

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

FONDATION MAISON DES SCIENCES DE L'HOMME, PARIS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE FOR SCHOLARS AT REID HALL, PARIS

**Forms of Knowledge of the Past
Les formes de la connaissance du passé**

Report on the project

April 2005 – June 2005

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Introduction

The intention of the research project “**Forms of knowledge of the past**” is in the first instance to analyse the images of the past constructed by different social groups (at expert as well as mass level) using the methods developed by different social and human sciences, first of all in sociology, political science, cultural anthropology and history.

This project is the continuation of the research Irina Savelieva and Andrei Poletayev have been engaged for almost ten years. On this problem, they have just published a two volume book, and another book, which is a collection of articles written by ten authors, is in press¹. The definite task of the research was to study how “past” is represented in various types of expert knowledge: religion, philosophy and ideology, arts and literature, social sciences and certainly – history. The initial point of that research was the classical question: what is history. The authors determine history as a scientific form of knowledge about the past social reality versus the ideas that history is not a science at all or is some peculiar mix of science and art, science and ideology, etc. So they belong to the advocates of the idea that history is a “normal” science. For theoretical argumentation they looked for modern sociology of knowledge beginning with Max Scheler, Ernst Cassirer, Alfred Schütz, Karl Mannheim and post-war anglo-saxon theory of social knowledge developed by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman, Benjamin Barnes, David Bloor, Karen Knorr-Cetina, etc. It was considered effective to apply this concept to different types of knowledge to identify what images of the past exist in different symbolic universes, how they interchange and influence one another, creating very ambiguous pictures of past reality at the level of expert (high) knowledge as well as mass representations.

As the idea caught on other Russian, French and German colleagues, the participants of the project are trying to implement it in a new multidisciplinary research.

Brief description of the project

The research project “**Forms of knowledge of the past**” aims to investigate the formation and functioning of mechanisms of constructing the past social reality. The

¹ *Savelieva I. M., Poletayev A. V. Knowledge of the Past: Theory and History. 2 vols. V. 1: Construction of the Past. V. 2: Images of the Past [Znanie o proshlom: teoriya i istoriya. V 2-h t. T. 1: Konstruirovaniye proshlogo. T. 2: Obrazy proshlogo]. SPb.: Nauka, 2003–2005; Phenomenon of the Past [Fenomen proshlogo] / Ed. I. M. Savelieva, A. V. Poletayev. M.: SU–HSE Publishing House, 2005 (forthcoming).*

definite task of the project is to study how “past” is represented in various types of knowledge: philosophy and ideology, textbooks, arts, mass media, everyday life, and collective opinion. Analysis of the decisive role of knowledge of the past in formation of political, ethnic, national, confessional and other forms of social identity is an important part of the research. Such a project allows conceptualization of debates about relations between past and present in France, Germany and Russia, which survived series of transitions and severe concomitant calamities in the 20th century. Such debates are extremely actual today when the situation of civilization transition is accompanied by transformation from historical collective identity associated with social entity and historical space to individual identification in the aggregated cultural space.

The concept

Key words of the research are: past, history, construction, myth, ideology, identity, knowledge, representation.

The contemporary social sciences deal with scientific context in which traditions are invented, nations – imagined, space – structured, past constructed, and texts deconstructed. As all these elements are represented in the past social reality, the initial point was to find out how past (past social reality) is invented, imagined, structured, constructed and deconstructed.

In the process of work the participants agreed on the notions and their meanings. Although the difference between the English “knowledge”, German “Wissen”, French “savoir”, Russian «znaniye» and on the other side French “representation” and English “believes”, German “Vorstellung”, Russian «predstavleniya» is still debatable. Presenting the concept of the project we prefer the term “knowledge”, following the anglo-saxon tradition where “representation” is used in psychology and logic and means intermediate stage between perception and reasoning or between image and notion.

The other important word, or precisely subword, characterizing our project is “*inter*”. The group is *international* (France, Germany, Russia) and *interdisciplinary*, representing history, political science, philosophy, social anthropology, art history. Furthermore most participants of the group engage in *interdisciplinary* research.

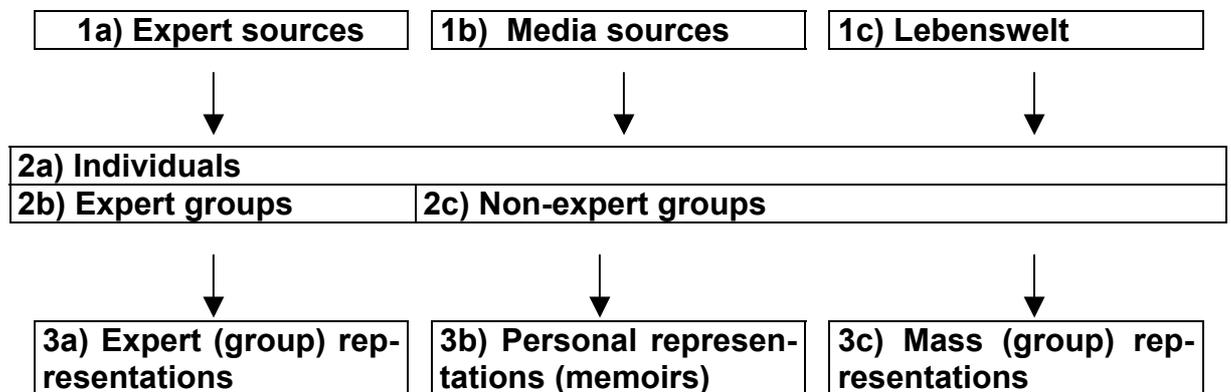
Images of the past are based on highly varied types of knowledge, and it cannot be confidently asserted that historical science plays the main role in this process. It is

sufficient to point out that most people have nothing to do with the historian's workshop and get their knowledge of the past from their personal experience (in the family, for example), from art (mainly mass art), religious teachings, and ideological constructs (if a person is religious or has an ideological orientation). But in modern societies, unlike traditional societies, historical science serves as a framework for historical memory, and historical knowledge is implemented in textbooks on history. The research project aims at investigating the formation and functioning of mechanisms for constructing the past social reality in certain types of knowledge, but this time it is not predominantly theoretical research. On the contrary, rather concrete topics with national references were chosen.

Conceptualization of the past proceeds in the framework of contemporary theory, which distinguishes several types of the past. In contemporary scientific discourse, distinction of the past and present is closely linked to the concept of the Other. First approaches to the problem of the past as the concept of the Other and definitions of various types of "past" were carried out as early as the end of the 19th century by J.-G. Droysen and E. Bernheim, as part of a distinction of historical sources into "traditions" and "remnants". This conception was developed a hundred years later by the sociologist E. Shils (1981), and the well-known English specialist in history of political thought, M. Oakshot (1983) and the French historian Michel de Certeau (1970). From the second half of the 1980s to the 2000s, due to major revisions of the established foundations and epistemological principles of historical knowledge on a wider theoretical basis, the problem of representation of the past began to be conceptualized as "historical memory" (J. Assmann, J. Le Goff, F. Hartog, M. Kammen, D. Lowental, P. Hutton, P. Nora, O. Oexle, J. Rüsen. etc.). At the same time the object of study was re-evaluated from contemporary socio-cultural positions, taking account of the lessons of the post-modernist challenge.

For a better orientation and identification of participants' topics "position" in the project, the following cognitive map can be designed.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE PAST SOCIAL REALITY



Here we identified and structured different objects of study. At the same time this map metaphorically can be used as geographical, demonstrating which objects are studied thoroughly and which are still to be explored.

The first level represents major sources of knowledge/information on the past (professional/expert sources, media/mass sources and the “life world”/Lebenswelt). The second level represents the process of formation of the knowledge on individual and group levels. Finally, the third level reflects different types of representations (or externalizations) of the past existing in the society: expert groups’ representations (traditionally labeled as “knowledge”), individual representations covering primarily the period of one’s life (memoires), and group representations (group knowledge) of different social (non-expert) groups.

Within this scheme participants of the project concentrated on its different elements, namely:

1b) Media-sources of knowledge/information (*Jutta Scherrer*. “Civilizational Turn” in Contemporary Russia; *Xavier Le Torrivelec*. Political Sovereignty: Creating Collective Image of Historical Times in Post-Soviet Bachkortostan),

2c) Formation of group knowledge (*Andrei Poletayev*. Social Representations of the Past: A Theoretical Analysis);

3a) Expert groups’ representations/knowledge (*Alexey Rutkevich*. The Times of Ideologists: Philosophy of History and Conservative Revolution in Weimar Republic; *Klaus von Beyme*. Historical Memory in the Era of Avant-guard. Archaism and Primitivism as a Passeism for the Future);

3c) Common groups' representations (*Irina Savelieva. Mass Representations of the Past: Public Opinion Polls Data: Comparative Analysis of Russia and United States; Elisabeth Anstett-Gessat. Historical Monuments and Denial of History: On the Process of De-symbolization in Russia*).

Although only one participant of the project, Alexey Rutkevich, concentrated outright at ideology, ideology became the connecting-link because of the decisive role of this type of knowledge about the past in formation of political, ethnic, national, confessional and other forms of social identity. The past is the crucial point for ideological schemes as already K. Mannheim and H. Arendt have shown. So ideology as a form of knowledge plays weighty role in the representation of the past. The trajectory of ideological concepts leads from the past to the future across the present. Being temporarily oriented ideologies contain self-images of the past appropriate to particular political projects for the future. This kind of approach presumes manipulation of the past of the nations, ethnicities, classes etc, as well as of the crucial historical events (wars, revolutions, rebellions).

Through most of the 20th century ideology was the dominant type of knowledge in totalitarian societies, especially in the USSR and Nazi Germany, displaying extreme forms of ideological constructions of the past. Partisan approach to social reality, the wide use of the term "movement" for the representation of political processes and forces, concealment and suppression of the past as means to create "true" past, "politics of historical memory" – these are manifest signs of ideological knowledge.

Four participants of the project came to Paris from two countries, Russia and Germany, which remain in arduous relations with their past. But unlike Germany where the problem of trauma and guilt for decades was discussed by the scientific community, in Russia those who write on recent history are chiefly politicians, journalists and engaged *littérateurs*. The search for the past is of special importance in today's Russia as the country comes through period of crucial social and economic transition. The former republics of the ex-USSR come along with Russia representing object lessons of rewriting national histories. Everywhere we find a synthesis of the nationalist histories reminding European versions of political history of the 19th century and "post-modern" argumentation. Many manuals of history (as well as historical novels) represent vivid examples of the invention of the past. Different political parties profit from historical discourse in political propaganda.

The other broad topic we focus on is the analysis of the problem of ordinary knowledge about the past. Social representations of the past consist at least of two components. In the first place it is knowledge, based on personal experience, images of individual's previous life, recollections, everyday routine actions. In the next place it is the image of the past typical to different social groups, to which individual belongs.

Social beliefs about the past are so complex and diverse that in this project we put first things first and concentrated on two key questions: definition and description of different groups which possess specific social memory, and analysis of data, which at least to some extent allow to estimate its content and structure. The attempt is made to generalize characteristics of ordinary knowledge about the past using representations of social beliefs about the past (interviews and public-opinion polls).

Organization of the work and seminars during the IPAS project

In this project originally titled "*Forms of knowledge of the past*" and which was transformed in the title "Dealing with the past", we were limited by the amount of work seven persons may do in a short period of time. Certainly we were dependant on our previous very diverse research and had to reconcile different interests, styles and manners of argumentation.

To formulate the general approach as well as for mutual information on preliminary results the group met regularly during the three month period. Internal weekly seminars were hold at Reid Hall (where some members of the group got offices). Usually, the individual papers were presented and discussed, two seminars were devoted to discussion of monographies we considered important for the project implementation (books by F. Hartog, G. Lübbe, I. Savelieva and A. Poletayev). As a result a common approach was achieved which entails inter-disciplinary character of the research and concentration of efforts on identification and development of key terms and categories of analysis.

Internal seminar

1. April 12, 2005, Reid Hall

The discussion centered round the books recently published by the project participants:

Savelieva I. M., Poletayev A. V. Knowledge of the Past: Theory and History. 2 vols. V. 1: Construction of the Past. [Znanie o proshlom: teoriya i istoriya. V 2-h t. T. 1: Konstruirovaniye proshlogo]. SPb.: Nauka, 2003. *Savelieva I. M., Poletayev A. V.* Sociology of Knowledge of the Past [Sotsiologiya znania o proshlom]. M.: GU-VShE, 2005;

2. April 19, 2005, Reid Hall

Irina Savelieva. Historical Records and Public Opinion Polls Data in the Russian Federation and United-States. Paper presentation and discussion.

3. April 26, 2005, Reid Hall

Elisabeth Anstett-Gessat. Forms of denial in autobiographical testimonies : About the legitimacy of the past in post-Soviet Russia. Paper presentation and discussion.

4. May 4, 2005, Reid Hall

The discussion centred round the books which are of significant importance to the development of the concept.

Hartog F. Regimes d'historicite. Présentisme et expériences du temps. Paris.: Éditions du Seuil, 2003; and *Lübbe G.* Im Zug der Zeit: Verkürzter Aufenthalt in der Gegenwart. Berlin.: Springer Verlag, 1992.

5. May 10, 2005, Reid Hall

Alexei Rutkevich. Conservative Revolution in Weimar Republic.

6. May 17, 2005, Reid Hall

Klaus von Beyme. Historical Memory in the Era of Avant-guard. Archaism and Primitivism as a Passeism for the Future.

7. June 1, 2005, Reid Hall

Jutta Scherrer. Concepts of "Civilization" and "Cycle" in Contemporary Russian Textbooks.

8. June 8, 2005, Reid Hall

Andrei Poletayev. Social groups and forms of knowledge of the past social reality.

9. June 16, 2005, Reid Hall

Preparation of the Round table

10. June 21, 2005, Reid Hall

Blueprint for the future

Public seminars

May 12, 2005, Reid Hall

Irina Savelieva. Dealing with the Past. Project presentation

Round Table

Maison Suger, June 23, 2005

DEALING WITH THE PAST

REPRESENTATIONS, IDEOLOGIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

FAIRE AVEC LE PASSE

REPRESENTATIONS, IDEOLOGIES ET SCIENCES SOCIALES

PROGRAMME

14h- Introduction générale et présentation du projet

Jean-Luc Racine – *Maison des sciences de l'homme* et **Irina Savelieva** – *Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities, State University-Higher School of Economics (Moscow)*

14h00-15h45 Modérateur : **Pavel Uvarov** – *Institute of General History (Moscou)*

Andrei Poletayev – *Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities, State University-Higher School of Economics (Moscow)*. *Social Representations of the Past : a Theoretical Analysis*.

Jutta Scherrer - EHESS (Paris). *Un « Civilisationel Turn » en Russie ?*

Klaus von Beyme – *Institut für Politische Wissenschaft (Université d'Heidelberg)*. *Historical Memory in the Era of the Avant-Garde. Archaïsm and Neoprimativism as a « Passeism for the Future ».*

16h-18h00 Modérateur : **Alban Bensa** – EHESS (Paris)

Irina Savelieva – *Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities, State University-Higher School of Economics (Moscow)*. *Historical Records and Public Opinion Polls Data in the Russian Federation and United-States*.

Xavier Le Torrivelec – EHESS (Paris). *Souveraineté politique et rapport collectif au temps historique, le Bachkortostan post-soviétique*.

Elisabeth Gessat-Anstett – *Corela-INRA (Paris)*. *Monuments historiques et dénis d'histoire: a propos de la dé-symbolisation en Russie*.

Blueprint for the future

The project envisages a cycle of articles and the preparation of the book “Dealing with the Past”. The research results will be published in a collective volume in French and in Russian. The Russian version of the book will be an expanded edition, additional Russian authors will be invited to contribute.

Themes of planned publications by the participants

Articles

1. **Savelieva I. M., Poletayev A. V.** «Historical Memory»: Towards the question of the limits of the notion // Savelieva I. M., Poletayev A. V. (eds.). Phenomenon of the Past [Fenomen proshlogo]. M. : GU–VShE, 2005 (forthcoming).

2. **Rutkevich A.** Psychoanalysis, History, traumatic “Memory” // Savelieva I. M., Poletayev A. V. (eds.). Phenomenon of the Past [Fenomen proshlogo]. M. : GU–VShE, 2005 (forthcoming)

3. **Savelieva I. M., Poletayev A. V.** Everyday knowledge of the Past: Theoretical approaches // Repina L. P. (ed.) Historical Consciousness and Historical Memory [Istoricheskoye soznaniye i istorichaskaya pamyat’] (forthcoming).

4. **Savelieva I. M., Poletayev A. V.** Social Knowledge of the Past: Empirical Analysis // Repina L. P. (ed.) Historical Consciousness and Historical Memory [Istoricheskoye soznaniye i istorichaskaya pamyat’] (forthcoming).

Book under preparation

Dealing with the Past: Representations, Ideologies and Social Sciences. Eds. Irina Savelieva, Jutta Scherrer.

Contents

Irina Savelieva, Andrei Poletayev. Introduction: Social Groups and their Past

Part I. Sources and formation of knowledge

Jutta Scherrer. “Civilizational Turn” in Contemporary Russia.

Resume: The paper is focused on the “civilizational” approach which after the dissolution of the Soviet Union replaced in cultural and historical studies and discourses the formerly obligatory “historical materialism”. If under the Soviet regime history was explained by social-economic formations or structures, the adherents of the civilizational approach explain it by cultural or civilizational laws (*Gesetzmässigkeiten*, *zakonomernosti*). At the same time, their focus on the *longue durée* of history, being represented in form of civilizations, allows them to omit or “forget” shorter periods of the Russian past such as the Soviet period.

What is supposed to be a new, post-marxist-leninist approach, goes in fact back to concepts developed already by Danilevskij, Spengler, Toynbee, and most recently Huntington. What is at stake in the civilizational discourse is the search for a post-soviet identity and for “Russia’s place and role in world civilization” (as the State requirements for education of history and culturology formulate it). For this purpose, religion (orthodoxy) is considered a main factor of Russia’s contribution to the formation of world civilizations or world cultures (“the orthodox.cultural space”).

The paper analyses the civilizational turn not only as it is expressed in manuals of history for schools and first year university students, but also in discourses of political actors and leaders after the fall of the Soviet Union. It is obvious that the civilizational paradigm mobilizes values and norms depicted from a very often imaginary Russian past with the purpose of constructing meaning and meaningfulness of the present and the future. What is conceived as Russia’s “civilizational space” represents in fact nothing else than a reminder of the lost Russian empire.

The key words of our working group - ideology, identity, history, memory, myth – are used in an almost congenial, if not caricatural way in the “civilizationists” representation and use of the past.

Xavier Le Torrivelec. Political Sovereignty: Creating Collective Image of Historical Times in Post-Soviet Bachkortostan.

Resume: Partant de l’hypothèse que les représentations du passé occupent une place centrale dans le champ du pensable qu’une société génère à un moment donné de son histoire, nous interrogeons dans cet article les attendus et les significations de la souveraineté politique, proclamée unilatéralement par les républiques fédérées d’URSS et qui précipita l’effondrement de la structure fédérale soviéti-

que. Le point de départ de notre analyse est la déclaration de souveraineté adoptée par la république du Bachkortostan - république autonome de la Fédération de Russie peuplée d'un peu plus de quatre millions d'habitants - en octobre 1990. Marqué par la « parade des souverainetés » et par le conflit qui se développait entre le pouvoir soviétique d'URSS et les nouvelles autorités « démocratiques » de Russie, ce moment est hautement révélateur du rapport au temps qu'entretenaient les membres d'une société en plein bouleversement.

Initiée par la perestroïka, la libéralisation des formes de représentations du passé autorisa de nombreux usages politiques de l'histoire et notamment sa réécriture et son instrumentalisation dans le cadre des rivalités ethno-politiques locales. Le passé national devint un objet symbolique surinvesti par les acteurs politiques d'une époque riche en revendications ethno-nationales et la condamnation de l'ancien régime communiste semblait garantir un avenir « démocratique ». Les partisans de la souveraineté politique concevaient le retour au passé comme la prise de possession de leur propre histoire. En ce sens, la déclaration de 1990 révèle une autre dimension du rapport au temps. Loin d'être simplement l'expression d'une liberté reconquise, il s'agissait en même temps d'un moment fort d'affirmation d'une continuité avec le passé soviétique. Créée de toutes pièces par les Bolcheviks, la république de Bachkirie se dote alors d'un État qui reprend à son compte le projet de modernisation autoritaire et se trouve légitimé par une société qui accorde toujours du sens à l'histoire. Le non-renouvellement des élites régionales et le poids de la Seconde Guerre mondiale dans les mémoires individuelles ne sont, comme nous le verrons, que les signes les plus visibles de cette permanence d'un rapport collectif au temps historique.

Andrei Poletayev. Social Representations of the Past: A Theoretical Analysis.

Resume: The paper is focused on the theoretical analysis of the problem of ordinary knowledge about the past. Social representations of the past consist at least of two components. In the first place it is knowledge, based on personal experience, images of individual's previous life, recollections, everyday routine actions. In the next place it is the image of the past typical to different social groups, to which individual belongs. Social beliefs about the past are so complex and diverse that in this paper we put first things first and concentrate on two key questions: definition and description of different types of the past, essential for the actor, including individual,

as well as group vision of the past and identification of some ways of forming ordinary knowledge of the past, including but not limited to political.

Part II. Social representations

Alexei Rutkevich *The Times of Ideologists. Philosophy of History and Conservative Revolution in Weimar Republic.*

Resume: In our urban technological civilization knowledge of the past has two main sources: either school manuals, or articles in the journals (or TV programs). The role of family tradition or church is insignificant, museums and monuments are visual commentaries to texts. The past is determined by the vision of present and future - the "presentism" of many contemporary historians has an ideological background.

Ideologies of the 19th-20th centuries (liberalism, conservatism, socialism) are different in their relation to the past. The evident futurism of socialists and nostalgic *Weltanschauung* of conservatism have one common feature: both represent the ideological construction of the past. The subject of this article is a synthesis of these two ideologies in so called "conservative revolution" in times of Weimar republic.

Klaus von Beyme. *Historical Memory in the Era of Avant-gardes. Archaism and Primitivism as a Passeism for the Future.*

Resume: The European avant-gardes are a special case for the study of historical memory. We have the experience that revolutionaries contest the traditional memory of the past. But they never build their future from "point zero," but rather shift to another set of memories of the past. The avant-garde artists of classical modernity were in a similar position. They challenged the traditional values of art and representation of an alleged historical reality. But for this they looked for help in different representations of the past and combined it with their visions of the future. Because of the emphasis on a completely new future – meant to realize the unity of life and arts - their vision of temporal structures was different from traditional artists. In order to materialize their future – they needed a new representation of the past. In the theory of history Reinhart Koselleck (1989: 374) emphasized correctly: "The smaller historical experience, the greater was the expectation." This was especially true when the traditional vision of history as a "history of God's salvation plan" was no longer believed.

The avant-garde could not have deep historical memory of the recently discovered archaic cultures and therefore a fortiori emphasized the expectations for the future of a new art. It developed a kind of modernist paradox: a “passéisme for the future.”

Though modern avant-gardes wanted to create a new world, there were two factors which turned their enthusiasm back to the history of their respective countries.

- One reason was the unintended consequence of the life-style of artists. They lived frequently alienated and marginalized in big cities in a kind of subproletarian way. Alienation from the dominant society was even stronger among those artists who migrated to other countries – mostly France and did not feel socially accepted. This made intellectual revolutionaries aware of the past of their countries.
- The other reason was theoretical. Avant-garde artists looked for a justification for their own way of creating art. They found it from turning to archaism or primitivism and exotism.

Both of these elements – an outward directing force of the circumstances of life and an inward directing impulse of theories mixing past and future – determined the way avant-garde artists were approach the memory of the past.

Archaism as representation of historical past undoubtedly had a progressive function in the development of art. But – as in other fields – the role of the avant-garde was politically ambiguous. Archaism could easily be converted into regressive forms of memories of the national past and loose its original cosmopolitan impetus. Archaism and neo-primitive were more than a transitory fashion. They were used in several waves from Cubism to Surrealism and various post-avant-gardes as a pictural revolution to express human and political anxieties in a world of growing unrest, wars, emigration, and abuses of the arts for interests of power.

Irina Savelieva. Mass Representations of the Past: Public Opinion Polls Data (Comparative Analysis of Russia and United States).

Resume: An attempt is made to generalize characteristics of ordinary knowledge about the past using two kinds of historical records. The first class constitute different educational tests, the second – public-opinion polls. The analysis of available empirical data leads to the conclusion that ordinary knowledge about the past

may be represented as three levels structure: meaningful periods in history, important historical events and great names of history. It is quite evident that in both countries, Russia and USA, tests for students as well as polls' data indicate that knowledge of history formally looks very primitive, inaccurate and scanty, if we speak about concrete dates, historical events and personalities. But it seems good to interpret these results very carefully, as the available data bear only well-marked traces of social representations of the past.

Beggarly amount of learning probably has not be treated as lack of instrumental importance of representations of the past (existing images of the past). Tests and polls bring out the results of one particular type: they provide information about systematic knowledge and knowledge of facts, but we can not argue from the sample, to what extent this knowledge fulfills its main social function – to provide orientation in social time and space.

Elisabeth Anstett-Gessat. Historical Monuments and Denial of History: on the Process of De-symbolization in Russia.

Resume: Ce texte s'intéresse à la réorganisation des cadres sociaux de la mémoire dans une Russie contemporaine marquée par le double contexte de renversement de la période soviétique et post-soviétique. En accordant notre attention aux cadres territoriaux de la mémoire collective à l'échelle d'une petite ville provinciale russe (Rybinsk, dans la province de Iaroslavl), et en examinant en détail les monuments qui y sont érigés et les usages sociaux qui y sont associés, nous souhaitons plus particulièrement discuter ici de l'hypothèse de logiques de dé-symbolisation à l'œuvre à partir des divers processus de dénis repérables au sein de cette mémoire de(s) pierre(s).