



Mnemonic Rhythms of the Ukrainian Revolution:

Sounds, Affects, and Time in *Maidan* and *Winter on Fire**

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- I. Voices of History
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I. Voices of History

Sergei Loznitsa's *Maidan* (2014) and Evgeny Afineevsky's *Winter on Fire: Ukraine's Fight for Freedom*¹⁾ (2015) are two documentary films on the recent Ukrainian revolution, or Euromaidan, which broke out in November 2013. This pro-Western uprising condemned then Ukraine's president Victor Yanukovich, who disregarded his promise to sign the European Union's association agreement and accepted Russia's financial loan, thereby choosing to subordinate the national economy to the Russian

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1) Hereafter abbreviated as *Winter*.

government. After generating about two thousand and five hundred casualties, including more than one hundred and thirty deaths, the coup achieved results in February 2014, as Yanukovych fled to Russia and thus was impeached. However, its aftermath begot the 2014 annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation and the following war in the eastern Donbas, culminating in the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian War of 2022. Loznitsa's and Afineevsky's cameras authentically seize the passionate passages of this civic festivity turned into a massacre²⁾ that preluded the escalating conflicts amid the post-cold war politics.

When juxtaposing *Maidan* and *Winter*, the first notable thing is their sonic sceneries, as they clearly contrast each other. *Maidan's* audience encounters various on-site musical vibrations—including protest songs, poetry readings, and instrument playing—while *Winter* lets the testimonial voices of about thirty-nine survivors and nineteen unnamed protesters guide its plot with its background orchestral tune. Such ‘singing’ and ‘telling,’ roughly distinguished, exemplify the acoustic grains of the two possible compounds of documentary styles categorized by Bill Nichols: ‘observational-performative’ and ‘expository-participatory’ modes.³⁾ Namely, *Maidan* indifferently presents the protest's melodious noise “without overt intervention,”⁴⁾ emphasizing the “subjective, affect-laden” aspect of the spectacle's meaning,⁵⁾ as in the direct cinema genre. On the other hand,

2) The demonstration started peacefully in a cheerful manner by students at Independence Square (*Maidan Nezalezhosti*). Then, other anti-Russian citizens and right-opposition parties joined, plus “the [probable] U.S. involvement,” as John Mearsheimer insists (“Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 93, no. 5 (2014), p.4.). Eventually, the Yanukovych administration set the law against the protest and used military force in January 2014, worsening the situation into a violent civil war.

3) Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2001, p.99.

4) *Ibid.*, p.109.

5) *Ibid.*, p.131. A few well-known examples of this neo-realistic delivery of living

Winter “propose[s] a [certain] perspective”⁶⁾ through live testimonies by actively interacting with the subjects.⁷⁾

This paper intends to focus more on these component *sounds* of the two films than on their images, albeit the visual aesthetics also should be elaborated on later. This thematic deviation is because the sound is “one of the most important and fastest-acting triggers for *emotion* . . . [moving] throughout the cortex by both tonotopic and non-tonotopic pathways from the medial geniculate,”⁸⁾ while Nichols emphasizes that “[m]uch of the power of documentary . . . lies in its ability to couple evidence *and* emotion.”⁹⁾ In other words, the affective appeal is the essence of the filmed history in the documentary genre, which develops more directly from the film's auditive designs. Therefore, juxtaposing *Maidan's* and *Winter's* sonic representations would elucidate their affecting schemes—how they charge the perceptive realities of Euromaidan with specific feelings and emotions—more in-depth than optically restricted analysis.

The visceral intentionality of documentaries further invites the ethical issue of filming, as suggested by Nichols again, on the unavoidable “effects a documentary film can have on . . . subjects and viewers alike.”¹⁰⁾ Above

experiences are *Primary* (1960), *Ticut Follies* (1967), *High School* (1968), and *Salesman* (1969). However, as discussed in the next part of this paper, *Maidan* is more inflexibly detached from its subjects than these other works, even refraining from using zooming-in camera works.

6) *Ibid.*, p.105.

7) A similar style would be *cinéma vérité*, of which some models are *Chronicle of a Summer* (1961), *Le Chagrin et la Pitié* (1969), *Shoah* (1985), and *Roger & Me* (1989). However, *Winter* still stands out in that it entirely excludes the filmmaker's or interviewer's presence from the screen, presumably to “[emphasize] the impression of objectivity and well-supported argument,” as in the rhetorical frame of the expository mode (*Ibid.*, p.107).

8) Seth S. Horowitz, *The Universal Sense: How Hearing Shapes the Mind*, New York: Bloomsbury, 2012, p.113, emphasis added.

9) Nichols, *op.cit.*, p.57, original emphasis.

10) *Ibid.*, p.9.

all, given that the Ukrainian revolution caused mass sacrifice, *Maidan* and *Winter*'s relationship with such joint trauma must be considered. These films may not only have transformed the public remembering of the protest but also produced a third space to confess, witness, and eventually heal the national wounds, contributing to the historiography of Ukraine in their distinct ways.

In this light, as though the sound inherently possesses temporal features with its rhythm and repose, this paper will also investigate the films' *temporalities*—the time lag of about one and a half years between *Maidan* and *Winter*. Philip Fisher points out in his discussions on passions that it takes time to convert the “present-time” spectacle into “once-again-repeated” reports, as in modern legal systems, where this gap is typically one year.¹¹⁾ To wit, while the mnemonic panorama of the Euromaidan gradually modifies between *Maidan*'s ‘chanting’ and *Winter*'s ‘narrating,’ Ukrainian national discourse also may have achieved a kind of therapeutic working-through of the painful bloodshed, similarly with a psychoanalytic cure of trauma that needs a due course of time, during which the analyst “must wait” for his patient.¹²⁾ Thus, by comparing how the two works voice up the historical calamity at their respective temporal locations, this paper will illuminate the connection between the ethics of affective witnessing and the sonic creation of collective memoryscapes.

11) Philip Fisher, *The Vehement Passions*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002, p.138.

12) Dori Laub and Shoshana Felman, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, New York: Routledge, 1992, p.69.

II. Singing and Telling

(indistinct chatter)

— The Mass in *Maidan*

When we brought in the third man with no eyes,
I came outside and had a panic attack.

— Korniyko's Testimony in *Winter*

Daniel Levitin argues in his research on the musical brain of humankind that in the beginning, music existed before language¹³⁾ and that young children enter “a period of musical babbling often even before their linguistic babbling begins.”¹⁴⁾ Interestingly, the aural transition from Loznitsa's *Maidan* to Afineevsky's *Winter* reflects this genetically encoded passage of socialization, from ‘singing’ to ‘telling,’ implying that the Maidan activists had to sing before they invented the proper language to describe the newly met crisis, like the babies who start to learn how to adjust themselves to the unfamiliar world.

Thus, filming such an uncertain situation that lacks a suitable external referent, *Maidan* presents fourteen musical pieces as live performances, of which ten songs are sung together by protesters. The most recurring tune among them is the national anthem of Ukraine. The film opens with the mass singing it in an extended group shot (Fig.1), which repeats itself later as the demonstration grows into a civil war. Also, at other times, people are shown as habitually repeating the song; when one starts singing, others immediately join. These echoing harmonies of the crowd are filled with the

13) Daniel J. Levitin, *The World in Six Songs: How the Musical Brain Created Human Nature*, New York: Dutton, 2008, p.14.

14) *Ibid.*, p.143.

collective desire to break the injustice, as Bogdan Dubas, one interviewee in *Winter*, reminiscences: “When people were singing the national anthem every three hours, I had a feeling that it became a *prayer*.”



Figure 1. The Opening Scene of *Maidan*

On the bright side, these concerted prayers made the drove's “hands become stronger,” according to Mustafa Nayyem, a journalist in *Winter*. However, in *Maidan*'s mise-en-scène, where such interviews are absent, the particularities of each protester are helplessly diluted into one united ensemble that creates the ambiance of resentment; they constantly use their voices to participate in this communal event but firmly remain silent as an individual. Moreover, this mass is forced to erase their personal emotions out of cooperative needs. For example, during one fierce battle, a man over loudspeaker instructs them: “Please, remain calm . . . Understand that *our emotions are our enemies*. If one person starts, the other follows him.” Each Maidaner's alternative expressive needs are oppressed in this way to produce a shared emotion.

Charles Altieri defines such mitigation of individual uniqueness to bring about one encompassing atmosphere as the formation of “moods,” which are “so pervasive [that] they elicit a mode of intentionality in which the subjectivity of the individual subject is not very important.”¹⁵⁾ At another

15) Charles Altieri, *The Particulars of Rapture: An Aesthetics of the Affects*, Ithaca: Cornell

pole, he elucidates that emotions are subjectively perceived and expressed affects that “situate the agent within a narrative,”¹⁶⁾ hinting that protestors, who are told to cover up their intimate emotions with the group emotions, are deprived of the cognitive channel of individual stories. Correspondingly, the viewers of *Maidan* cannot know what the demonstrators themselves independently feel or think; all they can notice are the general moods of the square—mostly the enraged longing—mixed with raw, insatiable passions that have not yet been made into a narrative. This bundle of affects is spouted through joint chanting, outcrying, and playing music, all of which are corporeal, non-intellectual sounds appealing to the physical sensations.

This sense of ‘not-knowing’ and ‘being absorbed into the public moods’ builds up with Loznitsa's static style, which maintains an observatory distance with frequent uses of extreme-long mass shots (Fig.2); his camera inflexibly keeps its fixed position even when people block the view or point at something outside the screen. In addition, the film provides no explanations except for occasional milestones (Fig.3) that do not clarify the lesser scenes. Jay Weissberg points out that such “rigidly formalist means . . . immerse audiences in the commotion . . . providing a chilling immediacy.”¹⁷⁾ Indeed, this tacit offering of *affective immediacy*, which lacks reasonable description but is full of somatic passions, weakens the film's logical fluency but magnifies its power to arouse affects directly to the viewers' skin, engaging them in this collective energy. In a similar vein, Brian Massumi also asserts that the lack of “sociolinguistic qualification” of a specific image preferably sustains its intensity and prevents the possible “dampening” of the affective.¹⁸⁾

UP, 2003, p.54.

16) *Ibid.*, p.48.

17) Jay Weissberg, “Film Review: *Maidan*,” *Variety*, 2014.05.27.

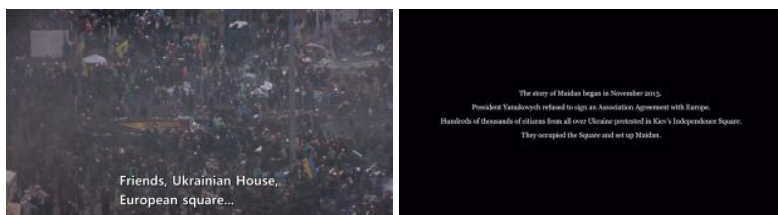


Figure 2. *Maidan's* Extreme-Long Group Shot (Left)

Figure 3. *Maidan's* Factual Intertitle (Right)

As a result, according to *RottenTomatoes*, a global film review website that offers a binary rating scale, *Maidan* so far maintains a 100% thumbs-up status by its critics, while only 53% of the general audience liked it.¹⁹⁾ The two groups' feedback is also split. The former praise *Maidan* as “profoundly affecting, eerie, and, at times, strangely beautiful,”²⁰⁾ acknowledging its immediate impact on feelings, when the latter tend to show their dissatisfaction, complaining the movie “fails to help [them] relate to or understand.”²¹⁾ However, in the user ratings of *IMDb*, based on a ten-point scale, *Maidan* has earned relatively various points from 1 to 10 (arithmetic mean 6.3, median 7; Graph 1) than the votes on *Winter* (8.3, 9; Graph 2). Given that more than half of *RottenTomatoes'* general users have disliked *Maidan*, its mixed distribution in *IMDb's* valuation may imply a crucial point, although the audience sentiment is unquantifiable. That is, *Maidan* perhaps has produced more personalized reactions than *Winter*, making its audience confused about whether they genuinely approve or disapprove of this film; each viewer of *Maidan* seems to experience intimate resonance

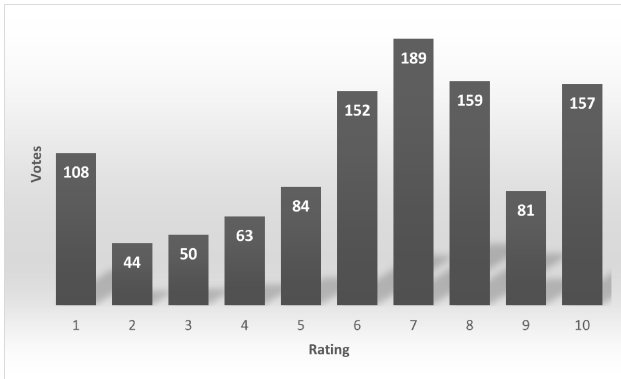
18) Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*, Durham: Duke UP, 2002, pp. 24-25.

19) “*Maidan*,” *RottenTomatoes*, www.rottentomatoes.com/m/maidan, 2022.08.17.

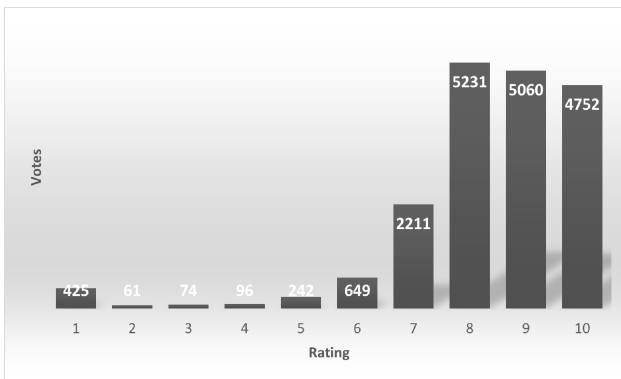
20) Kevin Maher, “*Maidan*,” *The Sunday Times*, 2015.02.20.

21) April W., Comment on *Maidan*, posted 2015.03.07, *RottenTomatoes*, www.rottentomatoes.com/m/maidan/reviews?type=user, 2022.08.14.

with the spectacle based on their own affective reservoir, which is not necessarily connected to their conscious reason.



Graph 1. IMDb User Ratings of *Maidan*²²⁾



Graph 2. IMDb User Ratings of *Winter*²³⁾

While such an incomprehensible yet assertive feeling can raise a hasty judgment on the audience's side that Maidan activists may have blindly

22) “*Maidan: User Ratings*,” *IMDb*, www.imdb.com/title/tt3675486/ratings/?ref_=tt_ov_rt, 2022.07.19.

23) “*Winter on Fire: User Ratings*,” *IMDb*, www.imdb.com/title/tt4908644/ratings/?ref_=tt_ov_rt, 2022.07.19.

followed the general moods, not knowing what political stakes were in their hands, it still points out that the chorus of the mass is not one fixed unity but comprised of distinct entities whose affective potentialities are not yet actualized but, paradoxically, for that specific reason, can reverberate with those of the viewers with its concrete capacity. Therefore, as the words of Ada Rogovtseva, a Ukrainian actress, are introduced by one public speaker in *Maidan*—“My dears, I want *my voice* . . . to join one powerful and honest voice of Ukraine”—even amid the voicelessness of the individual subjects, the *indiscernible murmurs* of the mass never entirely fades into silence, always filling the apertures between and underlying the public discourses filled with nationalist beliefs. This inaudible dialogue always underlies *Maidan's* sound, indicating that the unnarrated memories of each protester are nevertheless being transmitted to the audience in the form of affective particles.

In contrast, *Winter* produces more obvious reactions, mostly 7 to 10 points and a rare minority of just 1 point (Graph 2 above). Also, it has gained far more acclaim at *RottenTomatoes* from 92% of its ordinary viewers in addition to 89% of critics,²⁴⁾ who seem to have reached an agreement that *Winter* successfully delivers “the motivations, illusions, and emotions of the protesters”²⁵⁾ as “a good primer for knowledge,”²⁶⁾ yet harboring a potential risk of “too polemically reductive” propaganda.²⁷⁾ Such polarization

24) “*Winter on Fire: Ukraine's Fight for Freedom*,” *RottenTomatoes*, www.rottentomatoes.com/m/winter_on_fire_ukraines_fight_for_freedom, 2022.08.17.

25) Ricardo De Querol, “El Bravo *Maidan*: Tres Documentales Para Entender la Crisis de Ucrania,” *El Pais*, 2022.02.18.

26) Patrick F., Comment on *Winter on Fire: Ukraine's Fight for Freedom*, posted 2022.03.11, *RottenTomatoes*, www.rottentomatoes.com/m/winter_on_fire_ukraines_fight_for_freedom/reviews?type=user, 2022.08.14.

27) Godfrey Cheshire, “*Winter on Fire: Ukraine's Fight for Freedom*,” *RogerEbert*, 2015.10.09.

of ratings and consensual criticism may again derive from the film's auditory components. Unlike *Maidan*, which only presents the minimum amount of printed statements, *Winter* puts forth voice-overs from its beginning, giving viewers a basic knowledge about the revolution before unfolding stories. Nevertheless, this kinder rendering of the circumstance assumes that only the pro-EU position, which pervades mainly in the Western part of Ukraine, represents all of its nationals. For example, a female narrator assuredly declares, “[A]s *the people* look to the West, their leader turns to the East, and the future of the nation hangs in the balance.” Through her statement, the Eastern Ukrainian locals, of which the majority voted for Yanukovich in the 2010 presidential election and still had a considerable degree of pro-Russian sentiment at the time of the Euromaidan,²⁸ are deprived of their right to be counted as “the people.”

Comparably, *Maidan*, also filmed by an anti-Russian director,²⁹ presents a similar hyperbole when its first intertitle says, “Hundreds of thousands of citizens from *all over Ukraine* protested in [Kyiv’s] Independence Square” (Fig.3 above; emphasis added). However, since there have actually been some participants from the East,³⁰ this cannot be an entirely false sentence, plus it does not firmly establish ‘good pro-West people’ versus ‘evil pro-East leaders’ opposites like *Winter* does. Additionally, it is noteworthy that

28) The pro-Russian unrest of 2014 outbreak in Eastern Ukraine.

29) Loznitsa, a Ukrainian, criticized Russia for endlessly repeating the “crime brain and crime mentality” (Luke Harding, “Director Sergei Loznitsa on Russia: ‘It’s Hard to Change the Mentality of a Nation,’” *The Guardian*, 2018.04.13). Meanwhile, Afineevsky, a Russian-Israeli American born in USSR, received a medal from Ukraine’s former president Petro Poroshenko for “[fighting] for the independence of Ukraine and the formation of Europe” (“‘Winter on Fire’ Director Awarded by Ukrainian President,” *PRNewswire*, 2015.12.30).

30) Anna Lebedev, “Ukrainians at a Turning Point in European History,” *Études*, vol. 422, no. 3 (2015), p.9.

Winter boosts the affective value of the above dichotomy by appealing to the sense of hearing, which, according to Horowitz, would immediately produce emotion, even quicker than the vision of mere words.³¹⁾ This possibility of purposeful verbalizing becomes more evident when *Winter* presents non-ideological news footage, such as the conference between Yanukovych, the EU, and the US, in silent subtitles instead. That is to say, because the human voice can invigorate the physical words with its musical intentionality, and the result of that animation may well be the performing affect, *Winter's* selective voicing serves a particular political agenda.

A similar reduction of Ukrainian-ness is found in testimonies of survivors. For example, some of them emphasize that “people from different cities, from all over Ukraine” gathered “regardless of [their] political views” in the protest, but when they give examples of those “different cities,” they only refer to Western ones, such as “Kyiv, Lviv, Vinnytsya . . . Rivne, [and] Cherkasy,” as if acknowledging a phantom border between East and West. Besides, even if we put these details aside, memories are bound to be subjective and often distorted; these interviews essentially cannot ensure their factuality. However, such unavoidably subjective speeches are nevertheless conveyed with the sentimental background music composed by Jasha Klebe. As Altieri points out, film music can purposively manipulate the work's overall mood, forcing a particular mood on its viewers.³²⁾ Klebe's music likewise boosts the emotional appeal of the victimized tales —“They were even shooting priests” and “I heard people screaming and crying,” for instance—swaying the audience to sympathize more with their heartbreaking memories.

Meanwhile, the other coterie of survivors other than protesters, Berkuts

31) Horowitz, *op.cit.*, p.96.

32) Altieri, *op.cit.*, p.53.

(Yanukovych's special police force), is still forced to remain voiceless. The official record says that at least thirteen of them had also been sacrificed in the revolution.³³ Undoubtedly, this is a tiny figure compared to the damage suffered by the citizens, and the violence Berkuts inflict on the people should be criticized, regardless of how to apportion blame. Nevertheless, the number of deaths cannot judge pain and sorrow, and these perpetrators are also partly victims as individuals. However, as shown in *Winter's* poster, where an innocent Ukrainian girl stands against the dark array of Berkuts, they are represented in the film as one malevolent body, attacking children, firing live ammunition at people, and giving inscrutable faces (Fig.4) at some protesters' reproach, "Aren't you Ukrainian, too?" Compared with *Maidan*, which does not hide a controversial moment where an unknown citizen guns down a Berkut (Fig.5), *Winter's* superficial representation of quiet Berkuts can be considered relatively unfair, hurting its neutrality.

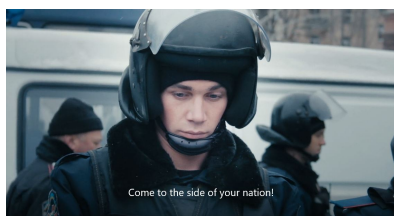


Figure 4. A Silent Berkut in *Winter* (Left)
Figure 5. A Stricken Berkut in *Maidan* (Right)

As Joo Hye-Jeong pointed out, the act of sharing the victim's trauma through her voice is often considered a moral duty in documentary films of war or genocide, but the perpetrators are generally not free from political

33) "Amnesty International: Five Years After Euromaidan, Justice For The Victims 'Still Not Even In Sight,'" *RFE/RL*, 2019.02.19.

criticism.³⁴⁾ Of course, still, some documentaries, including Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing* (2012), Oh Choong-kong's *Abandoned Korean in Japan* [払い下げられた朝鮮人] (1986), and Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985), challenge such possible objection, presenting witnesses who belong to the alleged perpetrator group. However, *Winter* fails to go beyond its own dichotomy, allowing narratives only to the particular camp of concern. Thus, being deprived of the voice, Berkuts' expressive needs are not only suppressed like *Maidan's* mass but also their potential differences as persons are not legitimately allowed in *Winter*.

All these aural affecting scripts are backed by Afineevsky's camera, which captures the interviewee's facial expressions in its medium- and close-up shots (Fig.6), allowing its audience to have both informational and emotional proximity to the protesters. Thus, overall, *Winter* is more manifest in arousing its intended sentiment than *Maidan*, with its explicitly passionate yet excessively ideological work of 'telling.' At the same time, however, *Winter* has given up the immediate sense of realism and compelling vibrations of feelings that are flooding over linguistic boundaries in *Maidan's* mass 'singing.' Consequently, it also earned acrid remarks from unmoved critics, despite the majority of impressed supporters.³⁵⁾ Nevertheless, in *Winter*, the firsthand experiences of the protesters, who regained their subjectivity through independent voices, realize their vehement potential buried under *Maidan's* songs. Therefore, it is necessary to examine further what these excavated emotions and memories would mean to the traumatic aftermath of Euromaidan and the historical rhythms of Ukraine.

34) 주혜정, 「다큐멘터리 영화와 트라우마 치유 - 오충공 감독의 관동대지진 조선인학살 다큐멘터리를 중심으로 -」, 『한일민족문제연구』 35집, 2018, 160쪽.

35) For instance, Lev Golinkin criticizes *Winter* for editing out the far-right "neo-Nazis" who may have led the uprising to success (Lev Golinkin, "The Heartbreaking Irony of 'Winter on Fire,'" *The Nation*, 2016.02.18.).



Figure 6. *Winter*'s typical medium- and close-up shots of survivors

III. Crying to Babbling

Shame! Shame! Shame!

— Chanting of the Mass in *Maidan*

Maidan was a singular experience.

— Lyzhychko's Testimony in *Winter*

Maidan's 'singing' and *Winter*'s 'telling' respectively pave a sequential trajectory of the passions. Their starting points are the same; both take off from the collective 'shameful wrath' and move toward 'grief' for those who died during the revolution. However, while *Maidan* ends with the mournful funeral scene, *Winter* goes one step further when it displays a 'hopeful expectation' for Ukraine's future with a survivor's voice: "[Young generation born after the 1991 independence of Ukraine] . . . grew up as free people. No one can make a free person kneel." From this difference, the following issues arise: why do both films shift from anger to grief, and why does *Winter* only soar to hope after that? Is there any ethical value in this conscious stepping forward of *Winter*, even with its political inclination?

Concerning the first question, it may seem natural at a glance to mourn the victims after the enraged mass destruction. Yet, Fisher points out that

such a “metamorphosis of rage into grief” often operates as a “plot” in literature, triggering the “choice and growth” of its characters.³⁶⁾ Accordingly, similar bildungsromane of Ukraine's national narrative may be taking place in both films, one of which reaches an additional affective stage thanks to its birthtime, one and half years after the revolution. These junctures of change may connote the differing archiving value of *Maidan* and *Winter*.

To begin with, it is prominent that in protesters' initial vehement state, their ‘shame’ is mixed with ‘contempt’ and ‘disappointment’ about the corrupt government. For example, when a public speaker in *Maidan* accuses Yanukovych of “fighting against [his] own people,” the mass in the square outcries, “Shame! Shame! Shame!” Conceivably, they are ashamed because they identify with Ukraine itself, which is again considered almost equal with its political administration. This shameful nationalism can be further explained by Silvan Tomkins' analysis of shame. Tomkins observes that “shame is *the most reflexive of affects* in that the phenomenological distinction between the subject and object of shame is lost.”³⁷⁾ In other words, shame is closely related to the self-awareness that one's dishonorable presence is observed by the self and others. Likewise, when the crowd repeatedly calls out “Shame!” they recognize their degraded Ukrainian-ness, which cries for itself like “a newborn baby”³⁸⁾ who effuses her pragmatic needs beyond description. Through such communal resonation of ineffable self-reflection, demonstrators intuitively sense that the current regime, their previous perception of Ukraine, and its remembered past, felt present, and

36) Fisher, *op.cit.*, p.36.

37) Silvan Tomkins, *Shame and Its Sisters: A Silvan Tomkins Reader*, Ed. Eve Osofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank, Durham: Duke UP, 1995, p.136, emphasis added.

38) One poetry reading in *Maidan* also compares the statehood of Ukraine with “a cry of a newborn baby.”

anticipated future should all be amended to give birth to ‘words’ of a righteous national identity. Simultaneously, this shame is associated with wrath at another pole, which intends to the outer object, so the wail directly presses the government to confront its faults.



Figure 7. The Funeral Scenes of *Maidan* (left) and *Winter* (right)

Further, such ‘shameful anger’ turns into ‘grief’ of the same intensity when the scene changes into a funeral, where coffins of the martyrs proceed through the crowd with a chorused Ukrainian folk song (Fig.7). With this solemn tension and emotion, Maidaners finally take the merited time to digest the newly earned perception, the quest given by their previous passion. This work of mourning again carries ambivalent intentionality toward both inside and outside of one's ego: Maidan activists commemorate not only the deaths of their loved ones but also their former selves, along with Ukraine's retarded national identity. Thus, they recite “Glory!” and “Heroes never die!” instead of “Shame!” connoting the working-through of humiliated nationalism with respect to mutual dignity and pride. However, this chanting is still the immediate, urgent explosion of their affected bodies, devoid of tangible narratives.

This lack of proper chronology is also found in an orator's speech of *Maidan's* funeral in the form of a somewhat stagnant sense of time. He details the dead and the bereaved—“Her mother also passed away. The girl is left as an orphan. We ask the relatives of the deceased to accept financial

support”—involving only the immediate past (the parents' death) and the imminent future (the girl's bleak welfare) in its present tense. These mourning words retain the adjacent past as its ongoing present, which again will be kept up as a contiguous future, for the time being, restrictedly interjoined in its overwhelming present-ness. Moreover, this last scene goes on to the credits, where church bells ring on a black screen as if to grieve all the deaths in the revolution. In this way, *Maidan* shows traumatic and melancholic retention of the past, which holds a dim, if not absent, historical awareness and imaginative outlook on the future.

Meanwhile, *Winter* articulates the first babbling ever since the crying of mourning, as one testimony overlaps the funeral scene: “For the future of our children, people were prepared to die; even those who had no children of their own.” With these retrospective words, the deaths are endowed with new importance as a memorized past, of which the sacrifice constructs the present moment and the far future ahead of Ukraine. Moreover, throughout the *Winter*, the singularity of the revolution is created upon its relation to national history. For instance, the sound of the church bells tolled at the end of *Maidan* becomes a resurrection of medieval forefathers of Ukraine, as the bell-ringer himself affirms:

“People called me at 1:30 am. I was getting so many calls. I realized I had to act. So my friends and I started ringing *all the bells* . . . The last time St. Michael Monastery rang all the bells was in 1240 when the Mongol-Tatars invaded Kyiv.”

Other survivors also dredge up that the barriers of snow bags and burning tires they built to defend against the Berkuts “looked like historical barricades from the 16th century,” realizing that they were unknowingly

assisted by “the laws, rules, and hierarchy of ancestors” who likewise fought for their homeland. In such hindsight moments, this once chaotic experience of revolution is finally integrated into Ukraine's communal memories, re-establishing the unity of the national narrative with its connection with the remote past and the future.³⁹⁾

Furthermore, we can refer to Edmund Husserl here, who used a metaphor of musical notes to explain the time-consciousness; he claims that a unified sense of time is the effect of converting the instant stimulus of a tone⁴⁰⁾ to a contextualized melody,⁴¹⁾ which should further lead to the expectation for future tunes and the recollection of the past ones.⁴²⁾ Accordingly, let us suppose the Euromaidan is a succession of neighboring piano keys or a theme generated from 2013 to 2014. In that case, the 2014 *Maidan* repeats the yet-fresh event's full acoustic volume and affective intensity as its lone leitmotiv, with only a minimum modification. Thus, it only manages the ‘presentation’ (Gegenwärtigung) of one unique tragedy by myopic wiring of its sensuously continuous past, present, and future. On the other hand, the 2015 *Winter* sutures the given theme with variations of the premodern tunes from history, even providing the hopeful prospect for time to come, thereby conducting the ‘re-presentation’ (Vergegenwärtigung) of the layered presents or

39) The different temporalities of *Maidan* and *Winter* can also be gauged through digital corpus analysis. When conducting the plot analysis with the AntConc program, *Winter* showed a much higher frequency of the words “future” and “tomorrow,” with their regular occurrence throughout the film.

Title	Tokens	Frequency	Plot
<i>Winter</i>	7306	17	
<i>Maidan</i>	4769	2	

40) Edmund Husserl, *On the Phenomenology of the Consciousness of Internal Time (1893-1917)*, Trans. John Barnett Brough, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1991, p.11.

41) *Ibid.*, p.12.

42) *Ibid.*, p.14.

one multifarious musical piece.

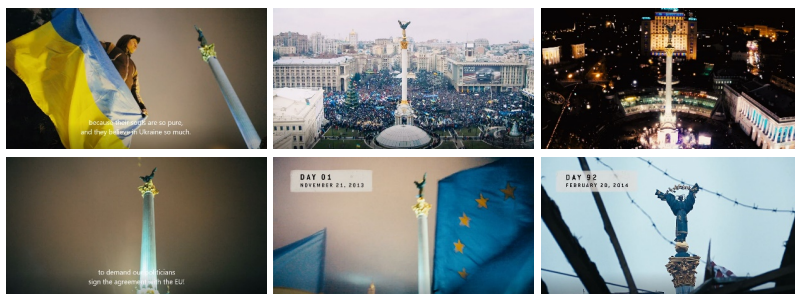


Figure 8. Independence Monument in *Winter*



Figure 9. Independence Monument in *Maidan*

Winter symbolizes such newly born Ukrainian-ness with its recurrent focus on the square's independence monument (Fig.8), alluding that the uprising inherited and extended Ukraine's lineage of freedom since its liberation in 1991. Afineevsky's camera dramatically highlights the majesty of standing tall statue in more than ten scenes, one of which adorns the film's last scene with Ruslana Lyzhychko's concluding testimony: "Maidan was a singular experience when everyone felt real unity . . ." This audiovisual emphasis on the monument becomes extra palpable and momentous when contrasted with *Maidan*, where it appears only once and is soon covered in ominous thick smoke (Fig.9).

Therefore, despite the loss of representativeness for the pro-Russian

East, *Winter's* chronicling of the revolution significantly contributes to restoring the unified time-consciousness of Ukrainians, at least in terms of one partial aspect of their national narrative. Besides, this very first affective articulation of the traumatic massacre initiates the cure of communal wounds, though unsatisfactory.

IV. Pulses of Open Wounds

The musical chanting and chatter of the mass in *Maidan* enables bodily communications between each viewer and itself, rendering the extreme atrocity in its affective immediacy. Obviously, in those intense voicing of protest songs and slogans, there lie special forces that make the audience physically resonate, even without a definite language to explain it. Nonetheless, as Levitin claims, “[the human] evolution, the brain, and culture would have accommodated to both [music and language]” for optimal social communication.⁴³⁾ In other words, however diminishing and limited, language is necessary to incorporate our experiences into cohesive time-consciousness and memories into histories. On a related note, Dori Laub argues:⁴⁴⁾

To undo this entrapment in [trauma] . . . a therapeutic process—a process of constructing a narrative, or reconstructing a history and essentially, of *re-externalizing the event*—has to be set in motion. This re-externalization of the event can occur and take effect only when one can articulate and transmit the story . . .

43) Levitin, *op.cit.*, p.145.

44) Dori Laub and Shoshana Felman, *op.cit.*, p.69, original emphases.

Likewise, this re-contextualized narrative voice must also be accompanied by bodily affects that necessarily precede it and give birth to it. In the psychoanalytic theory of trauma as well, the key to talking cure is to vividly revitalize the affective aspect of the experience, as Seokwon Yang underscores.⁴⁵⁾

Such restored feelings can help the stories combine indescribable yet pragmatic perceptions into their recollective accounts of the event and harmonize the wondering present with ever-modifying pasts and futures. This is what the emotionally charged testimonies in *Winter* do. Moreover, it is the reason we are responsible for being in affective solidarity with the survivors and genuinely witnessing the sounds of their trauma—not only their ‘singing’ and ‘crying,’ but even their premature ‘babbling’—as a faceless male voice (probably Afineevsky himself) answers in the opening dialogue of *Winter*: “Do something for the revolution”—“*I’m filming!*” As such, *Winter* goes beyond simply peeking into the incident of Euromaidan, widening that crevice to open up the possibility for its viewers to participate in Maidaners’ lives as extra partakers.

Nevertheless, there persist concealed memories of the wounds on the other side of *Winter*. Cathy Caruth argues that remnants of trauma should remain in their unsealed state to hear “the moving and sorrowful *voice* that cries out, a voice that is paradoxically released *through the wound*.”⁴⁶⁾ In other words, “one cannot simply leave behind” the traumatic history but must approach its open wounds,⁴⁷⁾ rhythmically repeating the learning and unlearning by the previous accounts and looming affects that resist

45) 양석원, 「정신적 상처의 원인과 치유의 탐구: 프로이트의 트라우마 이론 다시 읽기」, 『비평과 이론』 27집, 2022, 91쪽.

46) Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996, p.2, original emphases.

47) *Ibid.*, p.2.

narrativization. Therefore, *Winter* is only the first such awakening after *Maidan's* mourning. The awakening should continuously go on, for any subsequent narrativization cannot bring an end to itself.⁴⁸⁾

Particularly in the case of Ukraine, of which one assumptive etymology is “borderland” (Окраїна; *Okraina*)⁴⁹⁾ and indeed is located in an important geopolitical region as a bridgehead between Europe and Russia, the need to constantly negotiate its transnational frontier histories carries more complex and urgent obligations.⁵⁰⁾ This political awareness also has been shown during the opening remarks of Dmytro Ponomarenko, Ukraine's ambassador to South Korea, at the screening of *Maidan* held in Seoul in April 2022; he declared, “We will continue to fight against the aggression, oppression, occupation, or any attempt to destroy our statehood, our families,” bringing up the unceasing confrontation between Ukraine and Russia. At such contingency, the mnemonic melodies of Euromaidan must all the more go on, mining those ignored emotions that vigilantly await under *Winter's* narrative. This archival work of mourning should not be melancholic confinement within the past but a quest that integrates the Euromaidan and other pasts like the Orange Revolution (2004-2005),

48) In like manner, Saul Friedlander accentuates in his criticism of *Shoah* that the working-through process of trauma entails “the imperative of rendering as truthful an account as documents and testimonials will allow, *without giving in to the temptation of closure*” (“Trauma, Transference, and ‘Working Through’ in Writing the History of the ‘Shoah,’” *History and Memory*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1992), p. 52).

49) Myroslav Shkandrij, *Russia and Ukraine: Literature and the Discourse of Empire from Napoleonic to Postcolonial Times*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2001, p.7. Shkandrij further clarifies a more original meaning of “Ukraine” as “the land around” or “the land pertaining to” a given center, arguing that Ukrainians began to use the term in order to “designate a separate territory and people and to distinguish themselves from both Poland and Russia” (*Ibid.*)

50) The Ukrainian folk song played in both films' funeral scenes, “*Pikkardiyska Tertsyiya*,” is about a son's death in a foreign land, which would not be irrelevant to Ukraine's geographical position.

present war with Russia, and future conflicts, thereby maintaining the temporal unity of national identity.

In this ethical work of remembering history but being wary of conclusive ‘historicizing,’ some memories will constantly slip through certain narratives, humming their feelings in an ontologically abstract yet performatively concrete way. For this reason, we as participatory witnesses must keep discovering those affective echoes coming under the discourse of history. The language of historical memories will always be with such affective pulses of open wounds.

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■ 국문초록

이 논문은 우크라이나 혁명에 대한 두 다큐멘터리, 『마이단』(2014)과 『윈터 온 파이어: 우크라이나의 자유 투쟁』(2015)을 병렬하여, 영화의 청각적 미학이 정동을 일으키는 메커니즘과 집단적 트라우마를 역사화하는 과정에 대해 갖는 의의를 탐구한다. 먼저 본 연구는 『마이단』이 민중가요, 시 낭송, 악기 연주를 포함한 ‘음악적 노래하기’를 반복하는 한편, 『윈터 온 파이어』는 키이우 시민의 증언과 음성 해설 등의 ‘언어적 말하기’를 통해 플롯을 이끌어간다는 점에 주목한다. 아울러 전자에서는 시민 개개인의 경험에 ‘알아들을 수 없는 수군거림’으로 존재감을 피력하고 있지만, 후자는 일부의 목소리를 철저히 배제하면서 이분법적 관점을 고착화하고 있다. 결과적으로, 『마이단』은 완전히 의식적이지 않은 신체적 정동을 초래하며 관람자가 시위를 ‘체험’하게 하고, 『윈터 온 파이어』는 특정 진영의 주관적 감정을 상연함으로써 관중이 이들의 삶에 공감하고 ‘동참’하는 ‘증인’이 되도록 유도한다.

사운드스케이프 중심의 분석 과정에서, 작품들의 역사성 또한 정동의 흐름을 통해 파악된다. 혁명 직후에 공개된 『마이단』의 경우, 핵심 감정이 ‘수치’ 어린 내셔널리즘에서 희생자들에 대한 ‘애도’로 전환되며 끝난다. 그러나 1년 이후 개봉한 『윈터 온 파이어』는 한 단계 더 나아가 미래 세대에 대한 ‘희망’과 ‘책임감’까지 피력하고 있다. 이처럼 사건에 대한 감정이 시간에 따라 변화하면서, 신생아의 울음소리 같은 시위대의 ‘부르짖음’은 생존자의 첫 발화, ‘이야기’로 발전하며 우크라이나의 기억과 정체성을 세공한다. 그럼에도, 내러티브화에 저항하는 정동의 초월적 잠재태와 언어의 유한성, 그리고 유로마이단이 도화선이 된 현재의 러시아-우크라이나 전쟁은 『마이단』의 비언어적 울림을 다시금 주목할 필요성을 제기한다. 즉, 역사의 담론은 정동의 흥얼거림으로 끊임없이 해체되어야 하며, 재발명되어야 한다. 본고는 이러한 집단기억의 템포가 변주되는 리듬으로 곱

이치며 반복되어야 할 윤리적 책무를 지닌다고 주장하며 끝맺는다.

주제어 ● 소리 연구, 기억 연구, 정동 이론, 트라우마 이론, 우크라이나 역사, 세르게이 로즈니차, 에브네기 아피네예브스키

Abstract

Mnemonic Rhythms of the Ukrainian Revolution:

Sounds, Affects, and Time in *Maidan* and *Winter on Fire*

Jiyun Kim

This paper compares the two documentaries on the Ukrainian revolution, *Maidan* (2014) and *Winter on Fire: Ukraine's Fight for Freedom* (2015), exploring how the films' acoustic aesthetics cause different affects and their significance in remembering the collective trauma.

The two works' soundscapes can be characterized as musical 'singing' and linguistic 'telling': *Maidan* repeats protesters' folk songs and musical performances, while testimonies of a specific group of citizens lead the plot of *Winter on Fire*. Accordingly, the former causes not-completely conscious feelings, allowing a bodily 'experience' of the Euromaidan, while the latter urges the viewers to empathically 'witness' the narrated emotion and thereby 'participate' in the lives of one particular camp.

Furthermore, this paper grasps the chronological flow of passions during the one-and-half-year gap between the films: *Maidan* represents only 'shameful' nationalism and 'mourning,' but *Winter on Fire* eventually reaches 'hope' and 'sense of responsibility' for future generations. Such changing sentiments develop the 'crying' of protesters, which is reminiscent of that of a newly born baby, into the first 'babbling' statements of survivors, renewing Ukraine's historical memory and national identity.

Nevertheless, the borderland geopolitics of Ukraine, as reflected in the current Russo-Ukrainian War, along with the potential of affects that resists

narrativization and transcends the finitude of language, still demand the non-definite vibrations of *Maidan*. In other words, the historicized narrative must be again dismantled and reinvented with affective croonings. This paper concludes that this mnemonic rhythm of society has to ethically repeat itself, winding and fluctuating toward the future past.

Keyword ● Sound Studies, Memory Studies, Affect Theory, Trauma Theory, Ukrainian History, Sergei Loznitsa, Evgeny Afineevsky

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