

**Dealing with the Past in the Black Sea Region: History,
Memory, and Patrimony**

Conference programme

29-30 June 2022, Bucharest

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29 iunie 2022

10.00-10.30: Opening Remarks

10.30-11.30: Keynote Speaker: Emilia Zankina

Instrumentalizing the past: narratives of the communist past in domestic politics and foreign policy

More than 30 years after the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the debate on the communist past is still ongoing. The current war in Ukraine has imbued this debate with new energy and meaning. In this address, I argue that the debate on the communist past in the former communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe is the result of several intertwining factors: 1) current political dynamics and specific political interests, exploited for political ends and electoral gains, 2) a comment on the present, including public opinion of democratic governance, the functioning of institutions, and key political actors, and 3) competing definitions and interpretations of the national interest, geostrategic developments and alliances. As is often the case, the debate on the communist past is about anything but the past.

Emilia Zankina is an Associate Professor in Political Science and Dean of Temple University Rome campus. She holds a Ph.D. in International Affairs and a Certificate in Advanced East European Studies from the University of Pittsburgh. Her research examines democratization and elite transformation in Eastern Europe, populism, civil service reform, and gender political representation. She has published in reputable journals and presses such as *West European Politics, Politics and Gender, East European Politics, Problems of Post-communism, Representation*, ECPR Press, Indiana Press, and more. She frequently serves as an expert for Freedom House, V-Democracy, and EU commission projects. In the past, Zankina has served as Provost of the American University in Bulgaria, Associate Director of the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, and Managing Editor of *East European Politics and Societies*. She is the recipient of a number of U.S. national grants from IREX, ACLS, American Councils, Wilson Center, and more.

11.30-12.00: Coffee Break

12.00-13.30

1. Grzegorz Skrukwa

“Odessa is 200 years old” vs. “Odessa is 600 years old”. Conflicts on memory in the city of Odessa (1991-2021)

Since 1991, Odessa, a Ukraine’s great city at the Black Sea, has been a playground of multi-dimensional and dynamic conflicts on memory, identity and heritage. The debate about “How old is Odessa” is a significant marker of the main axis of this conflict: between Russian imperial narrative and the Ukrainian national narrative. Adherents of the thesis “Odessa is 600 years old” incorporate the past associated with Great Duchy of Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire into the narrative on Odessa’s history, while the adherents of the Russian imperial narrative do the opposite. However, although this is the main axis of the debate, it is not the only one in these conflicts on memory, identity and heritage of the city.

My presentation examines the main topics, and actors of these conflicts and their relation to the politics of Ukraine and the city of Odessa.

Grzegorz Skrukwa is an Associated Professor at Adam Mickiewicz University, Faculty of History, Department of Eastern European Studies.

2. Izabela Skórzyńska, Justyna Budzińska

Revenge of the fragments. On the paradoxes of the history of the Black Sea Region in the Polish textbooks

Knowledge about the Black Sea Region seems to be crucial to understand the events that are happening in front of our eyes since 2014. Central and Eastern European societies are keen in manifesting historical awareness as well as placing their hope in history as a living source of understanding the contemporary world, while they attach a great importance to history taught at school.

However, are we not overestimating the historical knowledge taught in school for that matter? Looking for an answer to this question, we have conducted a qualitative analysis of the content of the current history textbooks for Polish secondary school. When we started

our research, we assumed the hypothesis that school textbooks' narration provides students with the basis for building rationally justifiable meanings of the past in its relation to the present, and the future. Therefore, it should take into account the continuity and endurance of history out of concern for understanding it in accordance with the rules of historical thinking. The aim of the study was therefore to see how the history of the Black Sea Region is presented in the Polish textbooks. Based on our findings, we conclude that the students' understanding of the present, and even more so of the future of the Black Sea Region, hardly gains arguments in the school taught history of this particular area.

Justyna Budzińska has a PhD in history; she is an art historian and assistant professor in the Department of History Didactics, Institute of History, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. Selected publications: *Let's make a heritage. A case of two exhibitions* (2021), *Performative Motherhood: The Myth of Mother Poland Re-Interpreted by Women Artists in Contemporary Poland* (2018), *Between the aesthetics of disappearing and the counter-monument* (2017), *Iconographic motif of a company gathered at the table. About the penetration of history, culture and art in the (con)texts of teaching history* (2015).

Fields of interest: visualization of the past, cultural and historical education.

Izabela Skórzyńska received her PhD from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan (Poland). She completed post-doctoral studies at Laval University in Québec (Canada). She has served as history teacher, journalist and theater reviewer, assistant, assistant professor and currently Associate Professor at the Faculty of Historical Studies at AMU. She is also the Head of Education Council at the School of Humanities AMU (2020- 2024).

Selected publications: *Performances of the Past. Alternative Politics of Memory 1989-2009* (2010), (with C-F. Dobre, B. Jonda, A. Wachowiak), *(Re)gaining the Future by (Re)building the Past" Women's Narratives of Life Under Communism in Poland, Romania and the Former East Germany* (2018), (with I. Chmura-Rutkowska, E. Głowacka-Sobiech), *"Unworthy of history?" About the absence and stereotypical images of women in the light of historical textbook narration in junior high school"* (2015); She is executive member the World Center for Women's Studies.

3. **Jakub Wojtkowiak**

An unknown page in the history of the Black Sea. Poles in the Soviet Black Sea Fleet

Poles were present in the Soviet navy from the first days of its inception in 1917. Between 1926 and 1931 a Polish national, Romuald Muklewicz, was in command of the entire Soviet navy. The Black Sea Fleet, painstakingly recreated after the civil war in Russia, was no exception. In the 1930s, though they did not occupy prominent positions, the Poles were an essential part of the officer corps of this fleet, usually occupying positions at the middle and lower levels of command. As with other fleets, the Great Purge turned out to be a dramatic turnaround regarding the presence of Poles in the Black Sea Fleet. Virtually all officers of Polish nationality in this fleet became victims of repression - they were dismissed from service because of nationality or for political reasons, arrested, or shot. The Great Purge resulted in the almost complete disappearance of the Polish element from the ranks of the officer corps of the Soviet navy, including the Black Sea Fleet. And the entire presence of Poles among the officers of this fleet, with the exception of isolated episodes, remains an unknown page in the history of the Black Sea.

Jakub Wojtkowiak is a profesor of history at the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland. Author of works on the Red Army and it's officer corps in the interwar period and the international relations in the Far East on the eve of World War II.

13.30-15.00: Lunch

15.00-16.30

4.Cosmin Năsui

The cement nude, the (h)ero(t)ism of the working class - the artistic program of outdoor sculptures on the Black Sea Coast, and the pronatalist, pro-family communist policies

The controlled eroticization of the proletariat through pronatalist policies was unnoticeably introduced as part of the iconographic program of public art located in the new resorts on the Romanian Black Sea coast. Starting with the mid-1960s, during the systematization of the Romanian coast, we witnessed the placement in these new architectural landscapes works of art with bashful erotic themes. The cell of the society represented by the family and its values was privileged, while the socialist-type eros was iconographically represented in a smooth, hygienic, and faithful love manner, meant to support the population growth program. Summer eroticism was encouraged as an activity of rest and relaxation of the social core cell, part of entertainment programs dedicated to "free time",

organized through holiday programs offered by trade unions nationwide in collaboration with National or County Tourist Offices or Offices of Tourism and Youth.

The socialist consumer civilization, taking into account the need to increase productivity and the budget of "free time", exceptionally relaxed the representations of eroticism in the summer holiday context. Without becoming a consumer good, eroticism has benefited from a controlled coordination directed in this specific context towards the masses of people. Romanian artists were thus able to approach erotic themes and subjects incorporated with naivety and childishness in works bearing titles such as "Gentleness", "Contemplation", "Youth", etc. These depictions of oversized nudes are praises of women's fertility, youth, and eroticism meant to say "multiply yourselves, proletarians!"

Cosmin Năsui is an art historian and critic, curator, cultural manager, accredited evaluator of contemporary art, evaluator of cultural projects. He is a specialist in art history - 20th and 21st century, founder of the largest Romanian online platform for supporting and promoting Romanian contemporary art www.modernism.ro. He is a curator at the PostModernism Museum and a partner at the Nasui collection. He is the author and (co)editor of the following publications (selective): *Decorative monumental arts in Romania. A Foray into the Second Half of the 20th Century*, PostModernism Museum Publishing, 2020; *Petre Abrudan - Colonia pictorilor 2019*, co-edited by Ed. Eikon, Bucharest and Ed. Școala Ardeleană, Cluj-Napoca, 2020; *Mass Culture in the "Golden Age": The Song of Romania & the Flame Cenacle*, Ed. PostModernism Museum, 2019; *The centenary of women in Romanian art*, Ed. PostModernism Museum, vol 1, 2017, vol. 2, 2018 and vol. 3, 2021; *Eroticism and sexuality in the "Golden Age"*, 2018, Ed. PostModernism Museum.

5. Juliana Dumitru

Narrative and visual perspectives on the practice of tourism in the socialist and capitalist period on May 2 and Vama Veche

2 Mai and Vama Veche are two villages on the Black Sea coast with a special trajectory on the social and cultural scene in Romania. Located on the border with Bulgaria, so in a peripheral zone, the touristic history of the zone begins in the socialist period, when those who chose to spend their holidays in this area were artists, writers, directors/actors, and university professors. The border proximity made access difficult, but they always found ways to "trick" the authorities. The two localities were described by writers as: Nina Cassian, Puși Dinulescu, Aurora Liiceanu, Luca Pițu and portrayed in the artistic works of Silvia Radu, Anamaria Smigelschi, Geta Brătescu, Ion Pacea or the photos of Viorel Simionescu, Adrian and Alexandru Maftai, Irina Crivăț and many more. These bohemians used to swim and sunbathe nude, to have parties, and to make art. Even today, the area

builds and maintains a form of tourism based on libertine characteristics and those cultural accents acquired during the socialist period.

The main purpose of this communication is to make a comparison between the practice of tourism in the socialist era and after 1989, using narrative and visual cartography. For this purpose, I will use oral history interviews and content analysis of texts published by some bohemian tourists. Narrative and visual cartography of artistic expressions in this space is a perspective that I approach and is something that none of the researchers who examined the area have addressed. As part of my doctoral dissertation, I explored the visual region in-depth, and the research has already produced a contemporary art exhibition. My perspective is autoethnographic while subjectivity plays an important role. From the position of an Insider, in the last 10 years, I have looked at how the imagination of the bohemian community has shaped the image of the area by inflict a narrative on this space. It is clear that the two localities are no longer simple settlements by the sea, and have a distinct character in the landscape of the Romanian coast, difficult to explain, but interesting to research.

Iuliana Dumitru is a Ph.D. candidate at the Center of Excellence in Image Studies, University of Bucharest, writing a thesis about the narrative cartographies of the 2 Mai and Vama Veche, important seaside villages for the Romanian artist's community before 1989 and after. She is interested in communities, symbolic geographies, and visual art. Her articles appeared in *Martor- The Museum of the Romanian Peasant Anthropology Review* in 2013, *Modes of appropriation and social resistance* 2015, *The Other City. Places and Stories from Bucharest-South* 2018, *Kilobase Bucharest A-Z* in 2020. From 2021 she is part of The National Museum of the Romanian Peasant collective, Cultural Project Department.

6. Evelina Kelbecheva

Politics of Cultural Memory in Bulgaria (Study of Communist and Post-Communist Monuments)

Even today, Bulgarian society is still a subject of a major historical manipulation fostered by the revival of the nostalgia towards the so-called SOTZ – the communist regime. A comparative study of communist and post-communist monuments can show this clearly. For the last 33 years Bulgaria lacks a real, coherent politics of creating a realms of memory (*lieux de memoire*, Pierre Nora) of the communist past. The issue is much greater than the issue of bare construction of monuments of the victims of communist purges and their particularly limited “geography”. The main reason for this omission is the fact that the political elites in Bulgaria have been refusing to clearly admit and acknowledge the historical assessment for the crimes of the communist regime.

The visual realms of memory from the communist and post-communist periods are not comparable neither by number, nor by theme, nor by style, nor by magnitude. They represent two different types of culture, two different types of self-awareness and construction of cultural memory. The former is official, contrived, propaganda-oriented and lavishly state-sponsored. The latter is free, selective, creative and privately sponsored. When these patterns would change, this would mean a change of the paradigm of attitude towards the recent past.

Evelina Kelbecheva got her PhD in history from Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in 1989. Between 1989 and 1998 she was a Research Fellow in the Department of Modern History, Institute of History, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia. Between 1998 and 2011, she was Associate Professor of History at the South-West University "Neofit Rilski" in Blagoevgrad, holding now the tenure of full professor (since 2011). Research interests: Myth-Making and Falsifications in History, Cultural Identities in the Balkans, Bulgarian History and Culture on European Background, Social and Cultural History of Eastern Europe, Intelligentsia's Activities During Totalitarian Regimes.

Most recent publications: „A Chronicle of an Anachronism – The Struggle for Adequate Education about the Communist Past, Constructions and Instrumentalization of the Past, A Comparative Study on Memory Management in the Region”, p. 155-167, *Centre for Baltic and East European Studies* (CBEEES), Södertörn University, Stockholm, 2020; *Dealing with the Totalitarian Communist Past in Bulgaria – Problems and Achievements*, (co-authored) In : *Bulgaria and the World, Annual Analysis*, p. 141-161, Euro-Atlantic Security Center, CIELA, 2019; *What is Fatherland? (Bulgarian Intelligentsia between the Wars)*, Gutenberg Publishing House, Sofia, 2016; Editor and Author of the Preface, *Women's Memory from the Russo-Ottoman War 1877-1878*, *Balkanistichen Forum*, 3, XXV, Blagoevgrad, 2016.

Coffee break: 16.30-17.00

17.00-18.30

7. Cornel Micu

Ideological instrumentalization of past land property in Romanian post-communist political discourse

Despite the urbanization policies implemented by the communist regimes during the second half of the 20th century, the existence of an extended “rural space”, represented by the large proportion of population living in the village, remained a peculiarity of the Black Sea region. Therefore, the problem of land and its usage is particularly important in this region, even in the cases of EU states, whose agricultural sector is strongly regulated at the supranational level through the Common Agricultural Policy.

In the particular case of Romania, the ideological instrumentalization of the past, with reference to an interwar golden age of free, private property, was particularly important before the EU accession, in the context of the de-collectivization during the 90s. Nevertheless, it continued to echo even after 2007, noticeable in discourses regarding topics such as “land grabbing” by foreigners, the lack of Romanian food products in supermarkets and, to a lesser extent, the development of “green agriculture”.

The purpose of the presentation is to identify the strategies of ideological instrumentalization of the interwar agricultural structure as a result of the agrarian reform of 1919/1921, their development during the 90s and their adjustment to the wider EU context after 2007. The main hypothesis, which I will try to prove, is that the survival of the ideologically constructed perspective regarding the land, and, to a certain extent, the peasants working it, as “national patrimony” resurged after the collapse of communism in the discourse of both left and right political movements during the 90s and manage to survive, in forms attuned to the EU wider context, until the present.

Cornel Micu is a Lecturer at the Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest, Romania. He graduated in history and political sciences from University of Bucharest, and has a Ph.D. from Jena University (Germany). He worked in several research projects regarding Romanian history and was a fellow of New Europe College in Bucharest and Imre Kertesz College in Jena. His fields of interest are social and economic history, the transformation of social structures following Europeanization, urbanisation from a historical perspective, agricultural history, regional integration in the contemporary world and common policies of the European Union.

Selected publications: *From Peasants to Farmers? Agrarian Reforms and Modernisation in Twentieth Century Romania. A Case Study: Bordei Verde Commune in Brăila County*, Peter Lang, Berlin, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Viena, 2012; MICU, Cornel: “Mayors and Local Elite

in the Interwar Period: Case Study – the Bordei Verde Commune, Brăila County”, in Sorin Radu, Oliver Jens Schmitt (coord.), *Politics and Peasants in Interwar Romania. Perceptions, Mentalities, Propaganda*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2017; MICU, Cornel: „Umkämpfte Öffentlichkeit. Medien und Politik in Rumänien” in *Osteuropa*, 6-8/2019; MICU, Cornel: “La précarité du droit de la propriété. Responsabilité et légitimité de l’usage des terres dans la Roumanie rurale” in Heemeryck, Antoine/Phelinas, Pascale (eds.), *Dans l’antichambre du post-développement : Conceptions, luttes sociales et patrimoine à l’heure actuelle*, L’Harmattan, Paris, 2021.

8. Andrei Cosmin Popa

The 1989 historical discourse on the celebration of August 23rd Coup d’état

The worsening of Romanian-Soviet relations in the early 1960s meant an occasion of reinterpreting certain events from Romania’s history. One of these was the August 23rd coup d’état, which underwent numerous reinterpretations, most notably in the Ceaușescu era. During this period, numerous history papers were published, changing the Dej era interpretation of „Soviet liberation” to „anti-imperialist and antifascist revolution of social and national liberation”, in the 1980s. To get a better insight on the way the coup d’état was presented, we shall analyze certain history papers and articles that had appeared on the 45th anniversary of August 23rd coup d’état, which took place in 1989. Thus, we shall explain how the event was interpreted by the historical discourse, with an emphasis on the fact that the coup was seen as an act of national sovereignty, a statement in direct correlation with the late 1980s Romanian foreign policy.

Andrei Cosmin Popa is a PhD candidate at the Faculty of History, University of Bucharest. He got a BA in History from the same university in 2015, and in 2017, he got an MA in the „History of Communism in Romania”. Since 2018 he is a member of the Doctoral School of the Faculty of History, University of Bucharest, and his thesis is called „Istoria ca sărbătoare politică. Aniversările jubiliare ale României socialiste, 1965-1989” („History as a political celebration. The jubilee anniversaries of Socialist Romania, 1965-1989”). His research areas are: history of communism in Romania; Romanian historiography during the communist period; Socialist Romania’s political celebrations.

Main publications: „A case of historiographical controversy: Communist Romania’s 1975 anniversary of Michael the Brave’s Unification”, in *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue de Sciences Politiques*, issue 70/2021, pp. 76-84; `The papers of a celebration: The Romanian Communist Party’s Semicentenary of 1971`, in *Arhivele Totalitarismului*, issue 3-4/2022. (under publication); „An introduction to the phenomenon of Socialist Romania’s jubilee

anniversaries of Socialist Romania” in *Perspectives and Approaches in Historical Research* –the volume of The National Conference of the Doctoral School of The Faculty of History, University of Bucharest, January 22-23rd 2021 (under publication).

9. Georgiana Țăranu

Remembering N. Iorga in Postcommunist Romania: Three Avatars

This presentation deals with Nicolae Iorga, an iconic figure of twentieth century Romanian nationalism and historiography. He is best known as his country’s most productive intellectual in terms of scholarly output and the dominant figure of the Romanian cultural scene for over three decades. What made Iorga a perfect fit to become celebrated and included in the national pantheon was the fact that he was the main legitimizer of Romania’s national project, based on readings of the past which underlined ideas of historical continuity, cultural superiority, political unity. Iorga had epistemic authority and he used it in conflicting ways. Thus, history, culture and politics all emerge as key dimensions when one investigates how was Iorga remembered in postcommunist Romania. This presentation identified three avatars of Iorga which appear in most discourses produced by politicians, academia, and society following the political change of 1989. The first one is that of Iorga as the hyperbolic historian, whom many scholars uncritically cite, sometimes more under the form of a philosophical/rhetorical panacea to legitimize their own research than by convergence of ideas. The second avatar is that of Iorga as everybody’s political ally. This understanding comes from an analysis of various ways in which politicians representing different political parties invoked Iorga to support controversial agendas. The third avatar, Iorga of the people, deals with how society, in general, engages with the historian’s legacy through different acts of remembrance.

Georgiana Țăranu received a BA and a MA in History from the Faculty of History and Political Science, at the ‘Ovidius’ University of Constanța. Her PhD thesis defended at the “N. Iorga” Institute of History discussed Nicolae Iorga’ commitments towards Fascist Italy. Main research interests: interwar Romanian history, Italian fascism, cultural propaganda, and intellectual entanglements with totalitarianism. She published a collection of studies (Nicolae Iorga și Italia lui Mussolini. Studii, 2015), several book chapters and articles (the most recent book chapter: Georgiana Țăranu, „Imperial Nostalgia and Contestation: N. Iorga and the Paradoxes of a Romanian Nationalist,” în Emanuel Plopeanu, Gabriel Stelian Manea, Metin Omer, eds., *The Empire: Between Dispute and Nostalgia*), and an edited volume (Daniel Citirigă, Georgiana Țăranu, Adrian-Alexandru Herța, eds., *Intelectualii politici și politica intelectualilor*, 2016). Since October 2017 she is assistant lecturer at her alma mater.

30 of June 2022

10.00-11.30

1. Maciej Bugajewski

Historical identity: an ambiguous concept between memory, history, power and justice

The concept of identity is one of the most ambiguous concepts in reflection on memory and history. It is also one of the most important concepts in reflection on historical practice, as identities as recognized by actors of history determine the meaning and direction of their activities in history. In this paper, I try to define the tensions between the functioning of the concept of identity in the discourse of memory and the discourse of historiography, respectively, and I also try to present its functioning both in the register of power and in the register of duties, defined by the concept of justice. My point is to emphasize what a reflection on historiography, centered around the concept of historical identity, can learn from a reflection on identity conducted from the perspective of memory. Moreover, I am setting a lesson for reflection on justice resulting from examining the entanglement of identity in power relations. In this paper, I will draw inspiration from such authors as Reinhart Koselleck, Jörn Rüsen and Paul Ricoeur.

Maciej Bugajewski is a Professor at the History Department, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He holds a PhD in epistemology of History with the thesis: *Historiography and Time. Paul Ricoeur's theory of historical science* (2000). He holds an Habilitation in the theory of history: *The burden of the past. Evil as an Object of Historical Interpretation* (2010). He is interested in Anglo-Saxon, French and German theory of history and memory in connection with the problems of historical education.

2. Sylvia Stancheva

Nation and Identity: Museum Representations in Bulgaria

This presentation will discuss the dramatic change in the place and role of museum institutions in Bulgaria right after the political transformation in 1989. The majority of museums in Bulgaria are national history museums. During the state socialism they were assigned the task of narration and illustration of the nation state, as well as glorification of the communist party. They were practically used as political institutions for communist

propaganda and collective mobilization. The numerous changes in the political, social and economical life in Bulgaria after 1989 led to dramatic changes in the museums as well. They are no longer expected to serve the communist ideology, but rather serve the national ideology. While museums worldwide are being transformed into institutions, open to the current social problems of the public, museums in Bulgaria keep the strong national narrative alive in their exhibitions.

The presentation will discuss the role of museums in constructing an “essentialist myth, which serves to maintain the status quo” (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992). In the case of Bulgaria this is the myth of the homogenous nation (united and strong) as opposed to the dramatic reality of changes after 1989; the image of ethnically homogenous nation as opposed to the reality of ethnic minority groups, the glorious past as opposed to the lack of clear optimistic future project for the country. The paper will challenge this model and question its consequences. Furthermore, it will discuss opportunities for representing the controversies in society within the museum institution thus turning it into a place for open discussion and debate.

Sylvia Stancheva is a cultural anthropologist. Since 2009 she is an Assistant Professor of Museology at the Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bulgaria. She received her PhD in Museology from the same University in 2013. Her current research interests include collective memory of socialism, nationalism in post-socialist countries and its museum representations. She was a visiting lecturer in Warsaw University, Poland (April 2018). Recent participation in an International academic conference - IARCEES Conference “State and Non-state Actors in Eastern and Central Europe: Past, Present and Future”, Dublin, Ireland, 2019.

3. Claudia-Florentina Dobre

Memory and Identity at Sighet Memorial: The Souffrance as Patrimony

The Memorial to the Victims of Communism and to the Anticommunist Resistance of Sighetul Marmăției, also known as Sighet Memorial, was listed by the Council of Europe as one of the “hotspots of Memory preservation in Europe” in 1998. It develops many activities related to the memory of political persecutions: organizes conferences and exhibitions, publishes books, collects testimonies and facilitates its well-known “Memory Schools” for students.

Considered a museum of history by its founders, the Sighet Memorial “museumises” the Communist period according to a holistic perspective in its representation of communism as a repressive and illegitimate regime. The history of the entire period is described as a

confrontation between Good and Evil where Good eventually triumphed. As a result of this approach to the history of communism and towards memory and its transmission, the museum surpasses therefore its traditional role and attempts to become a prestigious memorial enterprise whose mandate is to articulate not only a repressed memory, but to forge an identity for those persecuted, and eventually for Romania. Moreover, it transforms the experience of those individuals who suffered there in a patrimony to be cherished by the society, which should neither forget such inhumanity nor allow it to be repeated.

My presentation deals with the role of the Sighet Memorial in forging identity and memory in postcommunist Romania while turning souffrance into a patrimony. It aims at describing and explaining this process from a long durée perspective, namely since the very creation of the memorial until nowadays.

Claudia-Florentina DOBRE is the Founder and the Director of the Centre for Memory and Identity Studies (CSMI) and of *MemoScapes. Romanian Journal of Memory and Identity Studies*, and a researcher at “Nicolae Iorga” Institute of History, Bucharest. She got her Ph.D. in History from Laval University of Québec in 2007. She conducted research on the memory of communism, on museums, memorials and monuments, on deportation, and everyday life in Romania during communism, on knowledge exchange and academic cultures in the Black Sea Region in the XXth century.

Most recent publications: *Martore fără voie. Fostele deținute politic și memoria comunismului în România* (Unwilling witnesses. Women, former political detainees and the memory of communism in Romania), Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun, 2021; Claudia-Florentina Dobre, Bernadette Jonda, Izabela Skorzyńska, Anna Wachowiak, *Eroine neștiute. Viața cotidiană a femeilor în perioada comunistă în Polonia, România și RDG* (Unknown heroines. Women everyday life during communism in Poland, Romania, and GDR), edited by Claudia-Florentina Dobre, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun, 2020; *Ni victime, ni héroïne: les anciennes détenues politiques et les mémoires du communisme en Roumanie*, Electra, Bucharest, 2019.

4. Dina Barcari

The influence of social memory on the formation of religious identity among Orthodox Christians in the Republic of Moldova

There is a renewed interest among anthropologists in social memory as a cultural construct. Suggesting that social and cultural forms shape experience, power, and identity, we observe that social memory becomes implemented and perceived in these forms. In my presentation, I intend to identify how social memory provides a platform on which understandings of personal identities, history and knowledge are challenged, whether they are, for example, reinvented, rejected or accepted. As a phenomenon, social memory thus indicates a complex relationship between embodied memory, history, time and space. It

supports the idea that any (cultural) identity is constructed by multiple agents in different contexts.

Anthropological studies have shown that the social practices by which people realize their memories combine elements of history and memory as communication between the past, present, and future. Under the influence of the memory versus history debate in the humanities, a considerable body of study has taken into account the social and cognitive processes involved in the construction of human memory.

I will address questions about how a social memory is created and recreated among Orthodox Christians in the Republic of Moldova and how it influences social classification and identity formation processes. Based on the fieldwork, I will explore questions about how ritualized actions and local narrative practices interact with personal experience and historical accounts at the "macro" level, political rhetoric and ongoing media accounts, and the process of creating social memory. I will argue that "macro" level discourses, personal experience and local discourse are anchored in local practices by the way they all influence and are influenced by this practice. Ritualized and narrative practices are ways of ordering chaotic and ambivalent realities and experiences. Through these processes of ordering reality by producing a coherent social memory, certain moral codes appear.

By participating in ritualized practices, the subject publicly and therefore morally accepts the activated social memory inherent in them, and therefore defines himself as an Orthodox Christian. Similar to ritual practices, participation in the social construction of narratives according to certain moral codes forms a basis for the formation of identity.

Dina Barcari is an anthropologist, Assistant Professor at the Moldovan State University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Department of Philosophy and Anthropology.

Coffee break 11.30-12.00

12.00-14.00

5. Anastasiya Pashova, Petar Vodenicharov

Policies of "Rehabilitation" of the Pomaks of Blagoevgrad Region after the Collapse of the Communist Regime

In 1991, the Law on Civil and Political Rehabilitation of Persons Repressed by the Communism was adopted in Bulgaria. The law didn't come into force until 1993. We have carried out a critical analysis of the appropriated legislation and proved its undemocraticity nature with regard to the victims of the so called "Revival" process - violent assimilation of

Pomaks (Bulgarian speaking Muslims). The Decree to the Act puts victims in a position to seek evidence of innocence from the same repressive authorities that persecuted them. The approved but mostly rejected Decisions of the Municipal, Regional and Central Commissions, which are stored in Regional archive of Blagoevgrad and the Central State Archive in Sofia, were analyzed. Our presentation is going to outline the tendency of these Commissions to reject requests for the rehabilitation of Pomaks affected by the worst cases of homicides and prisons sentences during the Revival (the name change process).

Petar Vodenicharov is Associate Professor at the South-West University "Neofit Rilski" in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria. He is specialist in Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics and Social Anthropology. His main research is in Gender Studies, Minority Studies, Language policy and nationalism, Critical analysis of media, Memory policies. He is editor in chief of the journal *Balkanistic forum*. He has published the books '*Sociolinguistics*', '*Language, Gender and Power*' and several books and articles on memoir literature.

Anastasiya Pashova is Associate Professor at the South-West University "Neofit Rilski" in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria. She is specialist in Pedagogy and Psychology. Her research interests are in Pedagogical Anthropology, Gender and Minority studies. She has worked on applying Montessori's ideas in preschool education, Family Pedagogy, Gipsy and Muslim minorities in Bulgaria.

6. Mariyana Piskova

An "Untrustworthy" Archivist at the Chronicle and Documentary Studios (June 1949-May 1951)

This presentation traces the dramatic fate of Maria Konstantinova, who, from 1949 to 1951, was in charge of the Studios for Chronicles and Documentaries. Her short period of activity in this archive of the Bulgarian cinematography is outlined based on documents from her professional dossier. Some of these documents were required for her appointment (CV, characteristic from the Fatherland's Organization, official personal form), while the remaining 11 documents either provide information about her professional activities or are statements concerning her punishment. The penalties are for the misdemeanors - the issuance of "state secrecy" and negligence, delayed delivery of the film "The Long Way of the Cigarette" (sounded in Russian), the result of which caused "delayed production of a copy for the USSR". Furthermore, in the anonymous and signed reports, Maria Konstantinova was accused of financial abuse, immoral behaviour, a "violently corrupt bohemian past", "lesbian relationships with girlfriends", "drunkenness and playing poker with men and especially with women"...

On May 17, 1951, the head of the archive and the filmmaker, Maria Konstantinova, was fired "due to the passage to another position". The dismissal coincides with the policy of "purge of the services of cinematography" carried out under the Decree of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria launched at the same period. Meanwhile, a legal framework for the persecution of homosexuals was also established.

Therefore, it is no coincidence that Maria Konstantinova, a truly talented artist and administrator of women's magazines and newspapers, who was loyal to the political system in Bulgaria or at least tried to emphasize it in her CV, fell victim to the dominant public attitude and to the persecution which characterized the 40s and the 50s in Bulgaria.

Mariyana Piskova, MA in History from Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", PhD in Archive Studies. Since 2000 Assoc. Prof. at the South-West University "Neofiti Rilski" – Blagoevgrad for Archive Studies. Specializations abroad and international collaborations: Film Archive – Berlin, Fototek Dresden 1979; The National Archives of Austria 1997; North-Caucasus Federal University 2012, 2015; Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University 2014; National Academy of Sciences of Armenia 2012, 2013. Main research areas: Archivology, Archival science, Records management science, Audio-visual records. Main Publications: "An Archive of the Bulgarian Archives" (2003), "*The Heroes of Shipka*" An archive reading of one movie about the Russian-Turkish war (1877-1878) from the time of the Cold war (2015).

7. Milena Angelova

The Mythmaking of Children Heroes during the Communist Regime in Bulgaria – the Case of "The Heroes of Belitsa"

My presentation focusses on the constructing of the image of "children heroes" in the memory policies imposed by the communist regime in Bulgaria after 1944. The Bulgarian case of establishing patterns of child heroism during the communist regime was inspired by the Soviet examples of policy to the youngsters. In pursuing its own ideological goals, the political regime in Bulgaria after 1944 imposed new content as regards the children's education, which turned children into instruments and objects of the propaganda about a new type of heroism. The biographies of the "children heroes" were turned into an example of education and identification for the young generations. While several local cases did exist, into the national heroic narrative for the youngsters were introduced the cases of Mitko Palauzov, the "six children from Yastrebinovo" and the "heroes of Belitsa" – Vasil and Sava Kokareshkovi. During the presentation, we are going to discuss the specific case of Vasil and Sava Kokareshkovi.

Milena Angelova is an Assistant Professor at the Department of History of the South- West University “Neofit Rilski” in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria. Her main interests are in the field of modern Bulgarian history, especially the history of “social diseases”, social work and public health, the state policies referring to the rural areas in Bulgaria in the 1930s and 1940s, the memory politics, critical analysis of the communist memoir campaigns. She is the author of the books *The Model Village. The Modernization THE AUTHORS 327 Project about the Village in Bulgaria (1937-1944)*, 2008; *The (un)shared memory of late socialism. The People’s Memory Moves Movement (1983-1989)*, 2010; *The Social Disease – Tuberculosis in Bulgaria in the First Half of the 20th Century*, 2020. She is a member of International University Seminar on Balkan Studies and Specialization and of the Editorial boards of the journal “Balkanistic Forum”.

8.Nurie Muratova, Kristina Popova

Interrupted biographies: Six distinguished female figures between repression and survival during the Communist Regime in Bulgaria

Our presentation deals with the interruptions of the biographical trajectories of six women who were persecuted in different periods during the Communist regime in Bulgaria in order to outline the common features as well the specificity of their cases. We focus on two former leading feminists: Julia Malinova (Julia Jakovlevna Schneider - President of the Bulgarian Women’s Union till 1926) and Dimitrana Ivanova (President of the same organization between 1926 and 1944), two activists of the Oppositional (Nikola Petkov’s) Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Rayna Lapardova and Tsvetana Tsacheva), and two scientists from the Turkish minority in Bulgaria (Mefkure Mollova and Hayriye Memova). The presentation, based on solid documentation, outlines their political and scientific activities, as well as the radical interruptions in the way of life, careers, family life, social ties and social integration of these women. The research is based on documents from the personal archives of these women, their publications, documents from the secret archives of the State Security, memories, and personal testimonies.

Kristina Popova, PhD, Historian, is an Assoc. Professor at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Her research interests are focused on social history, gender studies, and oral history. She is the author of more than 150 scholarly publications, some of which are: ‘The National Child. The Bulgarian Child Protection Union 1925 - 1944’ (in Bulgarian, 1999); ‘Casework and social control in XXth century’ (with Vaska Stancheva – Popcostadinova, 2009)., ‘The Joy of

service. Biopolitics and biographies between New York, Sofia, and Gorna Dzhumaya' (2012).

Nurie Muratova, PhD, is an Assoc. Professor at the South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria. Her research interests are focused on archival policies, the archives of women and minorities, policies of the socialist government in Bulgaria towards Muslim women, revealing insufficiently explored aspects of the history of the so-called revival process among the Pomak population and following the development of censorship mechanisms of the communist regime. She is the author of more than 40 scholarly publications, some of which are: 'The Policies of the Socialist Power in Bulgaria to the Muslim Women' (2013); '(Non)dangerous Enemies of the Regime: Unknown Stories of Three Famous Women of the Agrarian Party' (in Bulgarian, 2019); 'Women beyond the Archive' (in Bulgarian, 2021).

Lunch: 15.00-16.00

16.00-18.00

9.Mirel Banică

Après 30 ans: Traces du communisme dans l'espace public de Roumanie

En juillet et août 2019, au volant d'une vieille Dacia, la voiture « nationale » des Roumains, j'ai fait un grand tour de la Roumanie. Plus de 3200 km et presque un mois et demi de voyage, à travers toutes les provinces historiques du pays : Dobroudja, Moldavie, Transylvanie, Banat et Valachie. Un livre de voyage, *Prin România. Carnete de drum* (À travers la Roumanie. Carnets de voyage), qui raconte tout ce long chemin, a vu le jour (Editions Polirom, Iasi, 2020).

Pendant mon voyage j'ai pu observer, photographier et parfois analyser en profondeur des nombreuses « traces » du passe communiste et de la mémoire associée, qui s'entête de survivre dans l'espace public : des statues, noms de rues évoquant des « héros » d'autrefois, maisons dites de « culture », musées, mosaïques murales et au sol, des rémanences du commerce d'autres fois (des magasins genre Apicola ou Fondul Plastic) ou même des friches industrielles.

Mon expose sera plutôt « poétique » que scientifique, mais aussi très ethnographique. À l'aide des photos prises pendant le voyage, mes propres notes de terrain, fragments d'interviews et des extraits de mon livre, on va se demander, sur les traces de Svetlana Boym et de son ouvrage iconique « The Future of Nostalgia » (2002) s'il y a un futur

possible pour ces débris de la mémoire qui s'effritent, peu à peu, non seulement dans l'espace environnant, mais aussi dans la mémoire des hommes.

Mirel Banică est docteur en sciences politiques, Université de Genève, 2004. Boursier postdoctoral, Université Laval, 2004-2005, et EHESS-Paris, 2006. Depuis 2008, chercheur scientifique à l'Institut d'histoire des religions, Académie Roumaine, Bucarest. Ses recherches sont centrées principalement sur le fait religieux contemporain, la poétique de la mémoire du communisme et la culture religieuse Tsigane (Roma). Au fil du temps, il a publié plusieurs études, articles et livres ces domaines, les derniers en date étant : *Bafta, Deola și Haramul. Studii despre cultura și religia romilor* (2019) et *Prin România. Carnete de Drum* (2020).

10. Ana Pascu

Musées ethnographiques privés en Roumanie : l'implication du Musée national du paysan roumain dans la recherche et la promotion du patrimoine local

Après la chute du régime communiste en 1989, dans un contexte culturel qui a connu de multiples changements, de nombreuses collections ethnographiques privées ont ouvert leurs portes au public. Vues comme „musées” par les habitants, elles se trouvent dans des communautés rurales riches en patrimoine mais économiquement faibles dans toutes les régions de la Roumanie.

Ces quelques centaines de collections privées ont des caractéristiques communes : les objets reflètent la culture traditionnelle et la mémoire locale ; les collections sont hébergées dans leur propre ménage ou dans des bâtiments traditionnels d'intérêt local; les propriétaires, généralement des indigènes, n'ont pas d'études spécialisées dans le domaine de l'art, de l'ethnographie ou de la muséographie et, hors quelques exceptions, ont été peu soutenus dans leurs efforts par les institutions de l'État.

Cependant, les collectionneurs jouent un rôle important dans la gestion du patrimoine local à travers la conservation des objets rares, la transmission du patrimoine immatériel local, l'éducation des enfants et les actions culturelles, économiques et touristiques entreprises qui contribuent au développement durable local.

Le Musée national du paysan roumain a conçu et réalisé un programme de collaboration avec ces « musées » locaux qui a ouvert la voie aux autres institutions de l'État (telles que l'Institut national du patrimoine, d'autres musées ethnographiques) qui reconnaissent ainsi indirectement leur importance pour la préservation du patrimoine rural.

Le but de cette présentation est de faire un résumé sur les résultats et les limites de ce programme et d'expliquer comment le Musée du Paysan a contribué au développement des musées privés indépendants.

Ana Pascu est muséographe au Musée du paysan roumain de Bucarest (Roumanie), Département d'études ethnologiques. Préoccupée par l'ethnologie de l'enfance, elle a obtenu son doctorat ès lettres à l'Université de Bucarest en 2009 avec la thèse « Textes et contextes du jeu formel du milieu urbain ». Elle étudie le patrimoine culturel traditionnel et les acteurs du patrimoine de plusieurs régions de la Roumanie, y compris les ONG et les musées d'ethnographie privées, dans le cadre des programmes du Musée du paysan roumain « Collections ethnographiques des villages de la Roumanie » (2008 – 2014) et « Acteurs locaux du patrimoine » (depuis 2016).

Ouvrages scientifiques: "Activisme social et patrimonial en Roumanie postcommuniste", in A. Heemerick (coord.), *L'environnement entre luttes et patrimoine*, L'Harmattan, 2022; 'The Role of the Private Actors in the Protection of the Cultural Heritage in the Region of Sibiu, Romania. A Case Study', in *Balkanistic Forum*, vol. 1/2020; 'The Narrative Constitution of Identity: The Case of Pastoral and Mine Workers' Communities from the Region of Valea Jiului, Romania', in E. Anastasova, M. Kõiva, Ž. Šaknys, I. Runce (ed.), *Yearbook of Balkan and Baltic Studies*, vol. 2, Elm Scholarly Press, Vilnius-Tartu-Sofia, 2019.

11. Maria Mateoniu-Micu

Dynamique historique du patrimoine en Roumanie : De la famille à la nation et de la nation à l'économie durable

Depuis plusieurs décennies, dans le contexte où tout tend à être jugé digne d'être conservé, protégé et transmis, le champ du patrimoine s'est de plus en plus étendu, englobant les pratiques et les théories les plus diverses. Juridiquement, le patrimoine désigne une accumulation de biens transférés d'un titulaire à un successeur, sur la base du droit de propriété. En tant que ressource économique, le patrimoine représente un capital susceptible de générer des revenus à la suite d'une transaction. Du point de vue identitaire, il se remarque comme agent producteur de relations sociales dans la mesure où la société se construit et se reconstruit en permanence dans un rapport avec les biens et les valeurs transmis d'une génération à l'autre. Il s'agit ainsi de tout un processus qui, à des moments distincts, fait émerger certaines valeurs symboliques liées à un héritage commun qui sont reconnues en tant que telles par les groupes sociaux. Dans ma communication, je me propose de présenter cette dynamique historique de la construction du patrimoine, en me penchant sur le cas de la Roumanie.

Il est important de distinguer les diverses catégories de patrimoine: d'abord entre le patrimoine en tant que propriété et moyens de production, transmis dans le cadre familial,

et les divers catégories du patrimoine culturels qui sont des inventions plus récentes. Le patrimoine culturel est « particulièrement ambigu et polysémique », comme disait l'anthropologue Lauren Bazin. Le concept de patrimoine culturel et ses dérivés (matériel, ethnologique, immatériel, industriel) s'est progressivement développé sous l'égide des conventions UNESCO, étant souvent difficile à l'identifier, tout comme les enjeux sociopolitiques qui lui sont sous-jacents. Si au XIXe siècle, le patrimoine s'est constitué comme une catégorie à part illustrant les particularités et les richesses de chaque nation, à partir des années 1980, dans les sociétés européennes, la dimension culturelle ou patrimoniale tendra à remplacer le paradigme du développement intensif, tout en s'intégrant dans l'économie mondiale organisée par les marchés et la consommation. La Roumanie n'a pas échappé à cette tendance, malgré les conditions spécifiques dues au régime communiste et à la transition d'après 1989. Nous tenterons ainsi de mettre en discussion ce parcours de la construction du patrimoine, tout en saisissant les changements de paradigme d'une étape historique à l'autre, à partir de la période moderne jusqu'à nos jours.

Maria Mateoniu-Micu est diplômée de la Faculté d'histoire de l'Université de Bucarest (1996) et docteure en ethnologie de l'Université Laval (2006). Elle a été boursière du New Europe College – Institute for Advanced Study de Bucarest (2007-2008). Actuellement, elle est chercheuse au Musée national du paysan de Bucarest où elle travaille depuis 1996. Ses préoccupations sont centrées autour de la mémoire du communisme, de l'anthropologie religieuse et du patrimoine, des domaines dans lesquels elle a publié plusieurs études, parmi lesquelles *La mémoire refuge. L'orthodoxie et le communisme au monastère Saint-Nicolas*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2015. Elle a également dirigé et codirigé des livres et des numéros de revues: *Passages*, *Ethnologies*, vol. 31, no 1, 2009; *Patrimony and Local Identity*, Martor – The Museum of the Romanian Peasant Anthropology Review, no 13, 2009; *Everyday life under communism. History, memory, oblivion*, Martor – The Romanian Peasant Museum Anthropology Review (avec Mihai Gheorghiu); *Museum of the Romanian Peasant. Guide to the Permanent Exhibition*, Bucuresti, Editura Litera, 2012 (avec Mihai Gheorghiu).

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