Performing Archives: Documentary Theatre, Transition and Adaptation to a New Lifestyle in Romanian Society

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Abstract: The change of political regimes and the long period of transition that followed afterwards brought dramatic, even tragic shifts in common people's lives, who were born and raised in the Eastern Bloc. These experiences, which were strikingly common in Eastern European countries, have left significant marks in nowadays society, which historians and artists alike are trying to analyze and explain to their audiences, in a personal and accessible form. This article aims to analyze the manners in which recent history themes, like the period of transition, economy and the essential lifestyle changes which came as a consequence, are researched and handled in Romanian documentary theatre. As follows, two theatre productions of this kind will be presented. They were considered to be a real success in the independent theatre scene in the past five years and their specificity is the shared socio-political context between stage and audience².

Keywords: documentary theatre, archives, transition, recent history, non-Aristotelian theatre, independent theatre, consumerism, society.

In her book, *Secondhand Time: The last of the Soviets*, Svetlana Alexievich transcribes a former USSR citizen's testimony about how ordinary people experienced the '90s. Among other ideas, this citizen said that most of the

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people, in their naivety, didn't take the Transition Period too seriously (although they should have); being blinded by an illusionary victory, most of them missed an important opportunity of transforming the entire society and also the meaning of freedom³. I interpreted this statement as being fairly broad and able to summarize in waste terms, every individual's experience with the Transition Period. In Romania, as well as in other former Communist countries, the installation of Capitalism arrived together with important financial gains for a few select members of the society, and with great loss for the main part of the population. The vast majority of citizens learned democracy and its rules 'on the go', and tried to adapt, with great difficulty, to a new sociopolitical context. There is a huge archive material about the Transition Period, from social studies to anthropological, historical, economic analysis, and in recent years, especially in the independent cultural sector, there is a tendency to treat and dissect this theme in documentary theatre productions.

The explanation for this is not complicated, nor is it difficult to understand. First of all, the average age of the Romanian independent artist is around 30, which means that his or her formative years took place in the last decade of the 20th century, which was marked by a general confusion both social and political. Therefore, one of the motivations might be of a personal nature: these artists are trying to probe at a more profound level the context in which they grew up. Another argument refers to the need of analyzing the debut of Capitalism in the society, in order to explain and understand the shortcomings of the current system - let's not forget that the main purposes of documentary theatre is to create debates concerning a socio-political phenomenon, to educate and to develop the spectators' critical thinking. Lastly, the necessity of performing such themes in theatre performances arrives in order to support the artists' connection with their audience, both sharing common experiences that they are trying to understand, to accept or to condemn with the help of a live event.

In this regard, I chose two examples of documentary theatre productions that are using archived material to present important aspects of the Transition Period in Romania: (1) the phenomenon of privatization by changing the planned economy with the market economy and (2) the monetary inflation

^{3.} Svetlana Aleksievici, Vremuri second-hand (București: Editura Humanitas, 2017), 289.

in Romania during the '90s decade. The two productions were created between 2017-2019 in Cluj-Napoca and Zalău: *Factories and Plants/Fabrici și uzine* (directed by Adina Lazăr and produced by The Center for The Study of Modernity and the Rural World/Centrul pentru Studierea Modernității și a Lumii Rurale, in partnership with Museum of History and Art, Zalău/Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă - Zalău, 2019 - a project in which I signed the dramaturgy), and *The Miracle of Cluj/Miracolul de la Cluj* (directed by David Schwartz and produced by Reactor of Creation and Experiment/Reactor de Creație și Experiment, within the program *Exercises of Democracy. Investigation of recent history/ Exerciții de democrație. Investigarea istoriei recente*, 2017, with a dramaturgy signed by Petro Ionescu).

In both cases, the script was based on a rigorous research, by consulting archives consisting in: local and national old newspapers that could be found at the county's libraries (as for example in The Miracle of Cluj/Miracolul de la Cluj case - the lists published in The Transylvanian Messenger newspaper/ Mesagerul transilvan), social studies and analysis articles published online or on paperback (for example, Vladimir Pasti's book from 2006, The New Romanian *Capitalism/Noul capitalism românesc*⁴, which I considered to be of great help during my research period for Factories and Plants/Fabrici si Uzine script, along with Bill Browder's book, Red Notice. A true story of high finance, murder, and one man's fight for justice⁵). Together with our project consultants, a professional journalist and an anthropologist, we created a follow-up of the historical phenomenon, with events and facts as they were presented in the local and national press. Finally, an important part was played by the interviews that the two artistic collectives took during the entire process. The interviewees, consisting of people who directly witnessed or experienced the historical events, were transformed into characters. At the beginning of Factories and Plants/Fabrici si Uzine rehearsals, we spent a lot of time reading the whole transcript of the interviews and dissecting the possible meanings of phrases, even if the final draft consisted in only about 20 percent of the entire testimonies. It was an important phase in the overall construction of the theatre play, because it gave consistent information to the actors about the

^{4.} Vladimir Pasti, Noul capitalism românesc (Iași: Editura Polirom, 2006).

^{5.} Bill Browder, Alertă roșie (București: Editura Humanitas, 2018).

characters they were about to play. Creating a documentary theatre script is extremely different from constructing a classical play. But first, I find it crucial to explain the argument for treating these themes in a very specific, anti-Aristotelian manner.

Why documentary theatre is not an Aristotelian theatre?

We are commencing from the idea that every art is political: Augusto Boal demonstrated that the definition of tragedy in Aristotle's Poetics, which refers to the imitation of virtuous people's actions, had as its main purpose the support and maintenance of a predetermined class order. The wealthy ruling class of the citadel was also financing these entertainment events for the general public - therefore, it had no interest in destabilizing the state's hierarchies. Since the main purpose was maintaining order, Aristotelian theatre was not, nor will it ever be suited for the theatre of the Revolution. The attempt to avoid a revolution in theatre was perpetuated especially during the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century, where abusing censure committees managed to almost completely distort the meaning of a work of art or ban it altogether. According to Aristotle, Hamartia, or the protagonist's flaw that creates conflict (also known as the tragic guilt) - is attributed only to the ones that are being 'different', who end up being punished for it. In short: the individual who opposes the order imposed by the State will suffer the consequences⁶ or, paraphrasing Ibsen, the strongest man is also the loneliest.

This is why, through its own structure and its own set of values which it promotes, documentary theatre rather rallies to Brechtian Aesthetics - a revealing experience at the level of conscience, where dramatic action clarifies the real one, as Boal puts it. Between 1939-1955, Brecht conceived an important work which was published under the name of *Der Messingkauf*, or *Messingkauf Dialogues or Buying Brass*. Written as a Socratic dialogue between a playwright, a technician, two actors and a philosopher, Brecht describes his vision of theatrical practice. The imagined debate that takes place over four nights, post-performance, attacks subjects like: socio-political context,

^{6.} Augusto Boal, Theatre of the Oppressed (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 34.

vision, drama, reality versus fiction, acting. Regarding the environment in which this new theatrical form is born, the *Messingkauf* Philosopher states:

Bear in mind that we are living in dark times, when people's behavior towards one another is particularly abhorrent and the deadly activities of certain groups of people are shrouded in an almost impenetrable darkness so that a great deal of thought and organization is needed in order to shed some light on people's social behavior.⁷

It should be noted the fact that the period in which Brecht began working on this text was the one when Fascism erupted in Europe, generating the Second World War. Even if we are not experiencing today an ascension of such dimension of totalitarianism and the imminence of a global conflict, we cannot help but notice the extremist actions of some political parties such as Fidesz in Hungary, Law and Justice (PiS) in Poland or Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey, which attack fundamental human rights and freedom; as a consequence, making documentary theatre forms looks essential to the present context.

As in Brechtian epic theatre, documentary theatre proposes distancing (*Verfremdungseffekt*) instead of empathy born of Aristotelian *catharsis*, pushing the dramatic act towards storytelling and postdramatic techniques. The characters portrayed on stage have the status of symbolic characters, depicting an entire social class or category, with its struggles, dilemmas and experiences within a society and a context that the audience is already aware of. Concerning this context and the manipulation of the archive material (also known as the 'raw' material), director Robin Belfied states the following in his practical book, *Telling the Truth. How to make Verbatim Theatre*:

I would argue that there is a difference between **narrative** and **story**. When I approach verbatim work, the 'narrative' for me is linked to the structure and can be defined or expressed as a series of events - what happens when. The 'story' is something more profound - it is a way of

^{7.} Tom Kuhn, Steve Giles, Marc Silberman (edit.), *Brecht on Performance* (London: Methuen Drama, Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 59.

expressing what lies at the heart of the verbatim play. The structure of an event-based piece can be found very easily, but to simply perform a chronology of events would make for an 'interesting' audience experience at best. I can't imagine anyone walks into the theatre just to learn about a sequence of facts; on the contrary, an audience expects to be moved by connecting with the subject on a deeper level (...)⁸

Therefore, *narrative* and *story* are being connected, but the second term is the one that offers a unique perspective – which asks to be found and edited by the practitioners during the entire artistic process, beginning from the research phase and continuing with the rehearsals. More than that, we are witnessing the revival of a more or less neutral character (depending on the director's vision): the Narrator. Its function is a very practical one, because it facilitates the audience's access into the performance's universe, and it transforms it into a participant at the events that are being narrated rather than materialized on stage. The Narrator can be an important part of the entire structure of the play, the one that presents the course of events and their historical effects with objectivity – opposed to the subjective testimonies of other characters. As a practitioner, I know this confrontation of statements to be of a great importance, because it brings an equilibrium to the whole play. An example in this direction is the introductory scene from the theatre script *Factories and Plants/Fabrici şi Uzine*, which I reproduce in the following:

NARRATOR: Once upon a time... there was a town between Meseş mountains and the Valea Miții; a town surrounded by forests. And this town had a name (...) And there were people in this town (*enter characters Sandu, Mariana, Vasile*). Not too many. 15 144 people in the '60s. And inside people... well, what could be inside those people's minds? Many dreams. And the world that was being built of grey concrete, and in which was the city with all the people in it, full of dreams, is today a lost world.⁹

^{8.} Robin Belfield, *Telling the Truth. How to make verbatim Theatre* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2018), 57.

^{9.} Factories and Plants script, by Alexandra Felseghi (2019) - personal translation.

I opted for the introduction of this character in order to offer a framework for other characters' stories: they detach as branches from the history of the place they were born. The Narrator appears in key moments through the entire performance, and illustrates the most important ideas we selected from the archives we studied. In the following, I will resume the added context that the Narrator gives throughout the performance: as in most industrial cities, the population of Zalău has grown through the migration of the labor force which was facilitated by the local units. The Industrial Iron and Steel Fitting Enterprise (IAIFO) was the largest and most productive factory from Salaj County, and also with one of the most tragic destinies concerning the privatization. The story of its inauguration, its moment of glory and its dive is also the story of its employees who spent most of their lives in its perimeter, working in different sectors.

In our performance, it is not the *representation* that creates the essence, but the *presentation* of the real people who became characters. Throughout the spectacle, both performers and audience are aware that they are witnessing a theatrical event in which a diverse range of recognizable characters from society, or even from their own biography, will appear on stage.

At the beginning of the show *The Miracle of Cluj/Miracolul de la Cluj*, the actors enter the stage in their civil condition and inform the audience about what they are going to watch in a little while:

EVERYBODY: Good evening! Welcome! /ACTOR 1: Tonight we will be your hosts. /ACTOR 2: And together we will find out more about the miracle from Cluj. /ACTOR 3: Also known as Caritas. /ACTOR 4: Who heard about Caritas? /ACTOR 3: The pyramid-based game from the '90s, not the Greek-Catholic association.¹⁰

Another variant of the same 'recipe' of performers' interaction with their audience throughout a representation is also used by director Gianina Cărbunariu in X *mm from* Y km/X *mm din* Y km (a Colectiv A production, 2011).

^{10.} Miracle of Cluj script, by Petro Ionescu (2017) - personal translation.

In this case, the four actors present themselves with their real names, and inform the spectators that they are going to play the real individuals that appeared in the transcript of the scandalous meeting in which the poet Dorin Tudoran was expelled from the Writers' Union in the '80s.

Establishing a clear framework in the first scenes of a representation is very important, because it presents the 'rules of the game', inducing the audience's awareness that what takes place on the stage is an act destined to be debated.

Also, this frame represents the backbone of the entire performance: the testimonies, without this context (be he given by a Narrator, or the reality of a representation, etc.) would create a structure that would collapse in searching for a purpose to bring the body of ideas and information together. And, last but not least, it introduces the effect of distancing, of which we will be aware throughout the entire artistic event. This ambiguous area between being civil and playing a character, constantly negotiated in postdramatic theatre, has led practitioners to believe that the character (understood in its classical meaning) almost died since the second half of the 20th century. However, the idea of the 'death of the character' is not necessarily typical for the postdramatic, as Elinor Fuchs states, quoting the famous preface written by Strindberg for his play, *Miss Julie*:

Of course, character has been dying for a hundred years. In his astoundingly pre-postmodern preface to *Miss Julie*, Strindberg said his "souls" were "characterless", "patchworks of the past and present stages of culture... pasted together from scraps of human lives, patched up from old rags that once were ball gowns..."¹¹

These concentrated structural forms that were first described in this preface-manifesto are being exploited to a whole new level in documentary theatre. In his *New interpretation technique*, Brecht mentions the three ways by which the actor can detach from his/her complete metamorphosis on stage, as it follows: 1. the transposition to the third person; 2. the transposition to

^{11.} Elinor Fuchs, *The Death of Characters: Perspective on theatre after Modernism* (USA: Indiana University Press, 1996), 171.

the past; 3. stage directions and comments¹². The three means are very often used in the dramaturgy of documentary theatre, among others, such as: the testimonies and data, facts extracted from official sources, archived materials (studies, audio-video recordings, articles, photographs, etc.) In documentary theatre, the main source of character construction is not the practitioners' imagination, but a real person, that becomes in the creative process a real case study, from speech to personality and appearance, filtered through specific dramatic techniques. As an example of how the real person is being transformed in a character on stage, the technique used by dramaturg and director Alecky Blythe is a very complex practice. She explains it in a discussion with Robin Belfield, that was published in the same book I previously mentioned:

My process was based on that of Mark Wing-Davey (a.n. *British actor and director*), who in turn learnt it from Anna Deavere Smith (*a.n. American actress and playwright*). To be specific, Mark taught that actors wear earphones in both rehearsals and performances, and copy exact speech patterns of the interviewees, and this is the process I used for my play at first. For Anna's process, the earphones were only used in rehearsals and the actors learnt their lines for the performance.¹³

Therefore, I consider this technique as a variant of the *V*-*Effekt* that can be experienced and used in contemporary theatre. The characters are understood as means/interfaces for delivering the story. Their perspective and vision are being used at an almost mathematical manner, in order to construct an 'orchestration' of the historical event's reproduction on stage. Depending on what the dramaturg and the director want to highlight, the characters are being chosen considering their input to the subject: contrasting testimonies, supporting ones, different points of view, emotional or retained, etc. Most of the time, the characters follow the story and not the other way around. The accuracy of the testimony, as well as the entire material used in

^{12.} Michaela Tonitza-Iordache, George Banu (edit.) *Arta teatrului*. (București: Editura Nemira, 2004), 283.

^{13.} Robin Belfield, *Telling the Truth. How to make verbatim Theatre* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2018), 67.

creating a documentary theatre is extremely important. As a consequence, in the practice of creating such a script, a dramaturg explores two directions which are interconnected: history and testimony.

Historical Direction

This direction refers to the research and the profound study of historical archives, of specialized articles, of sociological analysis, of reports, of other journalistic materials, as well as documentary film productions about a specific phenomenon, all with the aim of a vast understanding of the context of the event we are willing to expose in a show. I have explained in detail the way in which archived material is generally treated from a dramatic point of view in a previous article published in the supplement of *George Barițiu* History Institute's Yearbook¹⁴, also available on academic platforms¹⁵. In the present article, my aim is to describe it in a more specific manner.

During the research I submitted for the *Factories and Plants/Fabrici și Uzine* performance, the aspects that were pointed out by the Romanian historian Bogdan Murgescu in his book, *Romania and Europe. The accumulation of economic gaps (1500-2010)/România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice (1500-2010)*, seemed to me extremely relevant and important to discuss through a script. Murgescu affirms that the socialist system had achieved a real 'economic illiteracy' for most of the society's representatives, who didn't understand the financial instruments of a modern economy, or the basic economic correlations of the microeconomic or the macroeconomic levels. He also describes the inevitability of a transition crisis, caused by the shift from the planned economy to the market economy, mentioning several elements that led to this imbalance, as it follows: the above-mentioned lack of economic competence in connection with the fall of Authority, and with the short explosion of consumerism at the beginning of the '90s, along with

^{14.} Alexandra Felseghi, "Teatrul documentar și relația lui cu istoria trăită". *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu"*, Series Historica. LIX/2020. pp. 663-669.

^{15.} More information about this article it can be found at the following link: https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=916340

spontaneous privatizations in industry, agriculture and trade. All of these took place all together, amid an atmosphere of mistrust and political struggles¹⁶. Starting from this short description, we could understand the downfall of IAIFO Enterprise - a specific example we chose to explain the national phenomenon that took place in the '90s.

IAIFO, founded in 1969 in the city of Zalău, an enterprise that completely changed the social conformation of the geographical area and which in 1989 had over 7000 employees, ends up failing the privatization process. The causes were both internal (the abrupt cessation of collaboration with the American enterprise, Crane Valves, which had an attempt to buy in 1996), and external (as for example, the incapacity of presenting a real competitivity in the market economy context: the enterprise produced more than it could sell, with low quality materials and a large number of employees - that transformed it in a very inefficient institution, which was forced to make some layoffs in the second half of the '90s). In 2003, as the factory's debts reached four times its capital, it was declared bankrupt. In 2004, the enterprise was bought at an auction by Romiserv S.A.București for approximately 6 billion dollars.

Before 1989, the worker's image was a privileged one (a basic salary was between 2600-4200 old lei - compared to a medium salary in the education, which was approx. 1700 old lei - an amount of money from which the former IAIFO's workers remember they could pay for a complete kitchen furniture or even appliances). Immediately after the Revolution, this image began to be correlated with the hatred for the old regime. The inability of professional reconversion of most of the working class, as well as the dramatic devaluation of the national currency, led to the first wave of the Romanian citizens' migration in search of a job abroad. The testimony of a former employee of IAIFO who once fired decided to leave the country became a very emotional part of the show:

MINERVA: We didn't have enough money. Because I couldn't pay for maintenance, I removed the radiators and I stacked them on the balcony. And I looked at those stacked radiators and at my children,

^{16.} Bogdan Murgescu, *România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice* (1500-2010). (București: Editura Polirom, Seria Historia, 2010), 465-466.

because they had no clothes and I had nothing to put them on the table - an entire week I didn't have money for bread, and we boiled potatoes, praising the potato fiber, saying it's healthier than bread, just to cover my desperation for them. It was 1999. I would have gone anywhere just to feed my children. So, I went to work in Israel.¹⁷

As an adjacent subject, the falling of the economy during the Transition Period could explain the phenomenon we experience nowadays: Romania has one of the highest percentage of emigrants from the EU.

In present days, the first mall in the city of Zalău was inaugurated on the site of the former IAIFO - an action that we interpreted as being almost metaphorical: a former production center was replaced with a massive consumption center.

In connection with the birth of Romanian consumerism, the Caritas phenomenon had also played a major part. In his short essay on this topic, published as a preface to the *The Miracle of Cluj/Miracolul de la Cluj* play publication, the philosopher Ovidiu Țichindeleanu states that the period of time in which Caritas deceived the population on a national level, from the spring of 1992 to the summer of 1994, was overlapped with the period of time in which the national currency was radically devalued by government policies - a cruel action that wasn't at all unaware of the mass suffering they caused¹⁸.

Likewise, the *Factories and Plants/Fabrici și Uzine* debate, in this case people's credulity came from the same background: the lack of economic education. In the early 1990s, a series of pyramid-based games appeared in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc, but Caritas, founded by Ioan Stoica in Cluj-Napoca, was one of the largest, competing in size only with MMM, in Russia¹⁹. The anthropologist Katherine Verdery explains in her study from 1995 (which the creative team used as a source), that the Romanians she

^{17.} Factories and Plants script, by Alexandra Felseghi (2019) - personal translation.

^{18.} Reactor de Creație și Experiment, *Miracolul de la Cluj și M.I.S.A.PĂRUT*. (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Eikon, 2019), 9.

^{19.} Katherine Verdery. "Faith, Hope, and Caritas în the land of the Pyramids". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol.37, no.4 (Oct., 1995), pp.625-669. Published by: Cambridge University Press.

interviewed and who enthusiastically played Caritas game were stating that only in this way they could keep up with monetary inflation. The consumerism and the gaining of large sums of money had, for a vast majority of the population in the '90s, a dose of magic realism. The reproduction of the pyramid-game formula on stage was one of the most efficient dramaturgical and directorial choices in order to educate the audience about what the phenomenon really meant. Caritas ends up being presented as a magic trick that gradually unfolds, and appears in its true light: that of a great deception, after which the winners and losers are chosen.

Another important moment in *The Miracle of Cluj/Miracolul de la Cluj* show is the reenactment of the inauguration of Avram Iancu's statue (situated today in a major square of the city) - when both the priest and then-mayor Gheorghe Funar mention the owner of Caritas as the main source of donation - funds that, according to subsequent findings in Court, they came from the players' deposits.

We could compare the Caritas experience with the famous illusion and deception scene that takes place at the Variete Theatre from Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita*. However, the dramaturg Petro Ionescu states in an interview that, through *The Miracle of Cluj/Miracolul de la Cluj*, the artistic team was trying to explain, at least partially, the way in which the city of Cluj-Napoca came to be listed as one of the most developed in the country, the most expensive on real estate market, with such a consistent IT sector²⁰. At least one answer of this question can be found after participating to one representation of this performance.

The importance of testimonies

The artists must take into consideration the subjectivity that transpires through the personal testimonies. These declarations are profoundly linked with the interviewees' memory and perception, also with the conditions in which the interview took place in order to extract the biographical events. Thus, the script is always created from the confrontation of the macro history

^{20.} Reactor de Creație și Experiment, *Miracolul de la Cluj și M.I.S.A.PĂRUT*. (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Eikon, 2019), 4.

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(which is basically more objective and usually presented in the performance's frame) with micro history (most often emotional and therefore, subjective). For example, most of the former IAIFO employees we interviewed were nostalgic about the times before 1989; at a closer look, we got to the conclusion that they were in fact nostalgic about their youth. More than that, it is scientifically proved that individuals tend to bury the uncomfortable past experiences and to, sometimes, idealize past events. The accuracy of information delivered through a documentary theatre play and spectacle is given by using official sources and data - a very important element in order to avoid misinforming the audience.

Both in the case of *Factories and Plants/Fabrici și Uzine* and in *The Miracle of Cluj/Miracolul de la Cluj*, the spectators' receptivity took place on several levels, depending on the generations attending the performances. As such, the two productions had, as the case may be, *the function of educating* the young audiences who, with the help of a theatrical event, managed to learn about important episodes of recent history; and also *the function of debate*, in which the spectators with the age over forty-five succeeded to analyze and to understand their own journey; finally, *the emotional function*, in which the interviewees were confronted with their own stories illustrated on the stage. Moreover, performances with themes such as the transition period can serve as a base for a dialogue and a better understanding between generations, which is, after all, the most important function of art.

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The creative collectives of the two shows presented in the article:

Fabrici și Uzine/Factories and Plants, a production of The Center for The Study of Modernity and the Rural World in partnership with Museum of History and Art, Zalău, 2019

Production co-financed by Administration of Cultural National Fund (AFCN) Dramaturgy: Alexandra Felseghi Direction: Adina Lazăr Scenography: Silviu Medeșan Cast: Ioana Chițu, Simina Seliștean, Emanuel Cifor, Lucian Teodor Rus Research consultants: Bianca Felseghi, Valer Simion Cosma Poster: Paul Mureșan

Miracolul de la Cluj/Miracle of Cluj, a production of Reactor de Creație și Experiment/ Reactor of Creation and Experiment, within the programe *Exercises of Democracy*. *Investigation of recent history*, 2017

Co-financed by AFCN Dramaturgy: Petro Ionescu Direction: David Schwartz Scenography: Anda Pop

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Video: Daniel Răduțu Cast: Oana Mardare, Lucia Mărneanu, Denisse Moise, Doru Taloș Research assistant: Silvia Netedu Illustrations: Lucia Mărneanu Live music: Krisztina Sipos

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