of the German majority nation, fall victim to that nation in just a few short decades? Our performance will touch upon this question and perhaps even challenge us to think more clearly, and even creatively, about the place of minorities in a multicultural society. The city of Breslau was besieged as part of the Lower Silesian Offensive on February 13, 1945, by the 6th Ukrainian army and the encirclement of Breslau was completed the following day. Even approximate estimates vary greatly concerning the number of German troops trapped in Breslau. Some sources claim that there were as many as 150,000 defenders, some 80,000 and some 50,000. The Siege of Breslau consisted of destructive house-to-house street fighting. The city was bombarded to ruin by artillery. During the siege, both sides resorted to setting entire districts of the city on fire. On 22 February, the 6th Army occupied three suburbs of Breslau, and during the next day, the 6th Army troops were in the southern precincts of the city itself. By 31 March there was heavy artillery fire into the north, south, and west of Breslau suburbs. The 6th Army witnesses noted that much of the city was in flames. On 20 April, General Niehoff had chocolates distributed to the troops in honor of Hitler's 56th birthday. On 4th May the clergy of Breslau — Pastor Hornig, Dr. Konrad, Bishop Ferche, and Canon Kramer — demanded that Niehoff surrender the town. Niehoff dismissed the clergy without a definitive answer. In the afternoon of the same day, Pastor Hornig repeated his demand in an address to the troop commanders. Hanke ordered Niehoff not to have any further dealings with the clergy.

Movement Three: 1940's Wrocław 'Silence and Reawakening': Speaking of displacement in post-war Europe in general obscures important differences between the experiences of particular groups. In the midst of Europe's 'demographic revolution' (Thum, p. 6), at least two main modes of population management can be distinguished: the first is the resettlement of foreign nationals to their assumed 'homeland' for the purpose of ethnic homogenization the so-called – disentanglement of populations – involving, for instance, the evacuation of some ten million Germans from Eastern Europe and the resettlement of some three-and-a-half million Poles in western Poland. The other is the resettlement across the world of the 'non-repatriable' foreign nationals remaining on European soil after the war. These were the so-called last million who stayed in 1946 after the rest of the eight million 'foreign workers, slave laborers, prisoners of war, and liberated concentration camp inmates'. Gregor Thum's *Uprooted* is a study of the processes of (re)-Polonization and de-Germanization. Thum first concentrates on the physical appropriation of the city by Poles – the movement of people and their environment: the evacuation of the Germans, the settlement of new residents, and the management of reconstruction. In the first instance, then, Thum opposes the infrastructural, organizational, and ideological challenges faced by the local authorities to the residents' own pragmatic responses, for which he draws on memoirs and diaries. In the second instance, Thum turns to the 'politics of the past.' Here, he refers to the 'invention of tradition' by 'engineers of collective memory' (p. 218). For this, he looks at the propagandist attempts at cultural appropriation as reflected in political, popular, and academic discourses about the past and the urban environment. As far as possible, he also seeks to consider the reception of these narratives and therefore their effectiveness. Thereby, Thum evidences the lasting sense of insecurity, what he calls 'the psychosis of impermanence' (p.189), derived from the 'dual tragedy': the uprooting of the city's inhabitants and their replacement with settlers, who themselves were uprooted. Eliminating traces of Germanness, describing the area as timelessly Slavic, the western territories as 'recovered,' and the newcomers as valorous pioneers and 'repatriates' was not enough. Thum argues that the commemoration of displacement took place despite its prohibition under communism and that places of origin continued to matter lastingly despite memory's amputation from above of collective memory.

Movement Four: 1990's 'Rebuilding, Flood, Rebuilding' – Politics and Water: The founding election of the new Polish democracy was held as a two-leg ballot on June 4th and 18th, 1989. The election was the outcome of the so-called Round Table Talks which reserved 65% of the seats in the lower house (Sejm) in advance for the official Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) and its satellite parties but created a Senate for which all the seats could be freely contested in the ballot. The Solidarność coalition scored an overwhelming victory in the semi-democratic election, winning all of the seats that were fought competitively in the Sejm and 99 of the 100 seats in the Senate. After a deal worked out with Solidarność's leader, Lech Walesa, the National Assembly, formed by the Sejm and the Senate, elected General Wojciech Jaruzelski as president. Some years earlier, in 1981, as Prime Minister and Secretary of the PZPR, General Jaruzelski resorted to martial law to put a stop to Solidarność and avoid the Soviet Union intervening in Poland as seemed likely at the time. In 1990, Jaruzelski left office and Walesa was elected as the new president in December with the direct votes of the Polish people. On the early Friday morning, July 11, 1997, in the town of Siechnice lying close to Wrocław, water from the two rivers Oder and Olawa broke through their embankments and flooded the town. Water rushed in the direction of Wrocław submerging the village Radwanice on its way. The culminating wave reached Wrocław in the evening of July 12. By the morning a significant part of the city was under water. Thanks to the determination of Wrocław inhabitants who built dams of

earth and stacked sandbags around the seriously endangered Cathedral Isle and Sand Isle, numerous historical buildings and priceless monuments were saved. In many Wrocław subdivisions 2-3 meter-high water totally cut off residents from the rest of the city. Pontoons, and in extreme cases helicopters, became the only means of communication. The biggest flood in the history of Wrocław paralysed the city. The water supply system didn't work for three weeks. The two water producing plants, which supplied water to over 650,000 inhabitants, were flooded. Sewage pumps was devastated, and in many parts of Wrocław the sewage welled up creating a threat of epidemic. The electricity was cut as the power plants had been partly destroyed. Most of the main supply stations were flooded, as had 550 transformer stations. Telecommunication in the city was also paralysed: 36,000 subscribers and 18 exchanges were cut off. The main communication lines were cut, and the city was divided into three parts, each functioning independently during the flood. The majority of the bridges and viaducts were not accessible and transit transport was not being allowed into Wrocław. Passing through the city from north to south along the only communication road took six hours. The trams were not running. However, the buses were saved thanks to parking them in the higher parts of the city. Water flowing through the city damaged many public buildings, among them four hospitals with medical equipment. In all, the flood covered 30% of the city and over 150,000 inhabitants were directly affected. Thousands of homes were damaged. Many houses collapsed because their structures were disturbed. Many more would need to be demolished. Large numbers of children were dispatched from the city thanks to generous assistance of private people and companies from across Poland, who were willing to arrange for the children's stay away from their flooded city.

Appendix (4) Edited Interviews

- **Amir Shpilman**

Conversation date: 17th February 2018 / Duration: 1.39 h

SKYPE

Amir Shpilman (b.1980) is an Israeli composer who works and lives in Berlin. During the writing of the Wroclaw Cantata he was a Phd student at Hochschule für Music Carl Maria von Weber, Dresden in Germany.

Chris Baldwin - As I tried to think back over our work together and the elements of the project I was reminded of how we wanted to use the Wroclaw Cantata as a way of creating a cultural conversation between the diasporas of the city; the different peoples who had been in one way or another explicitly and implicitly involved in the history of Breslau and Wroclaw. And rather than it being some kind of socio-political conversation I wanted it to be absolutely aesthetic. This is why I came up with the idea of placing a big music project in that conceptual space, and those spaces in Wroclaw that you know are so laden with history, so heavy with memory. So I would like to begin with the way you used the song from Bente Kahan - do you remember? - the Yiddish child singing?

Amir Shpilman - Yes sure, no problem at all, let's do it. Actually I talked with Bente yesterday on the phone. Just for a little while I felt as I needed someone to talk to about what is happening in Poland and it is really - this development, kind of shook me up a little bit.

Chris Baldwin - Which development are you talking about?

Amir Shpilman - The new (memory) laws

Chris Baldwin - This is one of my questions today as something quite serious going on. In fact Bente and her husband made a big contribution last week to that debate in Poland. And so perhaps we should return to that later. So maybe another opening question - Why did you choose that Movement One "Destruction"?

Amir Shpilman - Well I thought that the project is so complicated and so big that I better do what I feel best at and what I feel most strongly connected to in terms of my artistic habits - so this is no time to try things outside of my comfort zone too much. I have written pieces before that deal with this theme of war, and loss, of destruction - and I have dealt with that before socially and emotionally, both as a composer but also as someone who served as a fighter in an elite IDF unit and so I felt that I had something to say without spending too much time learning or looking for inspiration because that inspiration is already inside of me. So that was the main reason to do it - oh, war - I know war, I can do that - kind of thing.

Chris Baldwin - You said you had written other pieces about war and destruction and you mentioned that you had a firsthand experience of this fighting in the elite unit – so what were some of the processes that were going on in you as an artist? I mean: was it solely an internal process or was it a process of wanting to share for some other reason?

Amir Shpilman - I think it was both - maybe I should also say that indirectly I was choosing that movement because I thought it most related to my family.

Chris Baldwin - We had conversations in Wrocław about some of your family responses to this project, so tell me about this and your thinking now? What do you want to say?

Amir Shpilman - Well, the story is that my grandfather came from Poland - from Nowy Sącz, as we talked about during the process, and this is something that was never spoken about in the family, never by him - for sure, but some remote cousins of my father found a book in Yiddish that described that town. And in the book there is a description - very clear description of a witness, of a witnessing a pogrom done by Polish people, by Polish neighbours at the beginning of the war when probably people felt that now Hitler was coming to power and invading Poland everything is OK to do. And basically most of the family were murdered in their beds at night in a pogrom. and the ones who survived died in the German death camps. So that was very sensitive story for me and doing this process I thought a lot about my grandfather, who was a pioneer in Israel, who built roads and worked the land and left (Poland) at a very young age. And actually during this process I had some kind of maybe psycho analysis of this unfolding of feelings where I somehow oversaw him - I did not see him as my grandfather but as a young boy, as a young man and trying to think how does it feel that I am maybe in his age back then - and for the first time I saw him as someone younger and not as a grandfather. I think that was very helpful. So obviously this opened many emotions and made the project very complicated emotionally for me.

Chris Baldwin - You said your grandfather did not share with the family his history in Nowy Sącz, so when did you find out about it? Had he died by the time you have found about it?

Amir Shpilman - Yes. From my father's brother - who apparently did a lot of research about it and found out a lot of details - like what - that they had a trade - I think they were providing coal for heating as a family, I discovered that there was a half-German part of the family - that was the Shpilman family - and the other half was the Noichad family and that is what I can remember right now. But all that I have found out later after he died.

Chris Baldwin - How old were you when you found that out?

Amir Shpilman - I think this was during the project since it made me do the digging - made me start asking questions...

Chris Baldwin - We had those conversations at the beginning - I remember because we were talking about even going to the town together, do you remember? Did you ever go?

Amir Shpilman - Right! No, I did not have the chance.

Chris Baldwin - Coming back to the theme of destruction for a moment and the violence associated with that, you mentioned that you have a first-hand experience - you were in the elite forces, you did not say you had a firsthand experience with destruction, but I imagine there must have been a lot of violence and confrontation involved in that in that period? Did that feed into your writing as a composer?

Amir Shpilman - Yes of course and yet just in a very technical way. One of my - I see that I have

two esthetically directions now - and back then also- one is something very systematic and very textural that has to do with big formations, with mass movement, with chaotic forms and another part that has to do with something more personal and raising the question of authenticity of performance. How can I make the performer become themselves with my material so that the material is authentic - how does a bullet shot sounds like? What is the rhythm of it? How does it echo? How does a gun - how does a bomb sound? How does the sounds of war unfold in musical notation? - when we are thinking about the precision of it, or the procession of the event, the back blow - all these details that we hear, that we feel... It is not just the explosion itself...it is the ramifications of the explosion and, for me, this is a first-hand artistic material. I wanted this and it was easy for me to use.

Chris Baldwin - You were looking at the technical side of replicating these sounds?

Amir Shpilman - As a first layer, of course, but then as a second layer - adding more ideas in the dramaturgical aspects...

Chris Baldwin - So tell me more...

Amir Shpilman - I had this idea of - you talked a lot about community and different communities and trying to think about the place of the individual within this communities and the place of each individual between all these events - while reading your text, your historic research, describing the street to street fighting, the artillery, the siege of the Soviets, the German soldier which according to your text eventually, towards the end of the war, were no German Soldiers anymore but only German children who Hitler used during the fighting. All these descriptions from your text helped me to form a shape of events, and I was thinking more about images, imagery and things come and go, things appear and disappear and I was trying to see how can I make every player of this community - the orchestra community or a big choir community - be an independent voice within these sets of images and what I - the composition technique that I used is called micro-polyphony. And that is why there was this huge division - initially for 16 voice parts, later on, reduced to 8 voice parts - but for me, it was very important each individual to have its solo part within the global picture. And so - if you want I can get technical about it

Chris Baldwin - yes, let's do that...

Amir Shpilman - look at the score and see...

Chris Baldwin - That would be fabulous, I've got the score here - because what is really interesting Amir is that you said earlier on that you have made the choice, quite early, to work within your comfort zone - I think that is the word you used, yet it certainly was not a comfort zone in terms of the people who came to view the work and the people who were responsible for interpreting it. So I am really interested in the detailed technical decisions you made. I think you are touching upon something which was crucial in the Wrocław work. I would use exactly the same words for my work in a performance context. Looking back I see that the purest expression of those complexities of the chaos of Fascism, which you pulled together in those 15 minutes,...look where they sat - they sat absolutely in the middle of the Wrocław quartet. Not at the beginning, not at the end. Ofcourse they were used again at the end in Niebo but they were firstly encountered here, in the middle of the Wrocław Cantata in the middle moment of the Flow Quartet. They needed additional visual conceptualisation for an audience that was unaccustomed to take such a risk musically - we had 51

thousand people watching that show that night, we had 51 thousand people watching work by a composer who may have been working in his own comfort zone but certainly was not working in the comfort zone of 99% of the audience - which I deeply admire and think you did an extraordinary job for that project but also for Wroclaw in general.

Amir Shpilman - Thank you very much. I also got incredible reactions actually from various people, from audience members. I can even read you something that a German director was in the audience wrote to me after: "Congratulations, Amir. Your part was the only one that triggered me emotionally in a deep way. Its character seemed focused and caught in the centre of pain, of destruction of humanity. Like a loop in your brain, a musical collective flashback, a mathematical structure of the unthinkable. The pathos of the other pieces just flew away in the Odra - yours is staying there still - I suppose". It really moved me to hear this and on the bus, on the way back to Berlin, I was in this like four-seat bus and in front of me there were two young students and they were talking about last night, about the show they saw. And I asked them - "Did you see the show, how did you like it" and they "YES, and especially the second piece it was so strong and so amazing" and I was that - "I wrote that piece" - "aaaaa". It was nice to see that not just dorky composers or academics could really feel something that is quite experimental or academic, if you want. So I think it is great. And also the director of the Warsaw Autumn saw the clip and the piece and he immediately wanted to work with me because he felt that he knows the European Capital of Culture, he know how difficult it could be to bring across something that is carefully trying to be groundbreaking or experimental in such a context and into such forces. He felt it was such a strong way of doing it - so I am happy that I was insisting as much as I could in my hysterical way of doing it. I remember one moment in the first rehearsal where they run the piece for the first time and they was all this laughter - in the choir and in the orchestra - people did not understand what they were doing and they were kind of looking down at it - and I remember that someone told me once, as an undergrad, that if this was the music that I choose to do I would have to be prepared to stand proud even when thousand people are throwing tomatoes at me and just stand behind what I do even if they will not understand and in that moment. In that rehearsal I really felt as I needed to kind of lift myself up and remember that and keep going. And it was amazing to see how it all came together in the second and third rehearsal and how these players from the orchestra started to come to me - straightly after rehearsals - some people come with tears and choir members - were so moved - German ones - so yep, anyway.

Chris Baldwin - There were choir members from Germany, from Israel, and from Poland - I don't think there were some from the Czech Republic...

Amir Shpilman - Right - there were people from the Czech Republic in the orchestra, I think...

Chris Baldwin - The point you have made is really important I think. If I just may throw my perspective on what you have just said; The role of any serious artist is to seduce an audience into going somewhere where it did not know it wanted to go. You can't go on a journey by not engaging with them at the beginning but when they recognise they are in an interesting game, a beautifully complex game of seduction and confrontation, seduction and revelation, at this point the audience goes somewhere... What I think you might be suggesting, I do not know whether you want to comment on this, is that the choir and perhaps the orchestra was not acting in a dissimilar way as to an audience. That when they were rehearsing it - they started from not understanding and not wanting and then gradually there was something happening in the process that seduced them into

wanting to find out and they went to somewhere where they could express something that they were not able to express before. You were talking about crying - may be that is exactly what happened a few days later with the audience.

Amir Shpilman - I hope. Also the interaction with the Israeli players from Jerusalem was moving for me. It is also an interesting situation where four composers interacted - and I am originally from Israel, but here I represent Germany actually and another composer from Israel represented Israel. I left at a very early age, so I never really worked with Israeli musicians that much. On my premieres, I hardly had any premieres in Israel. And it was very moving in that sense too and I think they got it very strongly. Both the singers and the choir and the players in the orchestra - people came to me with very very strong reactions after the rehearsals.

Chris Baldwin - Can you remember any of them, you mentioned the Israelis were particularly moved?

Amir Shpilman - Yes, this violinist - she is in the video of the show - the red haired - I don't remember her name - there was a close up of her - she came after one rehearsal and she was shivering and she hugged me and she could not speak much but she said that this is a very strong experience for her and that day after she told me that she needed for few hours after the rehearsal...she needed some time alone - because it was such a strong impact. And then there were the people from the choir who were experiencing it from the audience side from the beginning - you know, sitting in front of the orchestra but - they said that these screaming moments were so strong for them it shook them in a very strong emotional way. I was told by a singer that writing and thinking about the authenticity of a gesture, thinking about how a bullet sounds when it hits metal, and then a ricochet off it, how it hits another type of material like wood and how this all takes place together in a series of bullets, how this unfolds in time or thinking about the organism of a riot, of 1600 people in a riot screaming, revolting...trying to capture it precisely with the sound makes it easier for the performer to read the score because there is not just emotional representation of the text but also it works naturally with the tendency of the body. While classical music is not a natural thing for the body - metronome is not a natural thing for the body - it is a metrical time - it is not a human time and that is why if you want me to get technical I put in the score a lot of spaces that are not functioning on this time level - like for example these grey boxes - I do not know if you remember them, this idea that you can play what is written inside the box precisely if you want, but you do not have to. That is how it is written in the instruction at least - you can play in the style of what is written inside the box - you can play it in your own style, you can develop it, you can improvise it. But if you feel insecure to improvise, or insecure to take an initiative then you can just read precisely what is written and it is your own choice but that is what makes it a personal engagement with the text.

Chris Baldwin - Why was that important, Amir?

Amir Shpilman - Because I thought we had very little rehearsal time, variety of levels of players and I have to get an impactful result fast, so that was my technical way of solving this problem how to create a very powerful big loud impact- full passages that are in a way very easy to create both for the conductor and for the orchestra once they get the technique. So, then all these individual lines are somehow shaped into one big line.

Chris Baldwin - Why was it important that the singers had the choice of how to respond. The grey boxes were a way of offering a choice to a singer, and that was repeated I cannot remember how many times...

Amir Shpilman - it was in the strings - 50 strings, each individual string has this box gestures that are phrasings. The singers had something similar in that process - in groups as singers because find it harder to be completely alone. But later on one group of 160 singers become one grey box - all of a sudden the whole community is now in an independent box with a general instruction going on - like telling them to descend or ascend for example - or keep the gesture you are doing just ascending in pitch. They are called gesture boxes because they emphasize the gesture of the sound of the music and that is something very primal for us. It is some kind of a instinct or reactionary output that is very bodily and there for very connected to authenticity which was the initial goal - how can I make the players become themselves on stage. Much easier with actors or with dancers who are used to work in this way, but musicians - classical musicians are not so much yet.

Chris Baldwin - it seems to be that the world of dance and theatre the performer often has to take more autonomous decisions...also in Jazz. But you are saying that, while this is very unaccepted in classical music, you were absolutely committed to bringing that to the work through the grey box technique?

Amir Shpilman - Yes because I think also historically it makes sense - the movement before me was more related to industrial revolution ramifications which also influenced the structure of an orchestra which is still today behaves like a factory - each orchestral player feeling like a factory worker - usually a depressed person just doing his hours in a rehearsal and then comes a fuller one and tells everyone what to do - and I think these wars have shaken up that perception of collective work.

Chris Baldwin - Did you said - „these wars“?

Amir Shpilman - Yes - the First and the Second, mostly, helped to shake up these structures - that is why I think that these pieces, in that sense, are also very much important to emphasize that time in history and if we look today at the examples of the Arab Spring - or Occupy Wall Street or other movements we see that they did not really have clear leadership - these were a bunch of many different groups, with many different motives, who some how had a collective awareness to come together on that day, to make a demonstration. And that really fascinates me - how we can take something so structural, and so hierarchical, like an orchestra, and by way of composing make it becomes more malleable? That is also subject for each individual - so if I give general instructions - like „Drift up“ - that gives enough space for someone to take part in it - but if I have to be micro managing each player - then I give less space to this collective awareness that we all have - We are all going up right now - OK - then there is this mass movement of going up and on the way interesting artistic things happen.

Chris Baldwin - I am really fascinated by what you have said about what happens in terms of the hierarchy of the politics of an orchestra and how is that reflected in socio-political terms - you talk about the effect of the WWI and WWII on musical forms - you can actually extrapolate that across the whole of modernism - modernism gets completely integrated into artistic movements as a result of the WWI and yet I am still very skeptical about what happens after the WWII - there seems to be

both a re-conservatisation but also radical extensions...but those radical extensions seems to come from what happened aesthetically after the WWI - this is a very interesting subject. Let's just talk a little bit, if we may, about quotation, because you quoted from the Yiddish child's song - I'd love you to talk about and name it in a way you want to name it and tell me about any other quotations that you used. How did the Yiddish quotations come about? What was your thinking there?

Amir Shpilman - So, you encouraged us, or at least talked about the connection to the community in Wroclaw - the different communities - but in my case - I had a lot of historic descriptions in your text but there was also a text saying about the deportation of the Jews, of the Jewish Community. I also related to that and I went and met the head of the Jewish community and the head of the Synagogue in Wroclaw. I tried to include them in the piece...how could I make a personal inclusion of the local community in a moving way for these people. And Bente Kahan told me - and we actually brainstormed together. And she told me that her father was an Auschwitz survivor and that after the war a lot of them ended up in Paris for some kind of a transition camp or something like that and in Paris, he was among other survivors from other places and he heard someone singing in Yiddish. And because her father was a cantor, a singer, he wrote down the words and the melody from what he had heard. And then he used to sing it to her and the lyrics, the title of the song is Mame Kum Zurich in Yiddish - Mummy, please come back. And it is basically a child who lost her mother and is crying and asking for her mother to come back. And then Bente grew up to become a Yiddish specialist and taught her daughter how to sing that song in very articulately perfect Yiddish and made that recording of her daughter, Voja Kahan Gleichgewicht, when she was 8. Now her daughter was already 21. But when I heard this recording I had tears in my eyes - it was very strong - I played it to my mother - I played it to my family and it was a very, very moving gesture.

Chris Baldwin - what happened when you played it to your family?

Amir Shpilman - My mother cried and my father was very moved also and then I consulted with a musicologist - because I had some issues: First of all I wanted authenticity and I wanted to be loyal to history. Jews in Wroclaw were not Polish Jews - they were German Jews and I think according to you or maybe someone else in Wroclaw, I cannot remember now I who talked with, someone in Wroclaw, they were very patriotic Jews, they were patriotic Germans, they were army offices etc. etc. so Yiddish was not really in the context of then, in history, but it was in the context of now, bringing the Polish Community - The Polish Jewish Community - Wroclaw is today part of Poland. And the Jewish community there is a Polish Jewish community and not German Jewish community and that was the justification to use it as a gesture of now, as a gesture of connecting with the people who are now there. And I think also you - at some point when I asked you this question - you said that it is OK in terms of dramaturgy to use this. And the second issue that I had is that using children could be a cheap way of creating moving drama and there was this whole debate whether we will bring child on stage or not and eventually we thought this recording is just so pure and good that we just use this recording as it is.

Chris Baldwin - Just tell me something about the technical side of the Yiddish folk songs because the intervals and the structures are quite different from the choices you were making in the other parts of your movement. So you were quoting both linguistically because that was in Yiddish but you were also quoting a musical language

Amir Shpilman - You mean in that Yiddish song? or?

Chris Baldwin - in the Yiddish song - it is in Yiddish but also in terms of its notation and intervals it tells us it is Yiddish, it tells us where it is from - you do not need the words to know which tradition it comes from...

Amir Shpilman - right, right, I have to look at it for a second.

Chris Baldwin - Which page is it on in your score? Did it ever get incorporated into the score as notes?

Amir Shpilman - Just as a line - it says "Tape" on it. OK here I see - it is page 29. I wanted to give space for this recording - so everything that happens around is a kind of ethereal and very quiet – it gives space and only male choir is doing this contrapunct...a very slow contrapunct - sounds like Gregorian chants...something very religious but with a lot of dissonance because I leave some open time decisions for each singer to decide when to move to the next note - so they are always in delay of one another - creating this like smoky, cloudy texture to it. I think the material of that choir passage is taken from the melody of the girl. So that is how I used it in that instant as a gesture to connect with the current community there.

Chris Baldwin - I had not realized this in my own head before talking with you today - but actually I am wondering whether the way you isolated that voice at that moment impacted on the way I directed the middle scene of *Niebo* where the young Jewish girl is on her own in that immense space - I can not remember whether we had talked about that as an image that I had in my head while you wrote or whether it came from you - I have no idea now...

Amir Shpilman - I think we had an exchange about it

Chris Baldwin - I think it was there - wasn't it?

Amir Shpilman - Because you talked about a child and maybe I was trying to see how I can incorporate that child.

Chris Baldwin - More on that theme of the child and those moments, directly after that, do you remember the conversation we had about silence? I remember, if I am not mistaken, that we talked about this transition moment when Breslau becomes Wrocław. That after the war there was a moment where, perhaps only metaphorically, I don't think it had happened historically, that city must have been silent before it became Wrocław. Do you remember that conversation?

Amir Shpilman - yes

Chris Baldwin - Because you were looking at ways, if I remember rightly, of how we will incorporate silence into your movement, how that wendepunkt moment of silence would be incorporated into a movement. But we didn't do it in the end?

Amir Shpilman - I remember something. I found that a silence was a way for me to create the opposite of silence. So by way of contrast, by adding already after the opening were these big explosions that happened and in between each one of them there is sometimes an empty bar or a long pause and I think these pauses allowed each image or each explosion wave to be even louder because it comes from nothing. This is one way of how I used silence. The other way is in the - I do not know the word in English for these waves that come later but it is very very - how would I

define it? Maybe you define it - it is the moment where the choirs - here are the very quiet violins, then silence and then grow like riot sound and screaming at the pick of it and then silence again, and then again, and that happens three times and there was a shot at the audience that moment and everyone is in complete silence, completely engaged, we were afraid that this silence will not work now I start to understand.

Chris Baldwin - That is the conversation that we had. I remember how both of us were concerned as to if, with an outdoor audience of 51 thousand people or thereabout, you would you ever be able to create the moment of silence. But we did!

Amir Shpilman - Yes!

Chris Baldwin - I am very fascinated by your comment that you used silence in order to punctuate the opposite - to create the opposite and vice versa. By making a lot of confusion, a lot of noise, you can afford to take the moment of silence. can you just – listen. We talked about the Yiddish and the girl's song...but which were the languages which you incorporate?

Amir Shpilman - German. I talked with you about the possibility to incorporate German - I don't remember how I found it eventually - I googled - I forgot the name - the general that you mentioned /Hans von Ahlfen/ in your text.

Chris Baldwin - The German General?

Amir Shpilman – Yes. They distributed chocolate to the youth during the fighting and they were all signing together Happy Birthday to Hitler at some point - you wrote that in your text and through that I was doing a search and I came upon a quote from a speech Commandant Hans von Ahlfen gave to the soldiers of regiment mohr Breslau in Febraury 1945 - „Every house of Fortress Breslau, which has been entrusted to us by the Fuhrer, will cost the enemy rivers of blood.“ "Jedes Haus der uns vom Führer anvertrauten Festung Breslau soll den Feind Ströme von Blut Kosten."

Chris Baldwin - did you use any other language, any other phrases, do you remember?

Amir Shpilman - I think these are the only two. I felt very reluctant to use words in this piece of course for obvious reasons - words are too perfect.

Chris Baldwin - What do you mean?

Amir Shpilman - Words are a perfect form - they are so beautiful and complete and how can you use them for destruction, for expression of destruction or specifically for that story - how could you even describe it with words? It is that strong emotion.

Chris Baldwin – This seems to go back to a comment you made earlier about when Bente was teaching her daughter how to sing that song - you said she taught her daughter to sing that song with huge emphasis on the articulation of the words. So it seems to me that what you have just said links back to the quotation that you took from Bente's child and family history. You have the perfect articulation of language which was lost and destroyed in the Shoah...or attempted at least. Patterned against this was the most extreme anti-human statement by the general.

Amir Shpilman - Yes, it is a general issue that I have in composing for words. And now I had to, I

told you, I had this big piece of information which raised a lot of questions - I had no idea about - This story of Luther and his relationship to the Jews.

Chris Baldwin - tell me - I do not remember.

Amir Shpilman - In the last five years of his life he wrote a book called „On the Jews and Their Lies“ and there are descriptions of seven steps describing how Jews should be treated leading to a complete annihilation by the last step. And this book was the biggest influence for anti-semitists and for Hitler actually. I had no idea and here I am - a composer - who is supposed to compose a big piece for orchestra and a large choir, four movements, 42 minutes, for celebration of the reformation started by that same man and what am I doing?! Then, later on - I understood that the people from the church are actually aware of that and are actually acknowledging it. And I looked carefully at the words - how did they described the event - they don't say in celebration of 500 years of reformation - they say a „Marking of 500 years of Reformation“ - which makes a difference. And they put a question mark next to it - so they are questioning. And then it was much easier for me to focus on music. Eventually I got tired of asking what does it mean that me, a Jewish composer contributing to the celebration of such a man, who actually inspired great terror later on in history? What is the meaning of what I am doing? Eventually, I told myself - you are a musician - just write music. Just focus on the music and everything else will come out by itself. And they brought me a librettist and she wrote very interesting text full of question marks that I felt this self-questioning which I did not felt in Wroclaw from the Polish people and I think that is what made it a difficult – a more difficult project emotionally. In Poland I was really surprised to not see any of that - among also young people - who just grow to believe what they are taught in history and the history of how Poland was taking part in anti-semitism. I found ... What I felt was a kind of sense of - like something very nonchalant about it - which looked so obvious and so brutal. I do not like to play that card of the victim Jew - I hate it - I mean I am not - I am a young, strong Israeli guy who is healthy and who is contributing to the world and I do not like this image of the victimising victim and victimising Jew - and so I am trying to be very humble in this kind of situation when this conflict arises and not to impose in that direction. Thinking that it is obvious to the other side of the discussion what happened, of their part in history. And I felt that there is no sense of that in any way - like complete alienation from the way I perceive history - the way I read about it or know it. And that was really difficult. At some point I went with Udi Perlman in the streets and we talked about it, I think it was his first visit and we talked about our feelings, looking at the people around, looking at the street, looking at the society how we see it and he said: "It feels like (and here he uses a Yiddish phrase) and I will translate that - there is this expression - maybe I should google the exact way of translating it but it means something like "The Nazi and the Helpers" and Udi walked with me on the street and told me: "Do you know what I feel? - And the helpers! I feel that part of the sentence when I look at people" and it somehow captured it.

Chris Baldwin - Were there any experiences that you had with Polish people that led you to think that? Or was this a feeling that somehow accompanied you?

Amir Shpilman - It was both - a feeling but with interactions with specific people. You know I would go out at night, I would meet people, I had some different relationships with locals and I could learn from them their feeling about it or how they react to it, and that is what I saw when I met.

Chris Baldwin - what is it?

Amir Shpilman - when I met Bente Khan's husband - Aleksander Gleichgewicht - who is the head of the Jewish community - he told me stories. We had an appointment and the day before there was a demonstration where they were burning puppets who were dressed like Orthodox Jews on the streets and he was just coming to my meeting after meeting the head of police to discuss the security of the community - so the question is - Do I bring preconception? - Probably also, I think that exists too in reality also.

Chris Baldwin - We mentioned the Polish memory laws and the issue that arose around the naming of your piece. Tell me about the dedication you gave your piece.

Amir Shpilman - ah, „the dedication“. I don't know whether we have ever talked about it, but it was important for me - firstly for myself - I literary had tears in my eyes when I wrote the last note of this piece. Never happened to me before. It was important for me to make this gesture for the memory of my grandfather, but beyond that, it remained something very personal and it was not for the audience to know but it was for the inherited intimacy between me and the players of my music. Between me and the conductor. And such a dedication can shed light or may be give another nuance of a feeling for a performer when he is handling such a text or context and perhaps influence the way they play and that was my main intention with it. It could be perceived as another kind of notation. And so, what you want to hear? How I felt when I got the e-mail that I have to take it out?

Chris Baldwin – Well, this is where I am very interested because I will tell you about me and where I was in that process after we had that conversation - I do not want to influence what you are going to say, but I am very happy to tell you what happened from my perspective. But first of all let's try and get the sequence sorted out - So, you submitted your score and incorporated a dedication to your grandfather. Have you got the exact words there?

Amir Shpilman - yes, and I have consulted with so many people before putting it on.

Chris Baldwin - I would like to hear that too but tell me what did the dedication say?

Amir Shpilman - I think it was: "Dedicated to the memory of my beloved grandfather, Avraham Shpilman, who escaped from Europe, and the Neustadt and Shpilman families, who were murdered in Poland during the Second World War."

Chris Baldwin - And whom did you have to consult in preparing this dedication?

Amir Shpilman - My brother in law who also had a family in Europe and he is in New York, he is an American but he has Polish roots and German roots and he did a lot, an extensive research about his background. I consulted with a Jewish author Reuven Namdar who is a Sapir prize winner - it is the highest literature prize in Israel, he is a good friend of mine and whenever I have a tough question about content I talk with him. He is a professor in Jewish studies in the Art College in New York. And my family, my father, my sister.

Chris Baldwin - So you gave the piece that dedication and then what happened?

Amir Shpilman - And then I've got an email – telling...

Chris Baldwin - who was it from?

Amir Shpilman - I don't remember her name -

Chris Baldwin – ***** (redacted)?

Amir Shpilman - There are two - right - there are two ***** (redacted)...

Amir Shpilman - who, I can actually open it if you want - could be interesting - let me see if I can find it.

Chris Baldwin - well I am trying to look myself. When did you have to submit your music - it was in about March 15th 2016, wasn't it?

(See Supplementary Note at the end of this interview)

Amir Shpilman - I am not sure. Wait. It is not here - I see all the technical things - page sizes... and I remember immediately getting a phone call from you - which I couldn't answer at that moment but you probably felt the need to tell me immediately after you saw this e-mail. Things were already quite sensitive anyway at that point with our collaboration.... Anyway - maybe we can find it later but - she was very polite and she asked me to take out this dedication explaining me the whole spiel about German death-camps - and not Polish death-camps and that this whole history that Polish people were not taking part in anti-semitic acts. Everyone around me was outraged by this attempt to rewrite history and I felt again - here I got a conflict - If I agree with this - then I am supporting this rewriting of history - what do I do now - and I want to be easy to work with ... as much as I can - and I felt that it is best for me to just let go. Everyone was really... In Germany, everyone was ready to make a huge... We never talked about it but people wanted to go to the press and make a huge scandal out of it and just... People said - this is ours - this is European money who fund these things - we cannot allow this to happen - People were furious - And I don't remember why I decided to not do anything about it, why to not go ahead and just release it to the press and starts making a whole noise about this whole thing. It was a very sensitive moment also in the production - we had other challenges - I mean - you had other challenges.

Chris Baldwin - The dedication that you gave them didn't mention death camps or Polish death camps - you just said that they had died in Poland, which was a historical fact.

Amir Shpilman - Right, and I felt too humble to scream that they were murdered by Polish people

Chris Baldwin - Do you know that?

Amir Shpilman - Yes, I told you, there is this book with witness, writings in Yiddish and we had - my dad he read to me in tears. And it is all because of this project - we were never looking into these things. But my dad took this book and started reading it to me, we were sitting in the living room and then get to the point where he describes the actual neighbourhood where they were living and that evening of that pogrom and he kind of - he could not breathe and he started to cry. I had not seen him actually cry I think - now when I think about it - before. So I felt it would be too cheap for me to now - this is too important, this is too sensitive for me to - it is not the way I fight, I do not fight like this, so I preferred to not go into conflict with her about it.

Chris Baldwin - You changed the dedication. So, "Dedicated to the memory of my beloved grandfather, Avraham Shpilman, who escaped from Europe and the Neustadt and Shpilman families, who were murdered in Poland during the Second World War." - this version that you sent me is the original.

Amir Shpilman - yes, of course after the production we published it, now the score is published by a German publisher and back at home safe and now, more than a year after the project, I think according to the contract I could do that.

Chris Baldwin - so you have turned it back?

Amir Shpilman - yes, of course.

Chris Baldwin - if we could find the quote you have changed it to that would be incredibly useful for me and my research into Poland Memory Laws and how they are using their memory laws in a very specific way.

Amir Shpilman - I remember she mentioned Alan Urbanek, the conductor - I think - in her e-mail - but I think it was particularly sensitive for him. And I think he is a Proud Polish man and once he took me and Udi to a Polish Historic Museum to be exposed to the way the history is told there and to spend some time with us. We did not know what to make of it - both of us - what it really meant and why just the two of us, why were there not the other composers too?... anyway...

Chris Baldwin - so let me just go over this if I may - it is very much related to what we have just been talking about...this dispute over what could be and could not be written down on the dedication - I do remember the email and she evoked the Polish law on a subject and said under the Polish law there is now a distinction between - or it had to be said where the Holocaust was involved there could be no mention of - I am not sure - I have to check myself about the words she used

Amir Shpilman - I remember something now

Chris Baldwin - she said you have to use the phrase German death camps

Amir Shpilman - in fact, it was not yet the law - it is now becoming, but there is something else...

Chris Baldwin - I am very very interested to know why there was this demand made upon you to change the dedication that you have written one and a half years before this new law was passed. It only came into effect last week. Effectively you were breaking no law whatever you chose to write.

Amir Shpilman - Yep, but remember you told us, may be on the second or the third meeting - something is changing now - in Europe there is a lot of fear but also something is changing in Poland also - there is a new law, and I don't remember whether you told it to Udi too or was it in a conversation only with me - I don't remember this but you said: "There is a new law in Poland where it is illegal to mention in public events or any cultural events - Polish and anti-semitism before, during and after the war" and you guys are lucky - because we can still do in a way whatever we want in this show but if we were to sign your contracts after this law pass- probably Flow would sound like Polish National Anthem piece. Along with this cultural reformation, there were also these regulations that - every cultural event should highly emphasize Polish National

symbols and things like that. I think you mentioned that on some meeting or a conversation and you said you are happy that we already had contracts before that so we can still continue our plan. So, I thought this e-mail was related to that.

Chris Baldwin - let's - if you could spare the time after this conversation, Amir, if we could find those e-mails and those conversations between you and Asia...it could be superb. I did get them at a time - so I must have a copy. I was stunned and shocked by that intervention. I am absolutely fascinated and relieved to hear that you have changed it back. But I want to have a look at all of those processes going on at that time. I want to see whether people were predicting the law - were people avoiding disturbing the political trajectory at that time? As one artist to another I completely understand your dichotomy, your desire to see the piece go on, your desire to want to work and the same time feel that huge responsibility for what was family memory, European memory, feeling suddenly on the sharp end of what was potentially a piece of political manipulation. These are really serious issues that you are raising. Now, do not think that you have any obligation to resolve them - I think as artists have an obligation not to forget and to be conscious and to share these manipulations - but how we resolve them is probably a wider question. Let me just ask you one more question - if I may - the whole - all of the work that you have been describing today on Flow, and the processes you went through, could be considered a response to trauma as well as the Shoah. Do you have a definition of trauma? How could you describe trauma if you are asked to?

Amir Shpilman - I don't know. I do not know how to describe it - I just know it is an associate with images. Recurring images or very hidden memories, very hidden memories which seem as if they were not there until someone unveils them.

Chris Baldwin - I think the form of your piece unveils them. I think that is why the quotations worked so well - the quotations of the Yiddish girl singing - you called it an uncovered memory - it is a memory that is put so deep inside us that it needs uncovering and I think what you did that evening and what we all did - it was not an individual task - but what we all did was - bring back for a precious hour in a huge public space something that is absolutely in the middle of yet another war of memory. And your work touched upon that. The way silences worked upon the audience that you described earlier is the greatest gift any artist could give to people. Because with all the political violence, linguistic violence and manipulation going on in Poland and Wroclaw, even during the whole history of Wroclaw since 1945, the associated confusions creates fear and terror and lead to silence and denial and negation of any contribution to those conflicts. You end up in a ever increasingly more violent rejection of testimony and truth. And so what you did as an artist that evening was draw us back to that truth, back to those moments and, rather innocently perhaps, an audience of Germans and Poles and many other countries - but predominantly Poland - were silent together for a key moment. That is the gift of the artist - this is not to say that the controversy with your dedication wasn't an absolute expression of political violence that is happening. We need to treat it as such and look at the power structures which enabled it. But actually don't feel guilt about putting that to one side for a moment - because what you did in the show was the work of the artist.

Amir Shpilman - Thank you very much. Maybe I felt that the music will speak for itself or something like that. Yoram Leef, the director of the Jerusalem Academy of Music, knew the details of the score and he knew the details of the struggle within the preparation of the score, the collaboration with Alan and with the whole structure and so they knew all the sensitivities and they

knew how challenging it was and they felt that it was a big winning statement. And also Udi told me that everyone was complaining about the piece and also heard that there even attempts to throw it from the project and all of that stuff. And it was very compelling to see that the musicians also in a way chose to engage in it, choose to play it and eventually also make Alan in a way want to play it - to the best of his abilities too and that was such a nice transformation to observe also.

Chris Baldwin - On many many fronts, I think, we both place the importance of art in a social context. I am not religious but when you get the art right you create the context for communion. The word communion is linked to the work community. So if we have a hope in hells chance of not destroying ourselves then I have a suspicion that it will be in finding those moments of communion. You can not rely on religion to bring that to us anymore - you have to find other ways. And they are likely to be cultural.

Supplementary Note

"Dear Amir,

There is one tiny, although extremely important to us, nuance which is related to the words on Your scores. You have placed a private dedication which goes as follows:

"Dedicated to the memory of my beloved grandfather, Avraham Shpilman, who escaped from Europe and the Neustadt and Shpilman families, who were murdered in Poland during the Second World War."

The dedication constitutes a beautiful image in memory of Your family members. However, the expression you have used "(...) *who were murdered in Poland during the Second World War*" is highly inappropriate. I am sending you below the precise justification concerning this situation which is suggested by the words used by you „*in Poland*". I therefore ask You together with Alan Urbanek to use the correct expression in the following form „***in concentration camps set up by the Nazi Germany in the territory of the occupied Poland***".

And if you meant only geographic context - it is better to write "***in the territory of the occupied Poland by the Nazi Germany***".

Polish concentration camps (also known as "Polish death camps" or "Polish extermination camps") - is an incorrect expression used in certain media, publications, including historical elaborations in reference to the German Nazi concentration camps located within the borders of Poland, which was occupied from 1939 by Germany, which not only indicates the geographic location of the camps, but also suggests that these camps were set up and managed by the Poles. According to some views this expression is made purposefully as a propaganda directed against the Polish state. Certain expressions may also be encountered, such as „Polish death camps" or "Polish Holocaust, polnische Häuser des Todes – Polish death houses, polnische Vernichtungslager, polnische Vernichtungslager Sobibor und Treblinka".

*Most often the term „ Polish concentration camps" is applied with reference to **the camps set up by the Nazi Germany in the occupied Poland**, that is at the time when Poland had no impact on the policy of the invador. At the time when the camps were set up Polish state did not exist.*

I hope for your understanding and empathy in this quite delicate situation.

With sincere greetings,

- **Udi Perlman**

Interview – Conversation with Udi Perlman

Conversation date: 18th Feb 2018 / Original Duration: 56:14 h

Udi Perlman (b.) is a Phd. student of musical composition at The Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance, Israel.

Chris Baldwin – Udi, please tell me why you chose to write the first movement of The Wrocław Cantata – *Construction and Rhythm*?

Udi Perlman - I remember my initial thought was that the second movement would be the most appropriate for me. In the end this became Amir's "Destruction" which was about WWII. I had thought that me, as the Israeli Jewish composer, that it would be the most appropriate choice. You suggested very kindly that I considered perhaps the first movement. And that was just a suggestion and then I actually read more and learned more about the first movement - about the time between the wars, about the Weimar republic and when Wrocław was still Breslau and part of Germany. And the more I learned about it I realized that I could choose this movement and was happy. I did it for a number of reasons. In terms of the artistic challenge I liked the idea also of the opening, the idea - the challenging to create such a work. *The Wrocław Cantata* is such a big scope and how do I create a first movement that kind of gives the energy for this whole thing and sets the tone and still leaves rooms for other things to happen? I remember - you kind of said that - I'd hate to see 50 people leave after the first movement. But I mean I liked that as a competition challenge. But also in terms of the content. The content you suggested was to deal with the cultural flourish of that time and also perhaps the political unrest and all these things were going on - the more I learned about the age I found it fascinating and that there were so many options to explore. So, that was my choice of the movement. I would say - even though there were so many concrete actual things to refer to - we talked about the choreography, the dance and architecture - those I think were the main themes. The architecture and the dance. Maybe the fact that I am also from Israel and Jewish - and I felt also that this time in history is even in a way, even more connected as a catastrophe to my life, at least to my modern identity as a Jew. I mean at that time there was a kind of international Jew, I mean Breslau was a Rabbinical centre and very important for the religious aspects of the Judaism. But for me as non religious, as a secular Jew, it was very just interesting to see the role of Jewish authors and Jewish thinkers and Jewish architects at this time and these things were all in my mind while writing I would say.

Chris Baldwin - I don't think, during the process, we had many opportunities to talk about this. Do you remember where the orchestra was when the Wrocław cantata was being played - it was set in front of a church, facing down river. Behind that church, literary behind it - there are two channels artificially built into the river – I discovered around the time you were writing that one of those channels was made into two swimming pools in the Weimar republic. People could go and bathe. One was for the whole community and the other was specifically a Jewish swimming pool. So people could use it in a way that was comfortable and respectful of their religious differences - it just seems so extraordinary that, as you say, that it was a Rabbinical centre, significant buildings and bridges were built by Jewish architects and that community was thriving through both trade and through intellectual thinking. And as you say perhaps we forget to celebrate this before we get to

the point of actually exploring what happened to that community. There seemed to be a need, and that is why I invited you to think about taking on that movement, to hear the voice of a young Israeli Jewish composer talking about this world from - it was probably an openly idealistic impulse - as something we should look back at and be more conscious about what was lost. When you came to Wrocław was it your first trip to Poland?

Udi Perlman - It was my second time. My first, as most high-school children, high-school students, was when I came for a Holocaust trip.

Chris Baldwin - could you tell me something about that?

Udi Perlman - Now it has become a very big industry that high-school students in Israel around the age of 17-18, right before they are about to finish high-school education and start mandatory service in the Israeli army, they are taken to Poland for about a week and they go to Auschwitz-Birkenau and Treblinka and Majdanek and Warsaw to see the ghetto, and it is part of the education system of the teaching history. But it is very much – I mean there is a lot of criticism from different parts of society about this kind of trip basically for the fact that it is a kind of indoctrination. And the narrative that is presented is immediately related to upcoming military service. So basically they make an immediate connection between modern history and the fact that they are going to the army and that they need to protect the country and never again! So, it is a very common phenomenon and it is well funded by Israeli government which - this is a complex issue. It was a very interesting trip for me. My brother didn't go. Some of the elements are definitely of shock education. Yes, it is a complex issue.

Chris Baldwin - I am interested to hear you say that it is, in your opinion, directly related to preparing ideologically the people who are going to go into military service directly afterwards.

Udi Perlman - Yes, I would definitely say that.

Chris Baldwin - That is interesting, because when I have been doing this research, I have come across the use of historical memory from different perspectives to, it seems, serve political aims. So I have come across this instance that you are talking about from other directions. But the same this has happened in Germany - perhaps to reinforce post-war and later EU concept of multiculturalism. So historical memory being used in various ways. From a Polish point of view it seems that historical memory has now been politicized. New memory law prescribe how language can be used. There is a very interesting writer - Kopysov - who wrote a book recently this year, called "Memory laws, Memory Wars" - he looks at how memory is reconfigured politically. He talks about Russia and Europe but I have also read same thing going on in Israel. So this is really very interesting what you are describing. So with that background that you have as a young Israeli who came to Poland first and then, I presume, went into Military service...

Udi Perlman - Yes, I mean I was a musician - I shouldn't be presented somehow a hero - but yes, I did 2 years of mandatory service in the Israeli army.

Chris Baldwin - As a musician?

Udi Perlman - Yes, they had this status called "outstanding musician" which they award to a number of musicians each year - so I basically was a soldier – I had very comfortable conditions

and could resume my musical education.

Chris Baldwin- So coming from that experience, your next visit to Poland was to work with us in Flow?

Udi Perlman – Exactly. I still vividly remember the meetings. I mean this also directly affected the music - the kind of impression of - because you come directly from a very nice modern airport, in a cab with a taxi driver who does not really speak English, and you go through the part of Wroclaw which has the kind of Soviet architecture and then you are suddenly it is the middle of the night and the city unfolds and you see these beautiful structures - all they were probably – I already knew about what history is but I realized - OK, that must be before the war and then again you go to the hotel, which is kind of a 90ies – I could already see from the cab see the multilayered history.

Chris Baldwin - For me that is very clear in your work. Wroclaw is a palimpsest, it is multilayered space - architecturally speaking. And sometimes this palimpsest, that multicultural heritage of the city which is clearly visible in architecture is not necessarily so clearly visible in day to day conversation. There seems to be a dichotomy between what is the physical, spatial, architectural heritage of the city and then what actually happens between people here and now, probably as a result of another serious very significant conscious political decision - which was to make Poland, under Stalin's understanding of post-war society, a homogeneous country which were not officially revolving around Catholicism but was definitely, ethnically Polish.

Udi Perlman – When compared to Berlin it is amazing how homogeneous Poland is - now in retrospect ethnically. In retrospect I realize even more the discrepancy between the multilayered visual aspect of the city and the very homogeneous white Polish ethnic community.

Chris Baldwin - In your research for the first movement did you read or researched anything about the Jewish population in Breslau ?

Udi Perlman - I received some materials from you – Gregor Thum's *Uprooted* – and more general books about Wroclaw. The father of my girlfriend is a historian of Jewish history specifically in German and Hungary but he is also very knowledgeable about Poland and I spoke to him. And I was looking for some way to incorporate this in the music. And I think the most interesting was Willy Cohn from Breslau who wrote a very detailed diary about his experiences before and during WWII - and I tried to think of a way how to incorporate all these things - and I remembered speaking to you about this, that I wanted to somehow relate to the architecture and to the dance and to the city – I was overwhelmed at the beginning by all these themes - so eventually - what I decided to do was rather than approach all these themes directly – I saw a programmatic way – I tried to depict all these things in the music I chose to approach in a more abstract way - trying to relate to what I felt was the most prominent characteristic or aspect of this time, of this period. Which was something - I would say - subjective - kind of emotional - this feeling of constant progression and constant change and things are being not stable. So with these things in my mind I approached the act of composing. I was looking for a text to compose for choir. I used two texts - one was a text by Brecht - *Concerning Spring* [Über das Frühjahr] which speaks about a kind of collective memory of a last spring he describes beautifully through urban landscape - we feel this spring, we all have read about it in books - we hear about it in the stories but we do not actually experience. So I felt that this was extremely appropriate for also this historical period which is so

much forward moving - but also kind of - obviously in between - what came before and what came after - so this kind of looking back and forward and as a sub text in order to express this idea of the last spring. I chose a romantic text by Heinrich Heine *Frühlingsbotschaft* - which is also Jewish and is a romantic canonical German poem about spring and that was basically the main text that I used while composing. But I had this idea of palimpsest in mind - how I could show it in your face - this is spring but through a veil. I had an interesting experience with this because this poem was set to music by Mendelssohn, and I also used a quote of that - of his music in the piece - near the ending - and I presented this piece to a masterclass of an Austrian composer - he is one of the top living composers - his name is Georg Friedrich Haas. He came to have a master class in Tel Aviv, I presented the work to him and after the piece he referred to this this quote and the fact that he had grown up in Austria, post-war Austria, and he said - "this melody, I know this melody is by Schuman". No, no - I said - it is by Felix Mendelssohn. He said - Are you sure? - Yes, definitely - it is Felix Mendelssohn - and then he suddenly froze and he realized - because he knew that melody - kind of even as a folk melody - he realized - he had a kind of flashback and said - I remember seeing this melody published by Austrian publishing house and it was with the name Schuman - and he then realized that they changed the author in the Nazi period - they changed the name from Mendelssohn to Schuman - because Mendelssohn was Jewish. And till that moment in 2016 he did not realize that it was actually a piece by Mendelssohn.

Chris Baldwin - So was this process of the Nazis renaming compositions something often happened?

Udi Perlman - I have never heard of it...not that I know - it might have been that - I am not aware of this phenomenon, but for him it was a shock, cause he...

Chris Baldwin - and that was his analyses - that at some point

Udi Perlman - yes, he suddenly realized it - because he had a flashback if seeing as a child this German Ausgabe - with the Schuman under the sun

Chris Baldwin - his name was?

Udi Perlman - Georg Friedrich Haas.

Chris Baldwin - So all of this was happening around you while you were writing the first movement?

Udi Perlman - All these things - yes. I actually just yesterday I had to submit a kind of a paper on this piece for my own master studies - so I analysed it from a musical theory aspect how I expressed these ideas of through musical terms. I used as an embryonic form for the whole piece one interval - which is the interval of the fifth. And this interval is - you can say - the most connotative, the most basic interval in Western music. When you move from tonic to dominant - which is the basic progression of Western harmony - that is the interval. So you hear that and it is very clear. That is on one hand - but on the other hand - the same interval at the beginning of the century, by composer like ... Schoenberg or Charles Ives in America used this very same interval in order to create kind of satirising. This interval, using it extensively like - instead of just doing once - tan tan tan, did it tan taan taaaan taaaaan taaaaaan - again and again and again - this kind of a swirl into a loop - they created very modern nonconventional musical structures. This was more of an unconscious decision

but from a musical theory point of view - everything is derived from structures, from this very basic interval - and I choose it because I felt that on the one hand I could allude to this Brechtian idea of the lost spring because of very traditional connotations but on the other hand a feeling which is so much a characteristic of this Weimar republic time - things fast moving and governments changing every week - such a swirl. And much of this piece is about this rapid rapid progression that keeps on, because it is progressing so much it actually not going anywhere - and it is just going in a loop.

Chris Baldwin - You are talking about the introduction of the fifths and I can see how you did that – I know your movement applied that overtly especially towards the end - but it is very recognisable – but this is the first time I have had a conversation with you about that choice and I was unaware of where that was coming from - but this is where you are rooting it - both in terms of historical actual events - you called it the „swirling up“ - the swirling of the Weimar republic, the changing of governments almost every week, the instability of the political situation and you linked also into that foreboding from the poem by Brecht . There is a foreboding in your piece and obviously Amir then takes that on from the end of your movement, explicitly exploring two major themes - the vicious, violent Fascistic destruction of a country and he also points out, through one particular quotation, the Yiddish child and that refers back to something that is probably not just underthreat but destroyed. You mentioned earlier on that clearly you come from both Jewish and Israeli culture and visiting Poland before going into the IDF – from the position of a musician. Are there technical musical motives or solution to problems which are essentially Jewish or Israeli in the first piece or is the main solution to everything these intervals of the fifth?

Udi Perlman - My answer would be no, but no with a history before it - because since I came to Germany I have asked myself - is there anything Israeli, anything Jewish about me, about my music, should there be anything Jewish or Israeli about my music? And obviously it is a question which is very, impregnated. I mean it is a very dangerous thing to define abstract musical things as Jewish coming because it has history, but then again my musical education in Jerusalem is about this, about the last reservoirs of a Nationalistic - in a positive kind of way - kind of a naive way. My generation of teachers are still kind of trying to form Israeli identity and my generation of composers, and also before, has kind of an allergy to this issue - you cannot be completely cynical about it.

Supplementary Note:

"The Circle of the Fifths' Re-Evaluated" by Udi Perlman. Concerning Spring is the settled title for the First Movement of Wrocław Cantata – originally named *Construction and Rhythm*.

THE 'CIRCLE OF FIFTHS' RE-EVALUATED:

INTERVAL-5/7 CYCLE AS COMPOSITIONAL RESOURCE IN CONCERNING SPRING

By Udi Perlman

The Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance
Department of Music theory, Composition & Conducting

February 2018

PART II

Utilizations of Interval-5/7 in Concerning Spring

Concerning Spring for chorus and symphony orchestra was commissioned by 'Wrocław - European Capital of Culture 2016' and premiered in June 2016 on the banks of the Odra river in the city of Wrocław, Poland as part of the 'FLOW – Wrocław Cantata'.

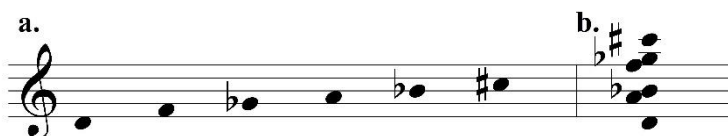
As a part of this project I was asked to relate in my composition to the city of Wrocław, and specifically to the historical period of between the two world wars, the Weimar Republic, when the city was part of Germany, and called Breslau.

Instead of expressing this complex historical period in a direct, programmatic manner, I chose to approach it in a more abstract way. I did this by focusing on what I perceived, after reading and learning about the city's historical period, to be its most prominent and striking characteristic – instability and of constant rapid development and change.

An additional inspiration for the piece was Bertolt Brecht's poem *Concerning Spring (Über das Frühjahr)* from his *The Impact of the Cities* (1925-1928) poem collection, which describes a collective memory of a lost spring. As a representation of this idea, I used the poem *Frühlingsbotschaft* by Heinrich Heine, as the main text sung by the choir and the Soprano solo.

With these themes in mind, I chose to use the interval of a perfect fifth and IC 5/7 as a primary compositional resource, a kind of embryonic idea for the entire piece. I felt that this interval's particular characteristics, discussed earlier, would enable me on the one hand to represent the idea of excessive progress leading to a feeling of swirl, by creating a saturation of forward moving harmonic progressions, while on the other hand to allude to the Brechtian idea of a "lost spring", by using the intervals more traditional connotative attributes, but still in a non-functional way.

Rather than starting with a direct statement of IC 5/7, the piece begins with a long introduction (measures 1- 115), based on the so called *hexatonic collection* (014589). This six-note set (Ex. 12) is realized at vertically as chord in a spacing which highlights the interval of the fifth and could be also understood as a combination cycle of 7 and 1.



Example no 12: (a.) The *hexatonic collection* used in the introduction. (b.) the same set as a vertical combination cycle-7,1.

Throughout the introduction this chord is chromatically shifted upwards in a gradual way until it culminates in a tutti unison fifth D-A (see in the score figure E). The first entrance of the choir is a melodic statement of the hexatonic collection in its reduced spacing (see in the score m. 108).

The first musical material directly derived from IC 5/7 appears at figure F (see Ex. 13), in the low winds and brass in staccato eighth-notes. This passage, which could be described as one of the main motif of the piece, is a series of four-note chords, which are all different forms of the same set (0257). This set could be understood as a "stack of fourths/fifths," or as a segment of IC 5/7.

Example no. 13:

The progression from one chord to another is achieved by systematic transpositions along IC 5/7. Each chord is transposed by two fifths (a whole step), thus keeping two common tones and producing two new ones. By keeping the common tones in place while moving between chords, a parsimony of voice leading is achieved, creating a cyclic progression with an ascending trajectory, of twelve chords with maximum pitch-class variety (see Ex. 14).

Example no. 14:

When considering the four horizontal individual lines formed by this progression, an unexpected connection to the hexatonic collection from earlier is evident. Each voice consists of a vertical realization of the hexatonic collection, with the four voices realizing all four possible forms of the set. Starting in figure G (m. 131), a new section starts, based entirely on another harmonic material also directly related to IC 5/7. The basic sonority used is a vertical realization of an eight-note segment of the cycle - the so called *diatonic octad* (01234578t). This set is the complementary octachord of (0257) used in the previous section.

G-D-A-E-B-F#-C#-G#

Example no. 15:

Two voicings of an 8 note chord based on an IC 5/7 segment (as it appears in m. 131)

Example no. 17:

The choir passage in figure S (m. 299) is also based on a simple melodic realization of IC 5/7. Here, however, instead of a single line, the choir part consists of three independently moving IC 5/7, one in the sopranos starting on A, one in the basses starting on F, and one shared between the altos and the tenors starting on G (See Ex. 18)

The image shows a musical score for a choir passage. It consists of four staves labeled S (Soprano), A (Alto), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). Each staff contains a melodic line based on the IC 5/7 interval cycle. The Soprano part starts on A, the Bass part starts on F, and the Alto and Tenor parts share a line starting on G. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'mp' (mezzo-piano). At the bottom left, there is a box containing the text 'S Un poco piu mosso' followed by a quarter note symbol and the tempo marking '= 63'. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

Example no. 18

This contrapuntal texture, doubled by the strings and brass, is set against an additional contrapuntal layer, which is based on the tetrachord progression from earlier in the piece (Ex. 14). The additional layer, played first by the celesta and piano, appears as if "from a distance," and gradually becomes louder, joined by the harp and woodwinds. This moment in the piece exhibits a maximal level of saturation of IC 5/7, with four simultaneous independent interval cycle forms.

Concluding remarks – Interval cycles and microtonality

In this paper I sought to demonstrate the concept of interval cycles (and of IC 5/7 in particular) as a basic foundation of the harmonic language of *Concerning Spring*. The understanding of this foundation was a retrospective process, since I only learnt about the concept of interval cycle and its theoretical context after finishing the piece.

Since learning about the concept of intervals cycles, I have been using this theoretical tool as a practical means in order to further develop the harmonic concepts I have already been exploring in a preliminary way. For instance, my piece *AinAni*, for solo flute and flute ensemble, makes use of a kind of microtonal combination cycle.

I believe that applying the idea of interval cycles on 1/4 tone intervals, as well as other microtonal intervals (derived for example from just intonation) can serve as a useful, musically convincing way to create a coherent harmonic organization. This is a direction I aim to further develop in my next works.

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- **Adam Porebski**

Interview – Conversation with Adam Porebski

Conversation Date: 17 Feb 2018 / Duration: 56 minutes

SKYPE

Adam Porebski (b.1990) is a Polish composer who grew up and studied in Wroclaw. His Phd in composition was awarded by the Karol Lipinski Music Academy of Music in Wroclaw. He composed Rebuilding, Flood, Rebuilding, the forth movement of The Wroclaw Cantata.

Chris Baldwin Adam, let us talk about why you chose this movement.

Adam Porebski - I remember our first conversation with Alan Urbanek (musical director) in a Cafe and he told me almost everything about this project, about collaboration with music composers, four composers, about the show, about the choir, about the space and how to say, it was probably the most incredible project - no just writing a music, not just the commission. I was only part of the project but I hope an important part so I had to be responsible for my music. And then I remember that we had many conversations in different locations about the exact part. I don't remember whether this was only my choice - I think it was your suggestion and from my point of view it was very good, and I totally agree with you, because the last movement was the best for me - for me, for the composer - or the first, because it is nice to open something and it is nice to close something - so the other was - the history of Wroclaw in the forth movement - because we've got the history of Wroclaw - it was a bit closer to me, I don't know whether that is simpler or not or is it harder, but the history of Wroclaw that I remember is very close to me - so I agreed with you that the forth movement is good for me - for example, the worst movement would have been the third movement, for example - because it was quite neutral for me - politics, immigrations... and I did not know what could I compose - and in the last piece it was quite good - of course we have got melodies composed by Pawel Romanchuk and and it is the other thing - how to cooperate with fifth composer - who is composing the rules of this game and I liked the music and I liked the last peice. So for me it was kind of challenge - may be the best question is - how to not get lost in this project, and the last movement was just good - probably the best movement I could compose.

Chris Baldwin - you told me when we were meeting one of these days - you told me that as a result of work on the fourth movement you have talked to your family and that new information was coming to you from conversations...

Adam Porebski - Yes, I think yes, it was about WWII for example.

Chris Baldwin - Do you remember telling me about - how your family had arrived in Wroclaw - would you mind to tell it to me again, so that I have clear it in my mind?

Adam Porebski - Yes, for example, from my mother's side my grandparents came here from Ukraine - Lviv and Strusov. And then after the WWII my father's family - my Grandpa from my father's side was from Estonia and grandpa was from Görlitz - Zgorzelec but in Poland.

Chris Baldwin - Now Görlitz is on the border with Germany and he was from the Polish side? But

didn't something happened to make him move, didn't it become - I remember that you were telling me about how he moved because of the Yalta agreement, am I mistaken?

Adam Porebski - I don't remember that - I think he just stayed there without any ideas to go abroad. But for example, from my mother side - they moved to Wroclaw. Now, this is Ukrainian lands - Lviv for example.

Chris Baldwin - So your mother's side came from Lviv and one part of your father's came from Estonia - had Estonia been part of Poland?

Adam Porebski - Probably not, probably not...

Chris Baldwin - I see, ya. And then - do you remember why your grandfather came from Gorlitz?

----- (conversational confusion over the history of Estonia....)

Chris Baldwin - so, your father came to Wroclaw as a young man?

Adam Porebski - yes, after school, to study bassoon.

Chris Baldwin - oh, bassoonist. I remember some elements of this conversation and some of them I have not remembered correctly. But one thing that is clear is that your family came from three different corners of Europe - from Gorlitz - I would like to know whether that was a German-Polish community living next to each other or was it divided down the middle - I don't know the answer to that. And then you have your other part of the family - from Estonia and the other part from Lviv and they all came to Wroclaw?

Adam Porebski - yes

Chris Baldwin - Have you thought of why they decided Wroclaw?

Adam Porebski - It is a good question. I think - the world was completely different - we can't even imagine why they made these decisions, we can't imagine how life was there -- because now we have laptops, Facebook, messengers and we live in free country - in Europe without war, so it is completely different- this was 100 years ago and it is completely different. Even, for example, having a family - now: with marriage or without marriage, kids - here for example - women when they have got to thirty - after the loss of lots of partners. loss of lots of partners and you can choose one - the best - and in the past, the life was completely different - just meet someone and after one year -marriage - for example, so for us, it is completely crazy.

Chris Baldwin - However, they came a long way, presumably all of the family - I don't know if I am correct - did all the family moved to Wroclaw after 1945 when it became Polish, of course?

Adam Porebski - Yes, yes, yes or maybe - yes, after the war.

Chris Baldwin - Because before that it was German.

Adam Porebski - Yes

Chris Baldwin - Gorlitz, I presume was a German city until 1945, so your Polish grandfather who

stayed in Gorlitz - do you know anything about his story, did he moved to Gorlitz after the war or did he grow up in Gorlitz, when it was German?

(See Supplementary Note at the end of this interview)

Chris Baldwin - Because the fascinating thing is your family seem to be an example of the re-arrangement of Polish families after the WWII and how Wroclaw become a centre point. We often talk, don't we, about Wroclaw being the second Lviv, if you want to find something in Lviv you need to have a look in Wroclaw first because it is probably there. So Wroclaw is this centre after the war and I remember your family - when you were telling me this story of your grandfather in Gorlitz, how it seemed to be that a both his story and the story of your mother from Lviv. It was your mother that came from Lviv - was it?

Adam Porebski - my mother?

Chris Baldwin - Who came from Lviv?

Adam Porebski - My grandpa

Chris Baldwin - Your family in many respects is a perfect example of a new family of many different corners of Poland and Europe, beginning a new life in Wroclaw.

Adam Porebski - Yes, exactly.

Chris Baldwin - And I suppose that this may have something to do as to why we talked about you being the composer of that final piece of music, because in a way it is to do with rebuilding. I don't know whether you want to say anything about that? If there is any relationship between the history of your family and what you started to write about in the movement?

Adam Porebski - It is an interesting question because I don't know actually how it works - I am a composer, yes, so I can write music, I can write notes and sometimes I don't know why I write this kind of notes and what about the sense of the notes, because I think - sometimes I don't believe for example when composers like Chopin, Mozart, etc. they compose pieces and they-they were... I mean something about inspiration - that for example - this piece was inspired by history, love story, book, relationship, love and... because I don't know how to transcribe these feelings into music word, I am composer - so what can I do is - I can steer the music to obtain for example feeling, climax, and emotions, for example when I like to compose something about tragic love - so lots of dissonance accord, lots of sad melodies, lots of minor phrases, lots of trimolo or low register for example and sometimes beautiful and these are some composer's tricks I can use - because I am kind of typical worker...my tools are not, how to say - bang, bang, bang, bang - hammer - I don't have hammer - because I have to go piano and I got paper and I got pencil - so this are my tools and after studies I can compose and I can choose which tools I can use to get for example feeling, emotion - so even if for example I got depressed I can write beautiful melodies because I know how to do it. So I don't know the balance, the relationship between what is really in my mind and what I can compose, because it can be independent - from my point of view. So if I decided to write the last piece - about flood, about the new history of Wroclaw and I got in my head feeling about my family, lots of stories, lots of anecdotes about my parents, about my grandparents, conversations during Christmas time and stuff like this, of course it is in my head, it is in my mind but I don't

know how to find the connections. Like I can't show you for example - this note is after conversation with my mum - it is impossible, even whole piece can be inspired by something but this is kind of blank piece of paper, tabula rasa and it is almost impossible to write like in an intellectual language, scientific language, scientific way - how to do. So I think - I can't say that in my music we can hear influences from WW, from my family, from the history of Wroclaw after 1990, I don't know - maybe some musicologist can do. Something even is for me a bit funny, but I am interested in it, because I compose almost every day and when the piece is ready, ... And the process from nothing to something is probably the most difficult to say, difficult to describe - because I don't know - sometimes it is result of improvisation, sometimes it is a result of listening to interesting pieces and one part is in my head and I have to recreate this I have to continue some motives. Sometimes it is something about the story to which I have to comment on music.

Chris Baldwin - This is the very interesting point you have just made - something about story...while you were speaking I was actually trying to pull up on my computer a description of the dramaturgy that I wrote to you. I don't know whether you remember that? You had this task of movement four and it was about the 1990s which I presume you were born before the 1990s ?

Adam Porebski - just 1990.

Chris Baldwin - ...and the name of the movement was Rebuilding - Flood - Rebuilding. And the first description was to do with the founding election of the new Polish democracy and the first elections in free Poland and how Kaczorowski left office and Wałęsa became president. And then the second half of the second major change that I asked to think about and write about was the flood in 1996. So the piece was in two halves - or the writing, sorry, was in two halves, how did that help you or hinder you?

Adam Porebski - For me, it is good when I have kind of closed frame or, for example, a selection of instruments I can choose. I don't like to compose anything - for example - any piece, any duration, any instrument, any theme - so probably I can compose it, or sometimes I cannot start because I can compose everything - so I compose nothing and I always like take part in a composition contest - because you got rules, you've got duration, you've got for example four instruments, three instruments, it is usually about something, kind of dedication...You made a kind of game and I liked it because it was kind of big project, big music project I had to be very precise what I compose to be in your world, to be in your ideas, not just composing something whatever. So it was something very inspiring for me, that I prefer writing short motives - a short amount of motives, not lots of ideas in one piece, lots of combination, lots of ... I like to have in music, in art, not in life but, in music - in composing - I like to have clear form, very clear form, not many elements - like in a minimalism. my music can be of course complicated in a way, but I can use one motive and I can use each interval, each rhythmic value I can transform in the whole piece, so for me it was really inspiring.

Chris Baldwin -...Inspiring because it created a frame for you, which as you said is a kind of game but also, and as you said neither of us remembers who decided that you should write the forth movement but coincidentally or not coincidentally, but parallel your own story as a Wroclaw man, it covered the memory of your own life - in those 15 minutes that you had 51 000 people listening to your movement - you were telling the story of Wroclaw from 1990 to the present day through music to an audience who was predominantly, not completely, but predominantly, Polish and

predominantly from Wrocław. You have told me about your technical processes, which are absolutely fascinating,... but are you able to tell me something about what were the emotions and the ideas contained into your movement that tell us something about Wrocław?

Adam Porebski - You mean technical things?

Chris Baldwin - No, because until now you have been very clear that your approach is like an artisan, like a builder, instead of using a hammer you use the tools of music, you have told me how you do that. What I am interested in asking you is, parallel to your own life, there was a story inside that structure, there seemed to me that there was a story about your city, and your history and the people who live there, how to do those ideas - if at all - come out in the story of your music? Did you want to say something when you were writing? Do you work from a narrative in your head and say - I want people to feel this and if so - what were these feelings or those emotions or those thoughts?

Adam Porebski - Yes, I think what I can say is that, I, of course, I thought about the audience during the composition process, almost always I think about the situation in concerts, the audience, the performers, stuff like this but it is very strange and heard how to speak, how to speak music language without words - so I think - each listener of this show had other feelings about this - on the story about Wrocław and any connection of Wrocław - so I think it was only my proposition, by my proposition is the score - through the score - because we got in the score words...

Chris Baldwin - Tell me about the words, which words did you choose?

Adam Porebski - Two pieces, two poems by Polish writers: Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer and Ignacy Krasicki. The first poem is called *Mystic River* - it is totally about a river, about flow, about flowing, about waves, about the life of river without any parallels like for example of life, well river can be - I don't know - maybe, maybe. And then the second poem is called *Broken World* - something like this. But in this poem, we have got few words boats, ships, those ships, about flowing, about sailors, so I decided to use it because of let's say themes from the sea. And the most inspiring theme for the first section was just the flood. Because - election - O.K. something new, something heroic, but then you have the flood and for me, the flood was more interesting to write music about. Because I can write phrases and lots of people can combine my phrases with the history of the flood in Wrocław. It is probably simpler than writing music about politics, writing music about a stone. Stone is nothing moving - it is just stone, in a river you got sea, dogs, cats, it is more inspiring and it is probably the most inspiring for composers. The other reason is - I can use words without any problems with rights - so I can use it without problems - I had trouble - wanted to use some of Czesław Miłosz's poem because we had to call to someone from his family in the United States, we had to pay for this, we had to spend may be one hour to finalize publishing my score with text of Czesław Miłosz so in this occasion without any traumas we can use it, we can sing, we can make it.

Chris Baldwin - After the show did any of your family or friends talk about your movement and make any comments about its relationship to the history of Wrocław over that period?

Adam Porebski - Not really, just about music simple. Melodies, for example. Just about music, not about connections. Or for example - „I found in your music the history of Wrocław“ - No, maybe because I had talks with friends of my age more or less so maybe because of that.

Chris Baldwin - And your family as well didn't talk about this relationship with history, it was more to do with just the beauty aesthetically

Adam Porebski - great music, something like this, not very deep thing about the sense of music I compose. Maybe I should talk to musicologist or critics.

Chris Baldwin – No, no, not necessary to talk to a specialist. It was interesting to know what people who are not specialist think, because most of our work is actually for them, it is not for the specialists. Your final movement, you movement which was the final part of the piece was very celebratory, very majestic. It took us from the uncertain times, but nevertheless very positive and optimistic times of early 1980-s in Poland. The first time it became a democratic country for more than 50 years and then through another crisis - which was the flood. But you did not finish on that, you actually went beyond, beyond the flood, into a kind of coda where the positive celebratory triumphant returns. Why did you choose to finish on that high?

Adam Porebski - because of Pawel. Yes - the beginning of my piece and the final section - it comes from Pawel's motives. I remember for example movement of Amir and he decided to compose something totally different and for me it was more fun to take his motives and create something new and something from my mind and go back to his music - that finally link the coda. So this is a question to Pawel. The instrumentation maybe - because in Pawel music only there were two lines - nothing else and I had to recompose how to instrumentation this, make dynamics and stuff like this. Of course, it's the end of this show - so I have to end it with power, not with normal - because it is a big show, and it is a positive show - not about some funeral.

Chris Baldwin - the performance of the Wroclaw Cantata was embedded into an outdoor performance along the water, there were 51 000 people watching that evening live and more online and there were many images projected on to the buildings, you remember, and also in your scene an explosion of fireworks at the end - so in reflection, thinking about all four movements - Udi's, Amir's. Jiri's and then yours - there was in the original scenario clearly an objective to tell the story of Breslau - Wroclaw over a period of some 80 years. In reflection do you think, and I'm very interested in hearing your opinion here, both as someone from Wroclaw but also as a composer ...do you think that that piece of music in its totality told us, the audience, anything about the history of Wroclaw?

Adam Porebski - you mean the stories were visible?

Chris Baldwin - ...the scenario was invisible to the audience, the scenario was a scaffolding which we use to build the show - but thinking about what people saw that evening, do you get a sense of people thought about?

Adam Porebski - I think we can say that - but for me it is a bit difficult to say - because, first of all I am musician - so each piece I listen as a composer - so for example: I can hear the measure, B flat, D flat - stuff like this, so my listening of music, any music, is more technical sometimes - because it is my job. I do it almost every day - just listening, analysing, stuff like this - so I am not the best person to say something about it because my point of view is very specific, very technical and very musical. And the other point - I was part of this project - so I got feeling from our conversations - I know the process of this work, I know any kind of aspects that people did not see and did not feel, did not experience

Chris Baldwin - So, you don't know what the audience felt and analysed...?

Adam Porebski - Yes, from technical point of view and from my point of view - I think that it could be good story about history of Wroclaw - good story, interesting because of four different compositions, different styles, four different topics about Wroclaw and of course - fireworks, any theatrical aspects - so it could be interesting. Of course, we can say that we could divide the story of Wroclaw into five parts of six parts, or tenth parts, but the result would be more or less the same. One hour - or maybe one hour and a half - the result would be the same - I think. So from my point of view, it could be really interesting for people and it could be really first of all interesting, but they can know something about Wroclaw - the city and believe it or not.

Chris Baldwin - There is a very interesting writer, her name is Maria Cizmic. She writes a book called *Performing Pain* and she looks at the role of music in Eastern Europe and there is a whole chapter about Poland. She talks about Henryk Gorecki - you know him

Adam Porebski - A, Gorecki - yes Henryk Nikolay Gorecki - great composer...

Chris Baldwin - She was saying that to some degree his music acts as a way of remembering... of being a testament to the history of Poland. I wonder what you think, in reflection - whether your movements, or any of the movements, or the piece as a whole play that role - was it somehow acting as a testament to the history of that city? From your perspective - obviously you have been very very respectful about the idea that you can not tell what an audience thinks, but from your own perspective - as an artist and as an audience member that evening - is there anything you like to say about that?

Adam Porebski - It is a really difficult question because we are talking about sense of music, the function of music and sometimes it is only some else part of you - for example I can find in someones part something and other - may be musicologist or maybe just person from the street can find something completely different - and I don't know which perspective is better. Someone who is specialist or someone who just feel the music.

Chris Baldwin - Thinking from another perspective, not just the perspective of the technical writing or the technical processes that you clearly are superbly skilled on controlling, from a technical point of view the orchestra was made of particular groups of people, and the choir as well, from Germany, Poland, Israel and Czech, do you think that there is anything symbolic about that?

Adam Porebski - Yes yes, of course, definitely - general in this project - there are lots of symbolics, lots of symbols, definitely - the orchestra and choir - meeting these people - not just playing in the concert, like having rehearsals, or drinking beer, talking about history, about something else, the same with me and Amir and Udi and Jiri. Four composers but from totally different directions and then Alan, Pawel, you and the Wroclaw people, multicultural project and maybe. And maybe this is good - ye, it is good, because we go now very Multi-Kulti: the same during war and before the war - going to the beginning for example.

Chris Baldwin - This is a very interesting point you are making. Are you suggesting that the construction of the orchestra and choir was a symbol of pre-war city?

Adam Porebski - Yes, because we can speak with people from Israel, now by skype or during the

project we can meet, during the rehearsal and there is nothing strange in this - nothing difficult and for example in 1930, during WWI people travelling the same like nowadays - it was of course otherwise without planes, but the main idea was the same - you can go to Germany and live there, you can go to the Czech Republic live there or you can go back to your country. So it was kind of symbolic meeting with those four nations, even more.

Chris Baldwin - You said something interesting - that it was a metaphor, a symbol of pre-war Breslau - but are you suggesting that the multiculturalness of the city did not exist after the war?

Adam Porebski - After the war it was complicated because of closed boundaries, so we didn't have passports, for example in Poland so generally it was more difficult - I think of course - before the war - now is very easy of course, without borders - so it is symbolic back to the world without boundaries.

Chris Baldwin - What other symbols you think existed in the work ? I just would like to ask you that question.

Adam Porebski - May be cooperation with people not from Poland but from other countries. Cooperation like - making themes for example, or building something very important - and we cannot build only with our hands, we have to have more hands from other countries for example - so we have to be like one builder, one worker...

Chris Baldwin - So there was a metaphor in the construction of the evening - with the different orchestra and choirs - and the composers, of course, becomes a metaphor for the need to find a way of working together?

Adam Porebski - Yes, and we have got one piece, one show, made by lots of different people, lots of different histories but without boundaries.

Chris Baldwin - This has been very interesting to hear you, Adam. I have only one question if you have enough patience for me -

Adam Porebski - of course, always.

Chris Baldwin - thank you so much, ... which is, about your influences as a composer. How is it - your studies are finished now - aren't they?

Adam Porebski - Yes

Chris Baldwin - You teaching full time now, how are you surviving?

Adam Porebski - I am teaching full time in Academy of Music and Part time in High School of music and composing during - at night.

Chris Baldwin - Obviously you have developed your own style and your own solutions to the problems that are set you as a composer, but when you are looking at how to resolve a problem or how to take an approach - which influences do you back at or with whom you have this private conversation in your head - which composers?

Adam Porebski - but you mean - the piece Flow or just?

Chris Baldwin - Let us talk about Flow, to begin with...

Adam Porebski - First of all my biggest inspiration was Pawel and the frames he wrote. Because in his music - they were short short - only three bars of music but I played it lots, many times - to understand it, to feel the music, to feel that this motiv is mine - not Pawel's - I would like to make it - it is my music - and it was a bit jazzy, or may be - not, sometimes a bit sad - sometimes not, sometime d-menor sometimes b-majoer - so first of all - I would like to understand what Pawel is talking about - in which language and then after this - my idea was just to use his music or my be to start with his music and then music is playing should be more my music to reach the climax - and the climax is completely mine, without his frames. But maybe someone can listen and hear his music. what else about inspiration - maybe you remember in our conversation I talked about short motives, short melodies - I like them, I don't like very long melodies - Short motives ... interpretation was definitely almost impossible to set only one composer, or one piece, because I like many compositions, many composers - from middle ages to avantgarde music, from classic to hip-hop rap - so it is almost impossible, so definitely - Pawel's frames were - only short frames they were - but for me. Kind of script, like an actor I have to...

Chris Baldwin - ...that was one of the purposes as well - complete freedom can often be a prison, and sometimes - structure. What fascinated me about your work was that you played with Pawel's music and as you say - you listened to it a thousand or more times and made it your own. I am equally interested in how Amir, for example, said - „No, not interested“. From my perspective - this is just one another way of playing the same game - he said - „no, I do not accept these rules“. We have to have a society where those who do not accept the rules are allowed to never the less still create their work...

Adam Porebski - it was interesting why he decided to reject - because for me it was really an interesting challenge - so why not accept the rules - why-why?

Chris Baldwin - Do you have an answer to that - do you know why he said no?

Adam Porebski - Probably yes, because we have got now we've got lots of composers who can compose let's say in only one style - for example, the avant-garde composer, then we have got only film music composers, then we have got only an electronic music, or maybe composer only of songs - pop songs. And I think- when someone is composing only pop music - he cannot compose avant-garde - like Penderecki's music for example. But I think - being a good composer is to feel the project you take part...

Chris Baldwin - so Adam, I would like to thank you very very much for this absolutely fascinating hour and a half - it been an absolute pleasure.

Adam Porebski - me too.

- **Jiří Kabát**

Interview – Conversation with Jiří Kabát

Conversation Date: 2nd March 2018 / Duration: 38 minutes.

By Facebook Messenger

Chris Baldwin - How did it come to be that you wrote that third movement? Was it something I recommended or was it something you chose? How did it happen? Can you remember?

Jiří Kabát - I think we have been given a time to decide what are we going to write, and I am not sure whether it was during the stay or between the stays in Wrocław. But I know that I decided myself for the third movement. Because the first one was too far away from me - for what I know about the history. The second one was, I think... it had in a way too high expectations of what should be there, as, you know, the music for the WWII and then of course - the present history I thought it would be good for someone who knows it better than me. So according to what I know about the communist time - and I partly lived in that time - and I wanted to also make some, you know, some links towards what it was, you know in our history, in Czech history. So I thought like this. This is my work I chose it myself yep.

Chris Baldwin - This is fascinating. Let's just push in a little bit of a detail about that. Because you are Czech, tell us just a little bit about Czech Republic. What was it that linked Poland and that third movement into your own understanding?

Jiří Kabát - Basically, what I thought, first of all was the nature of the city that was destroyed and rebuilt. That is something we hadn't experienced in the Czech Republic at all - to Czechoslovakia, because our most favourite nation thing is to surrender... so we had no bombs and nothing was destroyed. Well some of them, yes, but not something very big something was destroyed but more or less our cities were saved. This was the first thing, and the second - the second thing was that I was thinking about the music, describing it... and when you think - there is this peace which is after the war and people are fascinated by that - that it is actually over and you know, like in our country they actually voted for the communists by themselves and there wasn't much of the pushing now. People were just so happy that the Russians ended this Nazi occupation... so that was the first joy and I think it lasted just few years. Then they saw there were these monster processes in Czech - they were executing many people, including probably Milada Horáková and some communists as well. You know, they were trying to find out inner and outer enemies, and then it was this big disillusion and people were trying to escape and were killed on the borders. And there was this little, little process like democratic feeling in 1969 - called Prague Spring and well it seems it was going the right way and what was the change of the skin with the banks... And it was this period called Normalization which was not a normalization - it was the exact opposite of course, but it was called like this. And during all of this - I think - people were already, they already knew that it is not something that we want forever - it is not the real freedom, it is not the real peace. And this was the moving thing for my music. The will of the people who were on the first site happy that the war is over and then in their souls they knew this is not the real freedom, that it is something else and we want it but we can't have it yet. So this was the thing that I liked and that I wanted to put in my music.

Chris Baldwin - this description of the war and the post-war history of Czechoslovakia that you just described to me is very very interesting. When did you learn, forgive me for this because it might sound like facile or simplistic question, but where did you, Jiri, where did you learn that history? Did you learned it from within the family or did you learned it through school, because I am not sure?

Jiří Kabát - Oh, no, no, school is a trouble. Schools and the present history is always trouble. Most of the history there ends after the WWII or sometimes somewhere between the wars, because for teachers is a trouble to teach what they are living through. I was always interested in the present history so I learned it from books and documentaries and stuff like this.

Chris Baldwin - I can't remember which year you were born, Jiri, can you tell me?

Jiří Kabát - 1984

Chris Baldwin - 1984 - so you don't have much memory of before 1990

Jiří Kabát - yes, just a little kind and bits

Chris Baldwin - in the post-communist period, when you were in the Secondary school, how was this post-war period thought - was it also problematic still, as you say

Jiří Kabát - Well, we didn't really spoke about it at all in the school.

Chris Baldwin - What kind of history were you learning in the 1990ies or even in the 2000ts when you were at school?

Jiří Kabát - You mean like for the history or something?

Chris Baldwin - yep

Jiří Kabát - What is here is just starts - with the Antique Greece and Rome and ... Mazes [00:07:55] or this Czech and European history of Middle age and everything - this very...[00:08:05] and you need to know all these dates and names of the Hapsburgs, for example and everything. And there is no speaking about the present history, really.

Chris Baldwin - so, you became interested in the contemporary history, and you read lots of books to help you orientate

Jiří Kabát - books, yes, articles more

Chris Baldwin - and what kind of family stories were told from those times? How was the conversation about the pre 19090ies times?

/the connection is lost, so I will leave the tape recorder playing and hope to ring Jiří again online/

Jiří Kabát - Hello

Chris Baldwin - Hi, Jiri

Jiří Kabát - there is a problem with the connection

Chris Baldwin - don't worry, let's keep going. So, I presume you have missed my questions - So, when you... how much in your family were people talking about those periods before communism came to an end?

Jiří Kabát - not too much when I was little, and we spoke about it later. I would say, well my father was interested in this as well. But I don't know - hm - I was interested more on my own, I would say. From the beginning I was watching the news and this was when I was going to the basic schools - I was always interested in politics and stuff

Chris Baldwin - ya, so you chose to write the third movement because it coincided with something that was happening in Czechoslovakia at the same time - which was the release of communism

Jiří Kabát - yes, I knew about the Soldier Notion...?? [00:10:00] and the second and all these things and so it was just interesting for me

Chris Baldwin - and what comparisons, did you, while you were researching your piece for your third movement, what comparisons and what dissimilarities did you find between Czechoslovakia as it was in that time and Poland

Jiří Kabát - well there is this major thing actually - I think in Poland the communists, the pure kind, were taken as traitors, as collaborators of Russia and here it was not like this. We still have a communistic party in Czech, because of the vote. It wasn't the majority of the people - but it was not felt like a betrayal to another country - like in Poland... So that is why the Polish, whomever he is in the government, try to get the US troops onto their territory, because they are still afraid of wars as a result of what they went through. And here we have other problems - like our president is a friend with Vladimir Putin and going to China and like bending in front of these countries and stuff like that. So it is a kind of going back a little bit. And in Poland it is not actually like this.

Chris Baldwin - I see. In Poland Lustration was the conscious attempt to eradicate communism.

Jiří Kabát - We also say Lustracia - we had this law as well. In politics people (who were communists) do not have the right to become prime ministers or ministers. But this President stopped this and now we have the Prime Minister who has resigned because he could not get the votes in the parliament because he was a member of the secret police during the communist period. He was searched by the police for some funds from the European Union - yet he is still a Prime Minister. So, you know, this is not going very good way here.

Chris Baldwin - so, you chose your third movement because Czechoslovakia, which was later to become Slovakia and Czech Republic - was a parallel case to Poland to some degree. They were both moving to forms of westernised democratic capitalist structures. The Polish historian and journalist, Adam Michnik, was a very close friend of Havel and... they talk about that time and how the both countries had things in similar and differences during that time. So you wrote the third movement but how did you choose the texts that you later incorporated into that movement, Jiri, and

what were the texts?

Jiří Kabát - I chose from "The Book of Lamentations" because I thought it is a lamentation over the streets of Jerusalem... it is like crying over the destroyed Jerusalem - So, I thought there might be some connections....First of all I started the beginning with what I had from Pawel and then... I wanted to use this Bach choir speaking - that should be the transfer towards the day after the communism, because the song was in German and was saying that "there is no peace in my soul still, it has not still brought peace in my soul". That was what the choir sang... so I chose the special motif of the beginning of this Bach music as a second theme. So there were two themes - one was from Pawel and one was from this Bach's music, basically and I just worked with those two all over the movement.

Chris Baldwin - you were given a written narrative of the movement that you chose. The description of the third movement was a description that I had written... Did the writing of the piece help you or did it stop you from structuring in the way you wanted it? Or did you follow it in one way or another?

Jiří Kabát - I think I used it in some way. Now I can only remember what was it during the show - the speaker. But it was basically working for me as well.

Chris Baldwin - It seems to me, Jiri... that this harks back to why I wanted you to join the project, why I wanted somebody who grew up in another country which had comparisons to with Poland and yet are never the less separate. I wanted you in it because I wanted there to be another voice - another socio-cultural voice, not just another musician. If I were to say to you that perhaps all four of you were acting as a witnesses, witnesses to the events of the XX Century in Wrocław but from your different perspectives, how would you respond to that?

Jiří Kabát - I don't know... as a witnesses of history?

Chris Baldwin – Yes, as witnesses of history, as a group of people that in some form or another witnessing and acting.

Jiří Kabát - First of all I have to admit probably that because of my cultural background, by my training, the things which I think are important to me - I am very conservative and other, religious things... and I am not typical Czech. If you wanted to have a proper Czech I was not the one. But it was for me, really - the history, the writing and everything - I always try to think about the time we are given and the gifts we received. I am trying to write, and live, and play and do everything as, you know, as a visitor (in Poland). And I think I am not a typical Czech, because as you know, we are probably the most atheistic country in Europe or maybe even in the world. It is very specific here and people think they are liberal here - but it is just that they don't care about anybody. It is a very special nation here.

Chris Baldwin - I was conscious of your faith, and it did bring a very particular feeling to the work you wrote. I don't think it was an accident that you chose the "Book of Lamentation" and Bach's choral piece - two of the main intellectual and spiritual tenants to your work - and that brought a very beautiful quality. And ofcourse you are right, and I would agree with you, the Czech Republic is a much less religious country than Poland, even UK - which I know very well. But your specific

insights were very useful and very powerful.... You were born in 1984 and you were an adult in 2004. Looking back at this project - it was a huge conversation: Wrocław talking to the diasporas of Wrocław through the music - to Israel, to Germany, to other Poles - what do you think you brought as a composer from the Czech Republic?

Jiří Kabát - I don't know really, it's more like that I took more than I gave...

Chris Baldwin - Tell me about what you think you took?

Jiří Kabát - First of all it was very interesting collaboration with the boys who had a totally different way of expressing in music and yet we still could cooperate, and we still could respect each other - which I am not used to from here, because here is very intolerant - the way somebody is more traditional, somebody is more untraditional. So that was the first thing. And the second thing also - I changed in a way my musical expression when I was writing because I was thinking - when I was playing this music over and over - I found interesting, you know, way that we have to express differently. I was probably too complex and too say... Today if you want to speak to the people you need to speak in a very precise way - they are usually not listening to you for a long time - so it needs to be very direct and maybe sometimes repetitive and I am trying to change my expression in music. And I did and I found it working, actually very well. So that is what I have received and I do not know what I gave - I was trying to do my best and I really enjoyed working and the result. When I am looking at the performance - people quite liked to play it and sing it and that is a nice reward for me.

Chris Baldwin - I think your point about the form of collaboration and the way so many - four different styles - were never-the-less represented and more than tolerated, actually celebrated, is very important point you make.

- **Tomasz Domański**

Translator during interview: Mary Sadowska

4th March 2018 SKYPE

Baldwin: Tomasz, let me ask you just a few questions about yourself. If I remember rightly, we were both born in the same year, 1962.

Domański: Yes, 56 now.

Baldwin: The first time we met you told me you were imprisoned in Wrocław, is that correct?

Domański: When I was caught, imprisoned, I was 19. And that was in Wrocław, yes, correct.

Baldwin: Could you tell me as much as you can remember about what you were doing, how you were arrested, why you were arrested, just tell me about that period as much as you can.

Domański: Well briefly, the situation was not really dramatic - it was pretty banal. What is most important is that it was a turning point for a young person. I wasn't even in the structure of Solidarność. I was too young. When the war state began, I got into printing. I was helping to print by night - Illegal press. I was making photos of the police interventions and the military interventions too. I was imprisoned for running into the WKU (Wojskowej Komendzie Uzupełnień), the Military Police barracks, and leaving them some "wanted" posters of General Jaruzelski! It was totally anarchist of course. This was during Martial Law and it was a military office. They knew who went in and who went out and they found me very quickly.

Baldwin: Was it your idea or was it a part of the group idea...this placing of wanted posters?

Domański: It was the work of individuals. And it happened not even a month after the declaration of martial law in Poland, on 13th of December 1981. And then everything started to happen very fast. Martial law sanctioned special courts so they could immediately work against me. They really needed, the system, they really needed victims to feel scared. So it took only three weeks from the moment they caught me to the moment they told him me I was to stay in prison for three years.

Baldwin: So, from the day you were arrested to the day you were found guilty was three weeks?

Domański: Yes.

Baldwin: Let's talk about the day you were arrested because, presumably, you were you living at home at that time with your family?

Domański: Yes, with mum.

It was like a movie scene but very terrible. I am not sure what I want to say...not sure I want to talk about this, really. They had guns because I was arrested by military not police – counter espionage. And because this was a military office... and they had a long guns and were waiting for me in my house. When I opened the door they put me on the floor and my mum was screaming and... they took my hands and...that was tough, really.

Baldwin: You were 19, approaching 20 when this happened?

Domański: Yes, almost, in March.

Baldwin: Looking back from this perspective of being a man of 56... that must have been, for a boy, a young man, an absolutely terrifying experience. Did that young man see this as a political act? Or was it just this emotional trauma? What was happening inside that young man?

Domański: There was an enemy. It was a totally different situation than today - because in those times, 35 years ago, the communists were the only enemy of the nation. They was not other enemies. And this is how I treated the whole situation. When I read your questions before this

conversation I was thinking that back then we were not even thinking about democracy; we fought for freedom. Democracy was supposed to come later. So it was an inner need of a young man to stand against these dictators.

Baldwin: So that young man was able to politicize all this at that time? It was a political act?

Domański: Well, it's difficult. It's not as we understand a political act today. As much as I was young, then it was an inner need, standing against something it was political in the way everybody was politically tangled or involved in politics...it was some kind of politics but it wasn't purely showing political options or political ideas. It was more like a young person's need to fight against the situation.

Baldwin: You were imprisoned three weeks before the trial. How long did the trial itself last?

Domański: So the three weeks I didn't spend in prison...I spent it in this institution which is catching people and then taking them to prison...a remand centre.

Baldwin: And then you were sent to prison?

Domański: Yes.

Baldwin: Tell me about the time in prison. How long did you spend in prison, Tomasz?

Domański: One year minus 19 days.

Baldwin: And was this the prison in Wrocław outside of which you made the performance?

Domański: Yes. On Kleczkowska Street.

Baldwin: Tell me about the time you spent in prison because, if I remember rightly from our conversations, you said that it was in two halves? That it was cut in two phases...your time in prison?

Domański: Not exactly. It was supposed to be like that. There was phase one- a year long- and then I was supposed to have a break in the sentence for 4 months...and then return. But I didn't come back. Here is where the second story begins. Because of getting ill, I was getting worse and worse, I was becoming mentally ill so the second part of the sentence was disqualified.

Baldwin: I remember you told me that you were in solitary confinement for a long period of that year, and for some of that period you ate very badly, that everybody outside was eating better than you. And then there was a period when things outside were so bad that you were actually eating better than people outside. Is that correct? Is that a correct memory of a conversation we had?

Domański: So you remember it almost right. Fifty-fifty. It was a kind of silly story, yes, that first half year...It was immensely depressing...physically and psychologically. Food. The tortures... everything. They tried to destroy me morally. It was normal for the prison warden in charge of us to come in the morning and say: "You motherfuckers, you won't come out from here alive". It was normal for the military forces to come in the middle of the day and begin beating us and throwing everything they had and just hitting. So they tried to destroy us. We were fighting, we stopped eating, we tried to fight back in any possible way. And somehow July arrived and it got quiet. At some point the Church started to act and they actually they made things better...accept the fact that we were still imprisoned.

Baldwin: And you were in those conditions for a year and then released. For a period...

Domański: Yes.

Baldwin: What happened, legally, with the other two years? You didn't go back but what happened to them? Were they suspended?

Domański: I came out of prison and went to a psychiatrist to get treatment. I did not want to go back... so I wanted to be under psychiatrist care not to go back to prison. I simulated... simply. And I had great doctors helping me learn how to simulate. Having all the story of my illness and with the help of the doctors I came in front of the commission and I showed them the documents and all the

data about my illness. They sent me to a psychiatric hospital. The interesting thing was that the hospital was on the other side of the street to the prison. So I could see the prison from the hospital!

Baldwin: I didn't know that building was on the other side of the road!

Domański: Absolutely! Amazing story. It had the same bars.

Baldwin: The same bars!

Domański: So I was there for two months under some medical care and then after two months the amnesty of the sentence arrived. I thought that imprisonment would be the hardest time but it wasn't. So the situation was as follows: I was in the hospital, I came out and then two months after I received a letter with an obligatory call to military service. I thought to myself, "you wrote the leaflet against Jaruzelski who's is the chief of military services in Poland, so you if you go to the army it is a 100% certain death sentence. I would be putting myself into the hands of the dragon." And this became a three year fight with the commission. I appeared in front of three commissions, doctors... and simulated, simulated, simulated... It took me three years to get through the commissions with papers fighting not to go to military service. Only after three years did they allowed me to definitely, finally cancel. And these three years were an even the bigger nightmare than the prison.

Baldwin: And we're now talking about this period finishing in 1986, I imagine?

Domański: Yes.

Baldwin: This is a very hard question, Tomasz. Looking back how did this period affect your life as a man and as an artist?

Domański: It had a great impact on me. It was like an illumination. Like a ray of light. I realised that only the art could save me.

Baldwin: Why did you come to that conclusion? And how did you come to that conclusion?

Domański: I came to the conclusion that I was not able to live in society! I realized that art was the only way I could keep myself and find myself, like keeping my independence...

Baldwin: Was that something you discovered in 1986 at the end of this period, fighting against the military service? Or was this a process which took some years from 1986 onwards? Just tell me a little bit about that process.

Domański: It wasn't as simple as it that. It was a longer process. It started in prison. Because when I left the prison I had already become an active artist. I had already started creating some stuff. While I was fighting the military service commission I was already creating and working and doing some things. Because to go through the prison you have to somehow turn off your feelings. You have to turn off your empathy, you have to turn off love, you have to turn off missing others, and you have to become deeply introvert to not be sensitive to what is really happening. And this helps you go through it all and so, when you come to the world of literature for example, you just are in that book, you don't... you stop seeing the world around. You close yourself within some unreal story because you have to.

Baldwin: That's what happens when you're in prison. But what happens when you're an artist? What's happening there? Are you compensating for the stuff you turned off? Are you doing the opposite to what you had to do in prison?

Domański: It's not that easy. This is difficult because when you're an artist your task is to be very sensitive to the world around. And you are aware of the fact that you see the world differently, that you see different things in the world and they might be worth showing, they might be worth presenting. It's like a state of being sensitive to everything that is happening all the time. So on one hand, on one side you're gifted but on the other side you're cursed...

Baldwin: Do you remember the first time we met in Ruska? I remember you coming to talk about a project that you wanted to do, which involved placing lights in the river. And I said to you that it was a pity that we had not spoken a year before, because that project would have been perfect for "Mosty" but that we had done lots of projects about bridges and water. And I asked you to have a look at the routes of the opening ceremony. I don't know if you remember this conversation?

Domański: Yes, I remember.

Baldwin: Could I hear your version of that conversation? Your memory of it?

Domański: I remember "The Phantom Bridge" project. It was quite difficult and maybe too difficult for that moment. But I also remember how well my story fitted into the Route of Innovation. Being an artist means being open, I am always open, so when I see some good thought then I follows it because maybe it's better than the first one. So the context of Solidarność as a social movement, like an innovative social movement, and I liked it a lot. So I decided to follow. And I did what I did.

Baldwin: If I remember rightly, I showed you the Route of Innovation, because you were an artist who was interested in light. I immediately thought about the Route of Innovation as I was looking for different lighting installation artists who could create projects along that route. And so I took a map of the route and I asked you: Is there anything along this route that interests you? Is there any place? Do you remember that?

Domański: Yes, yes! And that was the prison!

Baldwin: Tell me more.

Domański: When you showed me the map of the route the topography of the city started to scream at me.

Baldwin: And what screamed at you?

Domański: The past, the prison screamed at me.

Baldwin: Tomasz, did you want to approach that subject or did you want to run a thousand miles in another direction? What was your reaction?

Domański: I really wanted to start work. I even remembers the ladders were a common idea somehow, that it was some kind of a collective work in the end.

Baldwin: When did the ladders appear in your process? What was the next step during conceptualization? First of all you decided: okay, I can do something, I have the topography of this map screaming at me - the prison! What was the conceptual process from there?

Domański: I am a professional.

Baldwin: Yes.

Domański: It comes like that! I remember the idea of the ladders as a common idea, as something that came out of the meeting. Ladders... running away from the prison... but for me that was too simple. But then I thought: "okay, it's for the people. It has to be for the people, so it has to be understood. So what I was searching for then was some kind of philosophical understanding of those ladders. And thats when the biblical dream of Jacob appeared.

Baldwin: Jacob?

Domański: Open Wikipedia! Or the Bible! You don't have one? I can send you one!

Baldwin: I have three!

Domański: So the ladders where supposed to be a kind of a symbol. Symbolic in the way that Jacob dreams about climbing a ladder to the Heavenly Kingdom, so the ladder as a symbol of getting into the new world, the Solidarność, the freedom, the new future, a better world. Yes. So the ladders were one element but the second element was the catapult, the leaflet boxes, you know, that

were exploding, which were even more important. And I think even now that there weren't enough of them even. So what was the idea? To bring in an element of positive destruction. In all those kinds of events, people's events, there is this atmosphere of something simple, something nice. And those leaflets were supposed to turn over this situation, bring some kind of uncomfortable element. Because those leaflets being thrown from the catapult were copies of governmental leaflets. They were official governmental information leaflets about martial law.

[* Link to file of documents](#)

Baldwin: Let's talk about the leaflets. They were copies of the original, early 1980's leaflets distributed by the government? They were official governmental information leaflets about martial law.

Domański: Yes that was one official element. But also there were parts of the police instructions, the secret communications between the police regarding how they should behave towards people in certain situations. How they should shake them up, make them scared...So all those, internal police instructions. These are kind of documents that usually people don't know don't and don't see.

Baldwin: When did you find these documents, Tomasz? Did you find them back in the '80's or in more recent years?

Domański: It's available on the Internet nowadays.

Baldwin: Tomasz, could you describe the installation? How it was placed? What were the elements? What was on the leaflets? So just a very concrete description, almost like an engineer, of the installation?

Domański: The installation consisted of 6 steel ladders 8 meters long and 1 meter wide and they were illuminated with light wire connected to electrical steering system. Very simple switches. An interesting fact was that the electricity came from the prison which I managed to get straight from the guard gates. And then catapults which were installed on the lanterns with a very simple system, mechanism of shooting. In the times of Solidarność they had much better systems! Yes, by radio... But what was important for me was that I managed to get the prisoners to help me and to install all those ladders. By working with these guys I thought that would free myself from any trauma connected with the prison. When I got inside and all the doors were being closed behind me and I heard all the sounds of doors being closed - then I began to panic. Yes, still, still working, ha! But I had a very good relationship with the prisoners helping me. When I explained that I had sat in the same room all those years ago, I realized that there was some kind of spiritual understanding with them. Around 1980 and 1981 there were a lot of very strong strikes in prisons. They were fighting for better conditions. And for sure Solidarność was the reason for that to happen. There's still the kind of echo of the respect for Solidarność. It was not easy because all those ladders they were pretty delicate and had these light wires, so they're very sensitive to jolting and it was really difficult to put them at the height and hang them. Even without any special preparation those guys were better than some crews that are prepared for technical work. There was one thing that really made me scared and yet fortunately turned out well in the end. I didn't expect so many people. A huge crowd of people came. I just thought that it was going to be a group of people going through the streets. And instead people were everywhere, you know, every-where! And all the electric cables were laid along the walls. The wires, connections and everything. And I was standing and shouting: 'don't go this way because there are wires here', it didn't help at all. Fortunately we took care of it and nothing was disconnected. And everything started the way it was planned. That was a big surprise, I didn't expect it otherwise I would have put the wires in the trees.

Baldwin: You're moving on to my next question which was: As the audience, the people processing

with the spirit of innovation, came over the bridge and started to walk up the street towards your installation and then through the installation, what was their experience of the installation?

Domański: When they were approaching, let's say the middle of the space, the first ladders were turned on, one after another, in the centre. So it looked pretty spectacular, especially as the wall was also extra lit. So it was unexpected and it also confused people. Because they really didn't know what it was about. And only when we released the leaflets... then they didn't know what's going on even more!!!! But that's good. Actually what happened was the dissonance between the night's atmosphere and this story we were telling. That is exactly what it was like in life. And the story we were telling was a terrible story. It was a story of terrible times. In conclusion right now, and maybe this is also important, perhaps it was supposed to be important as a lesson about past times. We have to learn our history, we have to learn about what is happening. When we look at what is happening right now the sad conclusion is that maybe that we haven't learnt anything.

Baldwin: What makes you think people haven't learnt anything, Tomasz?

Domański: It's about the context of things. Because the context then was very concrete. The enemy was communism and we were fighting for freedom. That was then. And now when we have to fight for democracy, about the freedom to be different, to be the someone else, it turns out that what was simple then has to be learnt again. We have to learn democracy from the very beginning. But then it was simple as it was one enemy and a fight for freedom. Right now, when we have to fight for it, we can't really describe the enemy. These dreams of freedom still remain. For me personally the project was important, because it was like winning again, and maybe finally, fighting the spirits of the past.

Everything that happened during the Route of Innovation was like meeting again and defeating the spirits of the past. We say it in Polish, that the spirit of the past is when something which happened in your life is still with you, you know, somewhere in the air. So when we finally meet them again it's like... meeting the spirit of the past is like... It's like the Greek spirit of the past; you meet yourself, you meet your own story again. You find yourself in the moment of the day.

Baldwin: After the whole event do you remember what you said to me in the rehearsal room at WPT?

Domański: I said that it's kind of like defining your past again, naming it again.

Baldwin: My memory of that conversation was you told me you had felt guilt for many years about being in prison, even if one side of your brain knew that it was a political act, that you had not been responsible for any crime committed you nevertheless carried some guilt about being a prisoner.

Domański: I didn't feel guilty for being in prison. It was a traumatic situation itself, but it wasn't a feeling of guilt. It is heavy; it is as if you feel "difficult" because of it but... this installation let me free from that past.

Baldwin: Could you tell me more about how the installation has let you free from the past?

Domański: 30 years ago I was in that prison and I was destroyed as a person, as a human being. It was a place of destroying me as a human being. And now, after 30 years, I stands on the other side of the wall and it's like a catharsis knowing that you can do something different, that you can do something positive, you can do something which is a good experience, even though it is the same place... Maybe those times was some kind of sacrificial act, a sacrifice to make this positive thing possible. So that was then... an important thing for this thing now to happen on the other side of the wall.

Baldwin: It seems to me, Tomasz, that the way that this might have been operating as a piece of art was by you choosing to mirror a symbolic space, you were on the other side of the wall... so that

was a symbolic use of space, there was a symbolic use of elements like the ladders. The ladders in 1980 were to climb down and here they were to climb and explode. There was another element - the leaflets. This time, rather than creating terror for a population reading them they were this time acting as a warning about what happens if we forget. But you're using the same elements in a different moment in time to create different symbolic outcomes and it's that which created the catharsis. Forgive me, I'm kind of theorizing on the spot here but that's what I suspect might be happening.

Domański: Miłosz, the Polish poet said the freedom from something is important, but what's even more important is freedom towards something. So, these ladders... it's like going towards something. These ladders were a freedom towards something here. A symbol of the freedom 'towards'.

Baldwin: I'm very struck by how many religious symbols have been appearing in our conversation here. Jacob... and sacrifice. You used a phrase earlier which was catharsis, which is Greek and not exactly Christian, but out of that there's a kind of cleansing process, out of catharsis. Are you suggesting that your art is acting on this very conceptual level, perhaps parallel to religion?

Domański: I am an agnostic. But I am "tangled up" in what is happening here, in Poland. Besides religion is a great food for art.

Baldwin: It is.

Domański: Two thousand years of culture...

Baldwin: They have the same roots, don't they? It's very important you pointed it out because I have never thought about it this way. And now you have pointed those three elements out I am thinking, "hey! That's almost the whole Bible"...

- **Iwona Rosiak**

This is an interview with Iwona Rosiak on Wednesday 14 March 2018. (...)

BALDWIN: Iwona, I remember very clearly the day you came into a rehearsal. [You] made a big impression on the rehearsal and on the outcome of that show. So, I would love, if I may, to just go back over that and talk to you and ask you some questions about that process.

ROSIAK: I am still ashamed of that situation. It was deeply unprofessional.

BALDWIN: So let's talk about those things first of all. Let's talk about the day and what happened. Tell me why you came in to rehearsal that day? What was your first reason for coming?

ROSIAK: I came to rehearsal as my TV company [TVP] asked me to see at what was happening in rehearsals [December 2016].

BALDWIN: You arrived with a cameraman and a soundman, if I remember rightly?

ROSIAK: Yes.

BALDWIN: And what were you expecting to do when you were there? What was your objective?

ROSIAK: I know what theatre looks like, what to expect from a director, the actors, what rehearsals look like. And I also wanted to see at what stage the performance was, and to talk to the director and get his reactions to what was happening... What is most important for me is the connection between the director and the actors- so this kind of psychological or sociological tension between the director and the actors.

BALDWIN: And you're were interested in this from having visited other rehearsals and other directors working with actors?

ROSIAK: Yes.

BALDWIN: What did you witness on this occasion?

ROSIAK: I love theatre, I get goose bumps when I see the theatre process, and this is what I liked from the very beginning. As I knew your earlier projects I was excited about the size of rehearsal, that you're a very brave man, that everything you're doing would be huge. And then I am interested in your bravery to invite nonprofessional actors, the regular people who are not prepared, not "shaped", regular people, regular men... What the people of Wrocław loved you most for was taking the ordinary people as the actors in the project. Those people who were waiting for that European Capital of Culture to happen. The people of Wrocław were saying: 'European Capital of Culture is within us.' And that's the energy you used. This is what was very important here.

BALDWIN: So, you think that the energy you were attracted to in "Niebo" had actually started in the earlier productions? In "Flow", in the opening and in "Mosty"?

ROSIAK: Yes, of course... It came from the earlier projects... I was reporting on all the projects of European Capital of Culture and making notes. But "Niebo" was the first time I had the chance to have a clear interaction with you.

BALDWIN: You were conscious, Iwona, that in the city as a whole people were following the story and following the energy that was associated with the process of the "Flow" quartet?

ROSIAK: I am not really sure about the story. Because some of the people might not have

understood some elements of the story; some didn't all the other performance, but yes, I am sure that the city was following the energy and the energy was cumulating in the projects; people definitely wanted to be a part. Even if they didn't understand some elements, even if they didn't see something or get it historically, yes, they were following the energy of the events.

BALDWIN: Do you think the energy was coming because of a natural instinct that comes from wanting to participate in something beautiful and celebratory in which everyone comes together? Or have you any evidence that people wanted to be involved in the story?

ROSIAK: This is complicated. Because to understand it you have to need to know the character of the city. You actually got it right. It is actually rooted in something that came from much earlier. Since we were awarded the title of European Capital of Culture the presidents and the government of the city were all telling the people that this is the great city, can have great events, can handle amazing stories, that the people are wonderful... so this kind of feeling of being a great and wonderful city was being thrown on people and they believed it - they had this energy of being part of the wonderful city of Wrocław. So naturally we felt, as people of Wrocław, that getting this title of European Capital of Culture was important. And if yes, then we have to do this together. So yes, people wanted to be the part of this whole story as it was a very important moment for their city.

BALDWIN: At the centre of the story of Wrocław is the trauma of the XX century. Do you think people were drawn to telling that story, wanted to tell it, or were they telling it because of this narrative coming from the government that the city is brilliant and that people should be proud of their city?

ROSIAK: This is very important. It's not that people of Wrocław wanted to talk about trauma. Because they have not been through a trauma. They feel that their experience was the victory. The Germans went through a trauma. They lost everything. Our parents and grandparents, yes, they were in Lwów and they lost almost everything yet they are almost gone now. So, we don't really feel the trauma. The younger generation, my generation... they want to have a good story. We are friends with Germans and we are making friends in every direction... we don't have the borders. Now people openly say: 'yes, this tree was seeded here by Germans. But the next one is ours. This can even be our common city'. There is no feeling of trauma in the people of Wrocław right now. They don't feel that the city could change hands again.

BALDWIN: Okay. This is very interesting... I'd like to ask your opinion as to whether the political situation in Poland with the PiS government has very strong support within Wrocław... It seems to me at the moment that there's a growing feeling which PiS to some degree expresses, that the multicultural nature of a city like Wrocław contradicts Polish identity.

ROSIAK: At the basis of the elites of the city, the cultural elite of the city, Wrocław is totally anti-PiS. And we have big trouble with PiS. Wrocław is taking a good position. But what the PiS has encouraged are national movements, anti-Jewish attitudes, anti-international feeling and very strong nationalisms to develop and of course... these attitudes and feelings can be seen in Wrocław. There are Polish people in Wrocław who think like PiS. Compared to other places the percentage of the elite in the city is definitely one of the biggest in Poland... This is clear from the story of Teatr Polski and other examples where you can clearly see... now there's a Teatr Polski underground, in which the actors and the people connected to them work in the underground as it was by the communism.

BALDWIN: Mary, just repeat this last bit, I didn't understand it.

MARY: So now... you remember the whole fuss about Teatr Polski? They changed the director of the Polish Theater. So a lot of group of actors they created a group, so called 'Polski Theater in the Underground' and now they're creating work together as a group so-called 'Teatr Polski in the Underground'.

BALDWIN: So you walked in to rehearsal the day we were rehearsing what did you see?

ROSIAK: I saw a kind of misunderstanding. The young people who were supposed to be playing the story of the 81 didn't understand what they were really showing, because they didn't know it. I also saw the older group of people standing by the ZOMO [communist era riot police – played by prisoners from Wrocław prison] and when I reacted [to the young people] this older group said: 'It was perfect that you did that, because back then we were young, we also remember it'. I saw was a group of people, of young people, who were having fun, who were having kind of fiesta while making the protest, when actually the people who really lived through those times knew that they could be expelled from the academy, from the university, lose their job, have really serious problems in their future lives, they didn't know what would happen next, that there would be, in the future, a time of freedom. The young people were playing the scene as if they had already won, that this was fun. When, in reality we were playing with fire... we were confronting real danger.

BALDWIN: When you say, "the story of 81", what do you mean?

ROSIAK: In 1981 I started studying. And within two or three days I started to sleep at the university and join in the protest with the older colleagues and friends. It was they who decided to start protests as of course I was younger. But I remember those times. All the windows were boarded up. We could see the police and the armed forces hitting the doors. We were arm in arm with the professors. I remember this as my own story.

BALDWIN: So, you were 18 or something in 81?

ROSIAK: 19 or 20.

BALDWIN: What were you studying?

ROSIAK: The History of Fine Arts....1981 Poland was still not a free country. We were not protesting *against*, we were protesting *for* freedom, to be free of communism, free of oppression.

BALDWIN: Tomasz Dominski said something similar to me. He didn't use the word democracy first, he said freedom. That we have to fight for freedom first, democracy was something that came later.

ROSIAK: We were totally entangled, totally chained up. I was studying Fine Art but couldn't go to Paris and see these buildings she's studying about. They didn't have passports; they didn't have permission to travel. The only thing she could do, is to look at it on black and white photos. That was all.

BALDWIN: Another 10 years were to pass until the fall of communism in Poland. What happened after the period of martial law? Did you carry on studying?

ROSIAK: At the beginning of December 1981 the strike committee had already declared that this was a very difficult situation so they sent us home... And then on the 13th December the "war state" (martial law) was declared. The dorms were closed so students from other cities had to go home. I was from Wrocław. And many of my student friends stayed at my house, waiting to see what would happen. But martial law continued - it didn't stop. Students returned to the university at

the beginning of Spring. They were, of course, under observation, and told by the military what would happen if they tried to strike again. There were still curfews each night. After martial law ended there was a movement, a distribution of leaflets. We were meeting, talking, discussing what was happening. Some friends were searched by the police and went into hiding. Some of the strike committee were hiding and here I could help. One of the girls looked very similar to me so when she wanted to travel she used my ID and travelled around Poland.

BALDWIN: And did you become a journalist during this period, before the end of communism?

ROSIAK: No, I became a journalist after 1989.

BALDWIN: I understand a little bit about who this Iwona was, the Iwona who walked into the rehearsal room. She was walking into something that she'd lived through!

ROSIAK: Exactly. It was my story.

ROSIAK: Exactly, that was it. That was *my* story.

BALDWIN: So, tell me - what was your emotional reaction to seeing these young people getting it so wrong?

ROSIAK: It wasn't a bad reaction. I just wanted to explain, I really wanted to explain. Because I saw they were missing the truth. They really didn't know what was going on in 81. They had good intentions but they just didn't understand.

BALDWIN: What were they missing?

ROSIAK: The seriousness of the situation.

BALDWIN: How did you show them how to get it right? What did it involve? You arrived at the rehearsal as a journalist but what happened? What did you have to do to teach these young actors, these young citizens, who were not professional actors, what did you have to do to show them what you thought they should be doing?

ROSIAK: I had to tell them my story. I had to show them that I had been afraid, that this had been very difficult for us, we didn't know what would happen; that we were really were walking a knife edge. We didn't know what was going to come. We didn't know that there would be freedom, that there would be transformation, that the tanks would abandon the city. We were really were afraid and I had to show this. I had to tell my story. We were not just a sad group of people back then in 81. There were romances happening, people were meeting new friends... but all the time we were very aware that the it was a really serious situation.

BALDWIN: When you were in that rehearsal that afternoon, Iwona, the only thing you had as a tool was language. And you were talking to some very young people, people who were 18 or 19. Did you have to change your language? What were the gaps between you and them? Did you have to change your language to talk to them? What did you have to do to impress on them the importance of what they were doing?

ROSIAK: I had to use language but with my own emotions from the time, to create the necessary impact. And then they really listened to me. When these young people saw the truth of my words they really began to care about what I was saying.

BALDWIN: You just said, 'when the young people *saw* the emotions.' That would suggest it wasn't linguistic, that would suggest that it was physical. We don't see language, we see a body, a person...

ROSIAK: Yes, yes, yes I was very expressive. So perhaps it was more in the expression than in the language itself. In my eyes first and foremost!

BALDWIN: As a journalist, when you came into the room I remember you were keeping a distance, you wanted to observe what was happening, but then something snapped inside you, something made you break into the rehearsal space. You “transgressed” by moving into the theater space. Do you remember that?

ROSIAK: Yes, I do.

BALDWIN: Tell me more about that moment from your perspective.

ROSIAK: I was observing and I saw the group and their faces, and I saw the leader of the group, the girl who was climbing up on the Spirit. I looked at her and I said- “no, they can't play around with it! It's too important; they just can't have fun right now”. I saw a girl climbing up onto the spirit who was flirting with the crowd, trying to say those words but in a coquettish way, and I said to myself, “No, no, she can't just do it this way, it wasn't like that!”. And then, when I watched this precise moment in the TV coverage of the show it was totally different. There was a close-up of the face of the girl.

BALDWIN: Ah, so you were filming this before you intervened?

ROSIAK: No, you misunderstand. What I was watching later was the coverage of the final show.

BALDWIN: Ahhh! So, what you saw in the final show was what you had rehearsed?

ROSIAK: Yes.

BALDWIN: Oh, that's interesting. You saw, in the televised version of the show, the results of your intervention?

ROSIAK: Yes.

BALDWIN: Tell me more, please. How did that make you feel?

ROSIAK: The Winner! As a winner!

BALDWIN: Why a winner?

ROSIAK: Because I contributed my thoughts and they were accepted and taken.

BALDWIN: You said at the beginning of this interview that you've been to many rehearsals by many directors and many actors? On this occasion, when you came to our rehearsal, you made this decision to intervene. What do you think allowed you to intervene?

ROSIAK: First thing- it was my story. And I knew that you wanted to show the story of the city. And as I knew the story I wanted it to be showed properly. I had seen your earlier shows, that you were showing the story of the city. As I knew this story as it was my story I wanted it to be right.

BALDWIN: How did you know, sorry to be pedantic, how did you know I wanted that?

ROSIAK: It was the third part, it was in the news, it was everywhere.

BALDWIN: It was on the television, it was in the radio, it was on the press.

ROSIAK: Yes. Of course. The second thing is that I knew that you were showing the story but that you were a guy from the outside. And when someone is showing the story from the outside it can be

very good, but at this moment I knew that it was not right... it was actually endangering the story, as it was not the truth.

BALDWIN: I don't remember what happened, Iwona, between you and me. Did you ask my permission to intervene or did you just push me out of the way?

ROSIAK: I asked Mary, your assistant, and she came to you and asked. And then you said: 'okay, then make her go and tell them how it should be. Yes, it was exactly like this.

BALDWIN: Were you surprised by that? Were you expecting that Iwona?

ROSIAK: I was surprised. And scared.

BALDWIN: And scared?

ROSIAK: Because it's easy to criticize something emotionally but when you have to confront it yourself it's much more difficult. I did something stupid [by intervening] but then the director, you, who I really respected, asked me: 'yes, go', and so I had no choice now. I had to go and say something.

BALDWIN: You talked to the young people, who were playing this, you talked to the girl who was being a bit flirty, which you thought was just not serious enough. Do you remember anything else about this intervention? Did they get it right when you were there?

ROSIAK: I remember that the crowd of young people somehow stopped and started to think after my very expressive speech. I remember them looking and thinking, having this moment of reflection. But I remember even more strongly what other people in the rehearsal, those aged between fifty to sixty, came to me and said. They said, 'Thank you for doing that, because we remember those times.' And that was even stronger for me.

[After the rehearsal ROSIAK telephoned Mary Sadowska, my assistant, to apologise for her behaviour in the rehearsal]

BALDWIN: Why were you so nervous?

ROSIAK: Because it was deeply un-professional. You can't intervene into the rehearsal of some other director. I had no right to do it.

BALDWIN: Maybe we can accept that. But from the point of view of a citizen of Poland, from the point of view of someone who came in and discovered the story of her life being told, she had every right and perhaps even an obligation to intervene. You knew what I was doing in Wroclaw; asking people to make the story and the process their own. I suggest you may have had an obligation, as a citizen of Wroclaw, to participate and to make the scene more truthful using your own words.

ROSIAK: Thank you.

BALDWIN: This feeling of shame, did it stay with you for long?

ROSIAK: Yes.

BALDWIN: Until now?

ROSIAK: A little bit.

BALDWIN: Did your colleagues say anything to you after the event?

ROSIAK: They were surprised but on the other hand they said like: 'It's good that you did it.

BALDWIN: It was more than good.

ROSIAK: But they were also young, the colleagues.

BALDWIN: Yes. But I think you changed the direction of two things, Iwona. You changed the direction of the "Flow" quartet.

ROSIAK: Yes.

BALDWIN: And you also changed the way the people in that room, and the European Capital of Culture, had to think about the idea of participatory culture.

ROSIAK: Yes, they understood its importance. That this is also a responsibility.

BALDWIN: Tell me more, please.

ROSIAK: Because when you take part in this kind of event you take responsibility for how it's going to be done, of all its parts; it's not just a question of repeating the words of the director. It's much more important and it's a much more responsible thing to do. It is much more than just a performance on the stage.

BALDWIN: As a result of your intervention into the rehearsal you were developing the meaning of being a citizen. And this made it as an important moment as the performance.

ROSIAK: That is what I feel and what I felt in there. Because for non-professionals it is totally different than for professional actors. For non-professionals taking part in the rehearsal was an event itself – as if taking part in the final performance.

BALDWIN: That's very interesting.

ROSIAK: Because they weren't doing a project like an actor does. They were doing something important also for themselves. They were creating some important things for themselves.

BALDWIN: Yes, they were rehearsed being citizens. Did you see the show live or did you see it on television when it got into Hala Stulecia?

ROSIAK: Both.

BALDWIN: And what was your response to it because you had this very key role in the rehearsal.

ROSIAK: So, Hala Stulecia was definitely much more emotional. It was an event; it was the music, the acrobat, the whole atmosphere of Hala that we love, like Max Berg as a part of our story. More lights, you know, the whole context. And then the television was more about details, more about single elements. I saw the face of the girl and some parts of the story in more detail.

BALDWIN: What was happening in the media in Poland during December 2016? Because I remember that there were big changes being discussed. What was happening politically with the relationship between the media, and women, and the PIS government at that time? Things were getting pretty intense, if I remember rightly?

ROSIAK: It was getting worse and worse. We knew by then that we were starting to lose democracy. This is why before "Niebo" Donald Tusk was invited to give a speech you remember. That's exactly why, because he stood behind us. Wrocław is the basis of democracy.

BALDWIN: Yes, Donald Tusk spoke 10 minutes before the show from the building next door. I

was in the room.

ROSIAK: At the time when we were preparing “Niebo”, the minister of culture Gliński came and he was whistled out from the NFM. He was opening some event and people shouted him out from the place.

BALDWIN: But the media was under particular attack at the moment, if I remember rightly?

ROSIAK: The national television was changing; they already knew that things would be changing. The end of the year already showed that everything started to be different.

Appendix (5)

Table of Documents and evidence included with this thesis:

Item:	Description:	Length/Quantity:	Link:
<i>The Flow Quartet</i> Timeline	illustration	1 page	n/a
<i>Mosty</i> Workshop 1	Video	9 mins:58 sec	Workshop 1
<i>Mosty</i> Workshop 2	Video	10 mins:19 sec	Workshop 2
<i>Mosty</i> Workshop 3	Video	11 mins:19 sec	Workshop 3
<i>Mosty</i> Workshop 4	Video	9 mins:13 sec	Workshop 4
<i>Mosty</i> Workshop 5	Video	11 mins:50 sec	Workshop 5
Photos of <i>Mosty</i> Projects	Photos	140 photos	Photos of Mosty Projects
Documentary of the making of <i>Mosty</i>	Video	20 mins:38 sec	Documentary of the making of Mosty
<i>The Hug</i> Video	Video	8 min:29 sec	The Hug Video
<i>Mosty</i> Individual Project Descriptions	Document	32 pages	Mosty projects individual project descriptions
Video of <i>Przebudzenie</i> rehearsals	Video	16 min:10 sec	Video of Przebudzenie rehearsals
Map of <i>Przebudzenie</i> Routes	Map	1 map	Map of the Routes
Photos – Spirit of Rebuilding	Photos	86 photos	Photos of The Spirit of Rebuilding
Photos – Spirit of Flood	Photos	61 photos	Photos of The Spirit of Flood
Photos – Spirit of Many Faiths	Photos	135 photos	Photos of The Spirit of Many Faiths
Photos – Spirit of Innovation	Photos	68 photos	Photos of The Spirit of Innovation
Procession of the 4 Spirits	Video	3 hours:2 mins	Live Video of the four processions of the Spirits
Photos of Performance Rynek Square	Photos	104 photos	Photos of Rynek Square
Video of Rynek Square Event	Video	1 hour:38 min	Video of the Event in Rynek Square
<i>Flow</i> Rehearsals	Photos	124 photos	Photos of Flow Rehearsals
Video Interview During <i>Flow</i> Rehearsals	Video	3 min:22 sec	Video Interview During Flow Rehearsals
<i>Flow</i> – The Four Zones	Map	1 map	Map of the Four Zones for Flow I
The Body Zone	Photos	25 photos	Photos of The Body Zone
The Floating Boat of Memory	Photos	18 photos	The Floating Boat of Memory
The Zone of Whispers	Photos	64 photos	Photos of The Zone of Whispers
The Zone of Taste	Photos	41 photos	Photos of The Zone of Taste
The Zone of Borders	Photos	37 photos	Photos of The Zone of Borders
<i>Puk Puk, Kto tam?</i>	Photos	24 photos	Photos of Puk, puk... Kto tam?
<i>Flow I</i>	Video	6 mins:3 sec	Video of Flow I
Photos of <i>Flow II</i>	Photos	88 photos	Photos of Flow II
Video of <i>Flow II</i>	Video	1 hour:17mins	Video of Flow II
<i>Niebo</i> Rehearsals	Photos	127 photos	Photos of Niebo Rehearsals
<i>Niebo</i> Rehearsals – Open Rehearsal	Photos	28 photos	Photos of Niebo – Open Rehearsal
<i>Niebo</i> Performance	Photos	50 photos	Photos of Niebo – Performance
Multimedia and Projection <i>Niebo</i>	Photos	8 photos	Photos of Multimedia and Projection
Video of <i>Niebo</i> (Polish)	Video	1 hour:9 mins	Live Video of Niebo in Polish

Video of <i>Niebo</i> (English voice over)	Video	1 hour:3 mins	Live Video of Niebo with English Voice-over
Leaflet 1: Detention Report	Document	2 pages	Leaflet 1: Detention Report
Leaflet 2: Synchronisation Report	Document	1 page	Leaflet 2: Synchronisation
Video of the demonstration in English	Video	3 min:13 sec	Clip of scene in English
Video of the demonstration in English	Video	3 min:02 sec	Clip of scene in Polish
Introduction:	Written Text	5848 words	n/a
Chapter One:	Written Text	10945 words	n/a
Chapter Two:	Written Text	7285 words	n/a
Chapter Three:	Written Text	4971 words	n/a
Chapter Four:	Written Text	4748 words	n/a
Conclusion:	Written Text	1330 words	n/a
Bibliography	Written Text	7 Pages	n/a
Appendix (1)	Written Text	4207 words	n/a
Appendix (2) <i>The Wrocław Cantata</i> – Biography, Testimony, Witness in Music Orchestras, Choirs and Composers in <i>Wrocław Cantata</i>	Written Text	204 words	n/a
Appendix (3) Scenario/Thematic Brief for <i>The Wrocław Cantata</i>	Written Text	1570 words	n/a
Appendix (4) Table of Documents and evidence included with this thesis	Written Text		n/a
Edited Interview – Amir Shpilman	Written Text	9800 words	Edited Interview – Amir Shpilman
Edited Interview – Udi Perlman	Written Text	4500 words	Edited Interview – Udi Perlman
Edited Interview – Adam Porębski	Written Text	5600 words	Edited Interview – Adam Porębski
Edited Interview – Jiří Kabát	Written Text	2647 words	Edited Interview – Jiří Kabát
Edited Interview – Tomasz Domański	Written Text	4230 words	Edited Interview – Tomasz Domański
Edited Interview – Iwona Rosiak	Written Text	3919 words	Edited Interview – Iwona Rosiak
Audio Recording – Interview - Amir Shpilman	Audio File	1hour:39 mins	Audio Recording - Amir Shpilman
Audio Recording – Interview - Udi Perlman	Audio File	56 mins	Audio Recording - Udi Perlman
Audio Recording – Interview – Adam Porębski	Audio File	57 mins	Audio Recording – Adam Porębski
Audio Recording – Interview - Jiří Kabát	Audio File	28 mins	Audio Recording – Jiří Kabát
Audio Recording – Interview - Tomasz Domański	Audio File	1 hour:24 mins	Audio Recording – Tomasz Domański
Audio Recording – Interview Iwona Rosiak	Audio File	1 hour:21 mins	Audio Recording – Iwona Rosiak
Transcription of Audio Interview with Amir Shpilman	Written Text	11.710 words	Transcription of Audio Amir Shpilman
Transcription of Audio Interview with Udi Perlman	Written Text	7332 words	Transcription of Audio Udi Perlman
Transcription of Audio Interview with Adam Porębski	Written Text	7092 words	Transcription of Audio Adam Porębski
Transcription of Audio Interview with Jiří Kabát	Written Text	3252 words	Transcription of with Jiří Kabát

Transcription of Audio Interview with Tomasz Domański	Written Text	7850 words	Transcription of Audio Tomasz Domański
Transcription of Audio Interview with Iwona Rosiak	Written Text	9533words	Transcription of Audio Iwona Rosiak
Wroclaw ECoC Bidbook	Document	122 pages	Spaces for Beauty Bid-Book
Wroclaw Cantata – The Four Musical Quotations	4 Wav Audio Files	37 secs, 44 secs, 44 secs, 1 min:37 secs	1 KONSTRUKCJA I RYTM 2 DESTRUKCJA 3 CISZA 4 ODBUDOWANIE
Score - Movement Two: Wroclaw Cantata	Score	n/a	Score link
Videos of Teaching Musicians and Singers how to approach Movement 2	81 videos	Various - all under 45 seconds	Videos
Child Singing Yiddish Song	Audio Wav	1 min:30 secs	Song
Movement Two – Rehearsal Sound File	Audio WAV	16 min:5 Sec	Sound file
Score – Movement One: Wroclaw Cantata	Score	n/a	Score link
Movement One – Rehearsal Sound File	Audio WAV	14 mins:59 secs	Movement One – Rehearsal Sound File
Movement Two: Choir Rehearsal Files	21 Audio WAV	5 to 20 seconds each	Movement Two: Choir Rehearsal Files
Score - Movement Three	Score	n/a	Score - Movement Three
Movement Three – Rehearsal Sound File	Audio WAV	13 min:22 sec	Movement Three – Rehearsal Sound File
Score - Movement Four	Score	n/a	Score - Movement Four
Movement Four – Rehearsal Sound File	Audio WAV	14 mins:41 secs	Movement Four – Rehearsal Sound File

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DEDICATION

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