

4-24-2017

# God's Theatre: Voice of a Frustrated Generation of Theatre Students in 1980s Finland

Sanni M. Lindroos

Lake Forest College, lindroosm@lakeforest.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <http://publications.lakeforest.edu/seniortheses>



Part of the [Theatre History Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Lindroos, Sanni M., "God's Theatre: Voice of a Frustrated Generation of Theatre Students in 1980s Finland" (2017). *Senior Theses*.

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Publications at Lake Forest College Publications. It has been accepted for inclusion in Senior Theses by an authorized administrator of Lake Forest College Publications. For more information, please contact [levinson@lakeforest.edu](mailto:levinson@lakeforest.edu).

---

# God's Theatre: Voice of a Frustrated Generation of Theatre Students in 1980s Finland

**Abstract**

In 1987, four acting students who called themselves “God’s Theatre” from the Theatre Academy of Helsinki appeared naked on the stage Oulu City Theatre in Central Finland. One of the students split his wrists open with a razor blade, while the rest of the group attacked the audience with eggs, human feces, a fire extinguisher, and a baton. Finnish media labelled the act as terrorism and even a murder attempt. After being imprisoned for ten days, the students were allowed to continue their studies at the academy. Thirty years later, the Oulu incident still remains a part of the Finnish collective consciousness. In this paper I argue that the Oulu act was strongly influenced by the teaching methods and ideologies used in the Theater Academy at the time, as well as the God's Theatre members' anxiety about the changing cultural atmosphere of 1980s Finland.

**Document Type**

Thesis

**Distinguished Thesis**

Yes

**Degree Name**

Bachelor of Arts (BA)

**Department or Program**

Self-Designed Major

**First Advisor**

Chloe Johnston

**Second Advisor**

Karen Lebergott

**Third Advisor**

Richard Pettengill

**Subject Categories**

Theatre and Performance Studies | Theatre History

---

## Lake Forest College Archives

Your thesis will be deposited in the Lake Forest College Archives and the College's online digital repository, *Lake Forest College Publications*. This agreement grants Lake Forest College the non-exclusive right to distribute your thesis to researchers and over the Internet and make it part of the *Lake Forest College Publications* site. You warrant:

- that you have the full power and authority to make this agreement;
- that you retain literary property rights (the copyright) to your work. Current U.S. law stipulates that you will retain these rights for your lifetime plus 70 years, at which point your thesis will enter common domain;
- that for as long you as you retain literary property rights, no one may sell your thesis without your permission;
- that the College will catalog, preserve, and provide access to your thesis;
- that the thesis does not infringe any copyright, nor violate any proprietary rights, nor contain any libelous matter, nor invade the privacy of any person or third party;
- If you request that your thesis be placed under embargo, approval from your thesis chairperson is required.

By signing below, you indicate that you have read, understand, and agree to the statements above.

**Printed Name:** Sanni M. Lindroos

**Thesis Title:** God's Theatre: Voice of a Frustrated Generation of Theatre Students in 1980s Finland

LAKE FOREST COLLEGE

Senior Thesis

God's Theatre:  
Voice of a Frustrated Generation of Theatre Students in 1980s Finland

by

Sanni Lindroos

April 24, 2017

The report of the investigation undertaken as a  
Senior Thesis, to carry one course of credit in  
the Self-Designed Major

---

Michael T. Orr  
Krebs Provost and Dean of the Faculty

---

Chloe Johnston, Chairperson

---

Karen Lebergott

---

Richard Pettengill

## **Abstract**

In 1987, four acting students who called themselves “God’s Theatre” from the Theatre Academy of Helsinki appeared naked on the stage Oulu City Theatre in Central Finland. One of the students split his wrists open with a razor blade, while the rest of the group attacked the audience with eggs, human feces, a fire extinguisher, and a baton. Finnish media labelled the act as terrorism and even a murder attempt. After being imprisoned for ten days, the students were allowed to continue their studies at the academy. Thirty years later, the Oulu incident still remains a part of the Finnish collective consciousness. In this paper I argue that the Oulu act was strongly influenced by the teaching methods and ideologies used in the Theater Academy at the time, as well as the God's Theatre members' anxiety about the changing cultural atmosphere of 1980s Finland.

*Dedication*

*To my family and friends who have supported me throughout my college experience.*

*To the members of God's Theatre who, regardless of the hardship that followed the Oulu events, have contributed to Finnish theatre history.*

*To my advisors and professors.*

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Professor Chloe Johnston for introducing me to the field of Performance Studies, and providing help, guidance and encouragement with this thesis, as well as my Self-Designed Major. I would like to thank Professor Karen Lebergott and Professor Richard Pettengill for being a part of my thesis committee. A special thanks to Esa Kirkkopelto, who I had the privilege of interviewing for the thesis.

## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	1
<b>Brief History of the Theatre Academy of Helsinki</b>	3
<b>I. God's Theatre - The Incident Itself</b>	5
Media's Reaction to God's Theatre	11
<b>II. The Turkka Methodologies in 1980's Finland</b>	15
Cultural Atmosphere of Finland in the 1980s	17
Turkka and Brecht	20
<b>III. God's Theatre and Antonin Artaud</b>	23
God's Theatre of Cruelty	24
Language	27
Performing Culture	30
The Stage and Space	33
Cry for Help, Need for Violence?	34
<b>IV. God's Theatre and the Futurist Manifesto</b>	37
<b>Conclusion</b>	43
<b>Appendix</b>	46
<b>Works Cited</b>	51

## Introduction

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of January 1987, four students of the Theatre Academy of Helsinki caused a national scandal during the *Oulu Theatre Days* in Central Finland. The young men appeared on the stage of Oulu City Theatre naked and attacked the audience, which mainly consisted of theatre critics and the leaders of Finnish theatre institutions. The students ended up being in prison for ten days. Armed with eggs, human feces, a fire extinguisher, razor blades, and a baton, the group that called themselves “God’s Theatre” provoked a series of events that drove the Finnish media and general public into a heated debate over the ethics of art and the teaching methods practiced at the Theatre Academy. Even though the incident was strongly judged, and even labelled as terrorism, I am approaching the Oulu act as a performance of frustration rather than vandalism. Based on God’s Theatre members’ interviews, as well as research on the directing and teaching methods used at the academy, I am discussing the events as the young acting students’ way of expressing their frustration caused by the extremely demanding training methods, as well as the fact that the Finnish theatre industry was starting to be transformed based on the principles of entertainment rather than the idea of art striving for social justice. Whereas the Oulu performance was judged to be a warning sign of the potentially harmful ideologies of the Theatre Academy's faculty, I contend that God’s Theatre was a protest against the atmosphere of the academy, as well as a demonstration of frustration caused by the society which the students lived in. I will start by providing background information about the Theatre Academy and the Oulu events, and will then proceed to analyze the incident based on the theorists who were incorporated in the academy’s teaching methods. I will then draw parallels between God’s Theatre and other theatre

theorists whose ideas about revolutionizing theatre in order to improve society appear similar to the four theatre students' whose actions remain a part of Finnish theatre history.

I chose to write about God's Theatre after realizing that even though I was familiar with some aspects of the incident and its aftermath, my impression of the events and the group of students held responsible was merely based on tabloid headlines and what I had heard from other people. During the research process I was surprised to find out that the context of God's Theatre is significantly more complex than I had thought. Another reason for my topic of choice is the fact that all existing scholarly writing about God's Theatre is written in Finnish. Hence, most of the sources used in this paper are originally written or spoken in Finnish and translated into English by me. I aimed to keep the quotes and transcriptions as authentic as possible by using casual vocabulary and grammar when translating audio and video interviews. Throughout the paper, "God's Theatre" is used in reference to both the scandalous 1987 performance in Oulu, as well as the group of four theatre students behind the performance.

By investigating events that took place in my country of origin, I became aware of the fact that by writing this thesis I am not only translating a language, but also a culture. With this thesis, I hope to make the so-called legend of God's Theatre available to a wider audience and non-Finnish Performance Studies scholars, and to provide a non-sensational approach to the topic. In the future, my aim is to continue my research on the topic by conducting more personal interviews and participant-observations in the Theatre Academy, and to explore a more ethnographic approach to the legacy of God's Theatre.

## Brief History of the Theatre Academy of Helsinki

During the 1960s and 1970s the Finnish university system was spread across the country, contributing to the development of higher education in the field of arts, which eventually led into the establishment of the Helsinki Theatre Academy in 1979 (Kallinen, 8). However, the history of formal theatre training in Finland had already begun in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Between the years 1866-68, Swedish-speaking actors were trained at the Nya Teatern (“New Theatre). Finnish-speaking actors were trained either at the Student School of the Finnish National Theatre and in the private Finnish stage school. In 1943, when Finland was still in the midst of the Continuation War against the Soviet Union, The Finnish Theatre School opened its doors in Helsinki. From the years 1961-71 the departments of acting and higher education departments were functioning separately, and were later merged into one. At this time, the school was training actors, directors, and dramaturges. In 1979, The Finnish and Swedish-language theatre schools were joint together. Now functioning as a bilingual institution, the Helsinki Theatre Academy remains the most prestigious higher-level theatre school in Finland (“The History of Theatre Academy,” *UniArts*). The law regarding the Theatre Academy was established in Helsinki on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January in 1979. Signed by President Urho Kekkonen and minister Kalevi Kivistö, the first section of the law stated:

The purpose of the Theatre Academy is to provide theoretical and practical theatrical and theatre-related professional higher education, practice the field’s experimental activity and research as well as cognitive operations, and to further advance the development of theatre arts in general” (Kallinen 50).

The statement of the academy’s purpose communicates the school’s prestigious position within the cultural scheme of the Finnish society. The institution, which could be called

the Mecca of Finnish theatre training, became a source of nation-wide discussion after the 1987 performance by four of its students.

## I. GOD'S THEATRE IN OULU – THE INCIDENT ITSELF

The teaching methods of the Theatre Academy had appeared in the headlines of Finnish newspapers shortly before God's Theatre came into being. On November 9, 1986, Helsinki Times published an article titled "WHERE IS FINLAND'S THEATRE ACADEMY HEADED TOWARDS? A DIRECTING STUDENT FAINTED DURING THE OPENING NIGHT" (Kallinen, 13). The article was criticizing a performance which took place two days earlier. A directing student Erik Söderblom had been working on a play called *Tauti (A Disease)*, and had realized that he did not have enough time to finish the show. He had decided to narrate the performance and its purpose through a microphone, and then fainted on stage after 45 minutes. The incident resulted in panic among the audience, as well as the actors. However, the performances continued, and the media's active coverage on the incident resulted in sold-out shows. Professor Jouko Turkka and dramaturgy teacher Jussi Parviainen, as well as the Theatre Academy's principal Outi Nyytjä were pleased with the "unexpected nature" of the performance (Kallinen 114).

Jussi Helminen, the director of Oulu City Theatre, came to see one of the performances of *Tauti* with the intention of finding performers for the upcoming Oulu Theatre Days. He requested the director and the cast of *Tauti* to participate with a performance on the theme of "breaking barriers, especially between the audience and the performers" (Kallinen 115). Whereas the director refused the offer, he recommended another group that consisted of acting students Jari Halonen (who was also involved in *Tauti*), Jari Hietanen, Jorma Tommila and Esa Kirkkopelto. The young men, who adopted the name God's Theatre, agreed to perform for *Theatre Days*. A few weeks before going to Oulu, the group organized a controversial performance in Helsinki. Organized in

Lepakkoluola (Bat Cave), a center for alternative culture, the performance consisted of three members of the group hanging on crosses as a reference to The Crucifixion (Appendix Image 1). The group had collected the names audience members' names at the door, and the fourth performer read them out loud into a microphone. In addition to the audience members' names, the word "manifesto" was also continuously repeated throughout the show. Twenty minutes into the performance, a small truck entered the stage. The performers were released from their crosses, climbed on the truck, drove away from stage while releasing fume into the room. The event gained popularity among the theatre and art circles, but did not get notable media attention (Arminen 4-5). Yet, the performance functioned as tame foreshadowing of what the performers had planned for the *Oulu Theatre Days*.

Oulu, the most populous city in Northern Finland, is located around 330 miles North of Helsinki, on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia. The event, officially called *The Northern Theatre Days (Pohjoiset Teatteripäivät)* was open to the public, but the audience consisted mainly of the country's leading theatre professionals and critics, as well as employees of the Oulu City Theatre. It is important to note that the atmosphere of the event and place was slightly different from the one in the capital – as one of the witnesses stated, "it was still a habit to wear your best clothes when going to the theatre" (Mäkelä 126). As the visual documentation of the incident is limited to several black-and-white photographs, and the performers themselves have been reluctant to reveal details of their actions, the description of the event is based on the descriptions of some of the witnesses (Appendix Image 2 & 3). One of the details about the preparations for the performance is that the fire extinguisher used in the performance was stolen from the train in which the four students traveled from Helsinki to Oulu (Yleisradio 2004). In an interview recorded soon after the *Theatre Days*, an employee of the Oulu City Theatre

said that around 9AM, God's Theatre member Esa Kirkkopelto appeared at an info session in order to ask for a reimbursement for their travel fees. He had explained that the group needed to buy more props for the performance and needed the money immediately. He left after getting the money around 9:30AM, and the group was consequently late for their performance which was scheduled to begin at 10AM. The employee then shared her experience of what happened in the auditorium:

“The discussion started at 10AM and the boys were still shopping, and they started without them. Around 10:30PM when Jussi Helminen was giving the opening speech on stage, the boys came on stage and interrupted the opening, and started to undress...one of them cut his wrists with a razor blade so that...some blood was visible. After this one of them grabbed the fire extinguisher...then there was smoke spreading around, which I thought was the regular stunt smoke for theatres...until the smoke reached me and I inhaled it, and experienced a feeling of choking... I was thinking that “We are going to get killed now,” I was really scared.” (Jumalan teatteri 005:40-06:41)

In the same interview, another employee of Oulu City Theatre elaborated on the moments right before the group entered the stage:

“I was waiting for the boys at the lobby of the stage, because I needed their permission for the photographers to take pictures of the show. The boys ran very loudly into the lobby and were swinging horizontally below the waist... staring at the floor, it was quite noisy...they opened the stage floor, and I was worried that no one in the auditorium would probably hear anything, as the theatre director's opening speech was happening...I was trying to explain to the boys that they shouldn't go yet, that the previous show is still running...it seemed impossible for them to register it...they were being noisy, “You go first and we will follow you,”

“If I go first, will you follow me,” “We surely will”...they kept saying these things...and I realized that they are in such state that any external information will not reach them.” (Jumalan teatteri 00:10-01:24)

According to the performers, after Jorma Tommila cut his wrists with the razor blade, “they felt so fierce that anything could happen” (Kallinen 116). This suggests that the performers were, indeed, in a raging state of mind, and made choices which they themselves found questionable, at least afterwards. Direct attacks towards specific audience members were addressed by cultural critic and artist Eeli Aalto, the only audience member who did not escape the auditorium. According to Aalto, one of the performers was using the whip to guide the audience towards the exit. While rest of the audience members, including Aalto’s wife, escaped, Aalto remained seated. In a 2016 interview with the Helsinki Times, Aalto elaborates: “The boys targeted me and asked me am I not going to leave. I said that not in the middle of the performance. Just continue, finish it. They got physical with me and ripped off my pullover and such” (Riikonen). Aalto states that he does not consider the performance art, due to the damage done to the audience and the venue. Yet, he also says: “I like the boys, talented buddies. It was, if one may say, a work accident” (Riikonen). Aalto later functioned as a witness in court when the incident was investigated (Mäkelä 126).

In addition to the razor blade, whips, and the fire extinguisher, the performers had plastic bags filled with human feces, which they threw at the audience members. They also attacked the viewers with eggs, and brought in a baton. The performance also included fireworks, which were shot in the auditorium (Kallinen 116). In two rare pictures to the original “script,” in which most of the text is cut out, some of the key elements to the performance are listed in bullet points. The document, which looks like a list of instructions rather than a script, lists things such as: urinating, grabbing one of the

audience members and whipping them “so that they feel it,” abuse, fire extinguisher, and “throwing shit” (Bäckman 2011). The circumstances made it nearly impossible to remain in the auditorium, and the descriptions of the audience’s exit vary. Whereas some of the witnesses, and later the media, described the situation as a chaotic escape, the phase of the evacuation was much calmer because the audience members needed time to clean their clothes and get dressed again. Jorma Tommila, who had cut his wrists with the razor blade, was taken to an emergency room, which also delayed the progression of the events. Afterwards, the four performers proceeded to have some pizza and beers, after which they were arrested (Kallinen 116).

On the day of the performance, ten audience members filed a crime report against the performers. The media reacted to the events very strongly, and many articles even insisted on closing down the entire Theatre Academy. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of January, minister of culture Gustav Björkstrand was faced with questions regarding the state of actor training and demands of temporarily closing down the academy. The day after, Björkstrand approached the government with a proposal to fire professor Jouko Turkka and dramaturg teacher Jussi Parviainen (Kallinen 117). A day later, an article in the newspaper Pohjalainen states that the minister of culture had discussed the incident with professor Turkka, who was reluctant to change his methods or leaving his position. It is also briefly mentioned that the proposal included a request to allow the principal Outi Nyytäjä to resign (Pohjalainen 1987). Nyytäjä had indeed requested to leave her position, and the president of Finland released her from the profession from 31<sup>st</sup> of March 1987, until which she took a leave of absence (Kallinen 118).

The group was released from prison after 11 days on Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> of January, 1987. Due to arrangements by the police, the performers could not immediately be interviewed by the press. The day after being released, the group agreed to have a press

conference (Arminen, 105). As the Theatre Academy refused to accommodate the conference at the school due to the negative press coverage, the representatives of media were invited to Lepakkoluola, the alternative event space where the original God's Theatre performance had taken place before the Oulu incident. A news clip broadcasted by the Finnish Broadcasting Company shows a room full of journalists, and a man walking into the space to announce that the performers are waiting outside, and that the press conference is going to take place outdoors. The news reporter narrates: "The press conference that was meant to be held at the Lepakkoluola space for alternative cultures turned into a performance event itself" (00:18-00:23 Jumalanteatteri tiedotustilaisuus 1987). Surrounded by journalists in their winter coats, group member Jari Halonen states "At least it's more honest...than most theatre life is doing. It is real shit... A thing based on that" (00:31-00:46 Jumalanteatteri tiedotustilaisuus). The performers also explained that what had been mistaken as "bombs" were in fact "regular fireworks you can get from the store." The group also stated that the performance was not meant to harm the audience, but had counted on the fact that most of the audience were experienced and calm theatre professionals (Arminen 105).

After the incident, the atmosphere at the Theatre Academy was chaotic. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February, 1987, a group that called themselves "the open student council" (avoin oppilaskunta) posted a list of demands on a school bulletin board. They insisted that Jussi Parviainen should be the new principal, Jouko Turkka should continue as a professor, and that a group of other teachers should resign (Kallinen 119). Theatre Academy made it to the headlines again on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February, when the members of God's Theatre chained themselves to the school doors as a protest against the demands of Turkka and Parviainen being fired from the academy. The media understood the incident as a kind of a "finale" for the Oulu incident (Arminen 106). While four men blocked the entrances, four other

students who were members of the open student council broke windows by throwing chairs and flower pots through them, and broke school property in the principal's office and other rooms. The police arrived after half an hour to intervene. Ten days later, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of February, the Theatre Academy executive board voted on the punishment of the eight students who were involved in the protest. Eight out of the fifteen people in the executive board voted for the option of permanent suspension of the students. However, in the beginning of the summer, the board mitigated the suspension to only last until the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, 1987 (Kallinen 119). The only student who did not return to the school was Esa Kirkkopelto, who decided to work on his own projects instead (Personal interview, 2017). The trial on the case ended on the last day of November, 1987. The conviction consisted of 849 day-fines, 40 000 markkas (around 7150 US dollars) worth of damages, and seven months of probation. In the course of the trial, the district attorney had considered accusing the group for blasphemy, but decided against it at the request of Finland's archbishop (Arminen 2017).

### **Media's Reaction to God's Theatre**

Finnish media reacted strongly to the Oulu events, and the first news reports on God's Theatre were aired on the day of the performance. In his book *Juhannustansseista Jumalan Teatteriin (From Midsummer Dance to God's Theatre)*, sociologist Ilkka Arminen provides a comprehensive view of how the performance was viewed by the newspapers and tabloids. This section includes article titles and quotes from both – while all of the publications were (and still are) politically neutral, the tabloids differ from the more “official” newspapers by placing more emphasis on sensational rather than informational journalism. However, when it came to God's Theatre, even the leading

newspapers adapted a rather speculative approach to the events. The general alignment of the reports was centered around the idea of terrorism. The term was first used by Jussi Helminen, the Oulu City Theatre leader who was one of the witnesses. His statement, even though interpreted in several different ways in different newspapers, was something along the lines of “The performance was not theatre, but the first level of terrorism (Arminen 93). *Helsingin Sanomat* (Helsinki Times), the largest subscription newspaper in Finland, titled their report on the events in the following way: “THE AUDIENCE WAS BEATEN UP, FECES THROWN AT THE AUDIENCE AT THE THEATRE DAY; THEATRE STUDENTS RAGED IN OULU.” The leading newspaper of the Oulu area, *Oulun Kaleva*, had a similarly speculative approach to the events on the same day: “CHAOS AND SCANDAL AT THE THEATRE DAYS: AUDIENCE DRIVEN AWAY FROM THE AUDIENCE WITH FECES, WHIPS, AND BOMBS.” Both articles depicted the events as a kind of an entertaining and dramatic thriller, and also emphasized the speculation by using large images of the carbon dioxide being released from the fire extinguisher to the auditorium. The articles discussed the motives and actions of the students through juridical, psychiatric and governmental means, suggesting that it appeared that the Theatre Academy as an institution should be made responsible (Arminen 93-94).

Whereas the majority of the newspapers judged the Oulu act and performed character assassination on the students and their teachers, the leading Swedish-speaking newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet's* (HB) report “THEATRE STUDENTS STRIKE AGAIN. WHIP HOWLED OVER FLEEING CROWD.” HB’s way of discussing the events, including the title of the report, was nearly humorous. With an ironic tone, the article states: “In the chaotic situation, no one came to think about immediately calling the police, and the theatre students disappeared their own ways.” The article ended in a

comparison between God's Theatre's performance and Shakespearean dramas, which often ended with corpses being dragged away from the stage (Arminen 96). The HB depiction of the incident seems to express a level of sympathy towards the performers. Instead of terrorists, they were depicted as young and wild theatre students, who caused a panic and quickly exited the scene. As Arminen analyzes, the HB report was the only one that separated the performance itself from the hysterical comments it provoked. On 19<sup>th</sup> of January, the day following the performance, another tabloid expressed strong opinions against the students' actions. *Uusi Suomi* (New Finland) approached the events through the comments given by the faculty of the Theatre Academy. The title reads: "ONLY TURKKA LEFT TO DEFEND OULU'S THEATRE SCANDAL. LISKI, HOLMBERG AND NYYTÄJÄ ARE FED UP WITH HARSH APPROACHES: "SCHOOL SHUT IMMEDIATELY" (Arminen 96). The article talks about how even Nyytäjä, the principal on a leave of absence, has "had enough" and is ready to close the school. However, the article also talks about Turkka's acceptance of the events, stating that he "says to have liked the escapade of his dear students, and will stand besides boys even in trouble." The article also states that Gustav Björkstrand, the minister of culture, is still willing to work the situation out, and therefore seems to agree with Turkka (Arminen 97). Ironically enough, only three days later on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January, *Pohjalainen* (Northerner), a newspaper based on the Eastern coast of the Gulf of Bothania, published a speculative article on the cultural minister's willingness to fire both Turkka and Parviainen. The article focuses on a press conference which Björsktrand had attended. He had stated that even artistic freedom needs to have certain limits, and labelled the God's Theatre members as "societally completely ignorant" (*Pohjalainen* 1987).

The press continued following and speculating about the events, even though the performers themselves could not give interviews due to being in prison. Before the

students were released from the prison on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January, the public discussion on God's Theatre had taken a turn towards a more understanding and peaceful approach. The threat of Parviainen and Turkka losing their jobs made some of the news sources even sympathize with them, and *Uusi Suomi*, which had previously speculated about the events, published an interview with Turkka entitled: "I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST VIOLENCE" (Arminen 102). The media soon even started questioning the cultural minister, and started discussing the unusually extended length of the imprisonment of the students. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of January, a day after the God's Theatre members were released from prison, the students held a press event outside of Lepakkoluola despite the freezing weather. The media's discussion of the events continued on a general level, yet the Oulu events made it to the headlines again on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February, when the students vandalized property of the Theatre Academy. After this, the press' interest about the events slowly decreased.

## II. THE TURKKA METHODOLOGIES IN 1980s FINLAND

One of the major elements of Finnish media's speculation moral panic that followed the Oulu incident was the need to reveal what motivated or provoked the group to perform their act. In his book *Tämä Ei Ole Taidetta* (This Is Not Art), which explores the history of controversial Finnish art, Matti Mäkelä offers the following interpretation: "...the actions of God's Theatre are, according to its makers, a certain type of a cry for help for the values of Modernism. Anyway, God's Theatre appears as a very helpless cry for help or provocation, even though the purpose might have been to point out the world's twisted values that had given up on Modernization" (Mäkelä 132). Even though God's Theatre certainly aimed to make a statement about the conditions of contemporary theatre, its sociopolitical commentary should not be understood merely as an aggressive and messy protest against the world in general. In this chapter I am looking into the cultural atmosphere of Finland in the 1980s, as well as the teaching methods that were applied at the Theatre Academy at the time, and comparing them to the theatre philosophies that are thought to have influenced the school's cognitive approaches in actor training.

One of the leading characters at the Theatre Academy during the time of the events was Jouko Turkka (1942-2016), who is still known for his strong personality and eccentric approaches to theatre. Having previously worked as the assistant manager of the National Theatre of Finland, Turkka was invited to be the first professor of acting as well as the head of the acting department at the Theatre Academy in 1981. He also held the position of the institution's principal from the end of the year 1981 until 1985, after which he continued as a professor (Seppänen 74-75). The academy was seeking a strong leader to introduce new ways of training the young actors. Meanwhile, the academy was

given the financial opportunity to reward their first professorship. Turkka had developed a troubled relationship with the National Theatre where he worked, and accepted the position at the Theatre Academy to secure his employment situation, but also as a protest against the National Theatre from which he was about to be fired from. After starting his position at the Theatre Academy, Turkka started to enthusiastically revolutionize the school's teaching methods (Kallinen 70-71). Turkka made radical changes to the acting department's syllabus. Whereas the students had previously been engaged in six productions in the duration of the four-year program, they were now expected to act in around four performances per a school year. The students were put in front of an audience from the very beginning, and members of different classes collaborated. The teaching was therefore extremely project-based. The new direction of the program is summarized by Janne Seppänen in his book *Tehtävä Oulussa – Tulkintoja Jumalan Teatterin Avantgardesta* (Mission in Oulu – Interpretations on the Avant-garde of God's Theatre): "The atmosphere of the school was introverted and Turkka's half-aggressive relationship with the actors of theatre institutions and the institutions themselves left its mark on the everyday life of the teaching" (75). Turkka's philosophy was that actors need to shape themselves through their lifestyle – that acting is a lifestyle, not simply a set of professional skills to be learned. He believed that one can become a distinctive personality through hardship, and that physical struggle is essential in this process (Seppänen 75-76).

In her 2013 master's thesis statement titled "Tunnetiloissa" (In moods), Anu Koskinen focused on how the Theatre Academy students who were enrolled in the institution in the 1980's and 1990's experienced emotions and emotional labor in acting. Koskinen associates Turkka's methods with intensive bodily stimulus and work based on mental images. Koskinen writes: "Strong power hierarchies between the director and the

student come across from the interviewees' comments so strongly, that they are inseparable elements of the Turkka-style emotional labor" (163). Based on the interviews she conducted, the actors sensed that the expectations of the teachers and directors were strongly present in acting situations. Many of the interviewees used words such as "manipulation" and "authoritarian" (166). Koskinen addresses how many of the ex-students experienced a desperate need to do their best to please those in authority. According to her, the fear of not being enough "strongly communicates the idea that the power of the teacher/director does not only touch upon the external, possibly counterfeit emotions expressed for the role, but also the actor's real emotions, physically experienced simulations" (166). The frustration that was caused by the teaching methods was also expressed by God's Theatre member Jari Halonen, who, along with Jorma Tommila, was interviewed in December of 1987: "I feel like it was...a shared feeling of injustice that was bothering the young theatre students...how your position depended on how willing you are to scheme and suck up...that has a hell of an influence on what you're allowed to do and so on" (Yleisradio 00:34-01:11). The need to please and "suck up" experienced by the students seem to have been the response that Turkka expected from his students. The actors were expected to run to class, and most of the exercises were started only after physically exhausting action. The notions of pushing oneself to the extremes and competing with one another were encouraged: Turkka formed a separate group for "advanced" students. Members of this group were continuously changed according to the student's development (Seppänen 76).

### **Cultural Atmosphere of Finland in the 1980s**

The frustration expressed by the members of God's Theatre was not simply due to the academy's methods, but was also influenced by the fact that the cultural

atmosphere of the country had been drastically changing during the 1980's. As Esa Kirkkopelto states, the decade was strongly associated with "yuppie culture," referring to the postmodern phenomenon of admiring the idea of a successful, young professional (Personal interview, 2017). In his book, Ilkka Arminen provides material from his brief study on how people compare Finland in the 1960's and 1980's. The study, conducted during the summer of 1988 and including responses from 75 participants, revealed that the 1980s were commonly experienced as having a negative atmosphere. Participants associated the 1980s with "passive materialism," shallowness and selfishness, which Arminen summarizes in the following way: "If exaggerated: the world built upon the responses would be a nonviable cabinet of horrors, where emotionless werewolves that have gone furious due to consumer madness do not place any value on each other's lives" (16). The few positive things people mentioned were things like higher standards of living, increased awareness of global issues, and gender equality. However, based on his study, Arminen summarizes 1980's Finland in seven categories: "egocentrism, cold productivity, passivity, materialism, eco-awareness, yuppieness, fear, and insecurity (17).

Negative views on the 1980's Finnish society were also expressed by God's Theatre Members Jari Halonen and Jorma Tommila, who gave an interview to the Finnish National Broadcasting company in December 1987. Halonen was especially concerned about the idea of passivity, which he was afraid would strongly influence the upcoming generation. He expressed his anxiety about the next generation being pampered and spoiled, and explains how he had been observing a playground close to his house. He states that whereas the children simply use the sand crane on the playground, the children of his generation would have broken it. He states that breaking the toy is more creative than playing with it, therefore implying that the generation he has been observing is alarmingly passive (Yleisradio, 09:18-10:25). Halonen also commented on the increased

popularity of tabloid magazines, implying that the society was moving towards a merely commercial appreciation for the arts: “Without fame, nothing has any value...it does not matter what kind of work you do...in any given theatre, taken that the audience numbers are limited to thousands...and, then again, tabloids get millions of readers...nowadays it doesn't make sense to make theatre for any other reason than to be able to say something reasonable to the public... to express your opinion” (03:50-04-25). To Halonen, theatre had no influence if it was only approachable by a tiny fraction of the population.

Another element of Finland in the 1980s was, as mentioned by many sources, a certain lack of public discussion. This refers to how 30 years ago Finnish people were more passive about actively engaging in public discussion about topics that were considered taboo. As Mäkelä states: “It is noticeable, that during those times the most common topic of public discussion was the lack of public discussion, a thing that is hard to understand during our times” (2016, 125). The God's Theatre members also seemed to think that public discussion, as well as the media, were focusing on sensational and dull topics instead of the issues of the society. It then seems that God's Theatre can be seen as an attempt to bring theatre, as well as the changing atmosphere of the 1980's, to the notice of a wider public through a framework that is familiar to everyday people – the tabloids and newspapers. In the interview, Halonen emphasized the need for a new kind of dramaturgy, a radical change: “In this society, in our system, theater...has an ostensible influence. Theater doesn't affect anything anywhere...it is unquestionable that some kind of a transformational dramaturgy needs to be created” (Yleisradio,02:51-03-17).

However, it is clear that the young actors did not want to simply adjust to the needs of the public in order to have a stronger influence on the society of the 1980s, which seemed to be marked by egocentrism and lack of discourse. In the same interview, Jorma Tommila states: “Whenever theatre serves...the vast majority, you are doing things wrong. The

majority is always somewhat stupid” (Yleisradio 04:58-05:07). The God’s Theatre members experienced the public to be afraid of speaking out, and to live in a materialistic, shallow game of pretend, alienated from reality. The suggested lack of public discussion and political activity goes together with the teaching methods, which encouraged the students to follow instructions without questioning them. Halonen’s comment suggests that Turkka purposefully wanted to protest against the common atmosphere of passivity by producing provocative productions, yet discouraged protest and activism within the school. Therefore, Halonen’s demands for a “new kind of dramaturgy” can be interpreted to also refer to the school’s practices.

### **Turkka and Brecht**

In his 2015 article “Psychophysical zombies in the ruins of the bourgeois world: On the pedagogical theatre of Jouko Turkka,” God’s Theatre member Esa Kirkkopelto talks about Turkka’s hetero-normative attitudes, which were present in the way the actors were encouraged to use their bodies. The neutral body was heterosexual and male, and the breathing exercises and gestures were heavily based on the activation of the chest (Kirkkopelto 14). Kirkkopelto associates Turkka’s ideal of an actor’s body with the German theatre director, playwright and poet Bertolt Brecht (1899-1956): “The idea of an athletic actor seems less comical as juxtaposed against the socio-economic situation in Finland of the 1980’s. Using examples of film stars and sports personalities, Turkka, like Brecht in the 1920s tried to channel the life force characteristics of the lower social classes and popular mass back to theatre” (20). Brecht, famous for his concept of epic theatre, used his work as a platform for his Marxist views. He wanted to go against the existing theatrical forms in order for theatre to adjust to the modern socio-economic reality, and to make social changes happen (Bradley 3). With his drama, Brecht aimed to

depict society as a process rather than a fixed state, and break the “fourth wall” in order to push the audience towards critical thinking. Brecht wanted his actors to maintain a certain distance from their character instead of fully immersing themselves in the roles. This way the actors would invite sociopolitical criticism towards the issues and characters presented on stage (Bradley 5).

Even though Turkka seemed to have shared a passion towards the working class, their methods of working with the students were drastically different. Carl Weber, who got to witness Brecht and his actors at rehearsal in the 1950's, pictures Brecht as a down-to-earth, even shy director, who treated his actors as colleagues. His descriptions suggest that Turkka might have adopted the practice of making the new students perform in front of a new audience as soon as possible from Brecht. According to Weber, similarly to Turkka, Brecht “wanted actors to get used to spectators, to get laughs, to be in contact with the people down there as early in the process as possible, to work *with* an audience” (Weber & Munk 102). Both directors rejected the idea of perfecting a performance in closed rehearsals and then presenting the final result as some kind of a spectacle – they understood the importance of the audience. In his article “Brecht at rehearsal” Weber writes: “Brecht never cared how his actors worked. He didn't tell them to go home and to do this or that, or to go behind the set and concentrate. He didn't give a damn about the mechanics they used, just cared about results. Brecht respected actors and was extremely patient with them” (Weber & Munk 106). It now seems that even though both Brecht and Turkka aimed for a certain kind of political theatre that appeals to not only the elite, but also the working class, their approaches to the director-actor relationship were drastically different. Whereas Brecht, according to Weber's descriptions of the rehearsal process, promoted solidarity and the idea of working as a group and maintaining an environment of support, Turkka encouraged a system of hierarchy, competition, and expected to be

obeyed, respected, and even feared by his students.

As I will further argue in the following chapter, the act of breaking the “fourth wall,” and therefore diminishing the border between the audience and the performers, was certainly one of the main components of God’s Theatre. In terms of the distance maintained by the actors between themselves and their characters, the God’s Theatre members reached another level: there seemed to be no characters at all. Action that took place on stage was not simulation, the element of theatrical representation was missing. This choice can be interpreted as a reference to the actors’ criticism towards Turkka’s teaching methodologies. The students were expected to push their bodies and minds to the extremes, and Turkka was striving for the idea of acting as a lifestyle rather than a profession. The line between performing and simply existing is therefore blurred. The attitudes of Turkka and Brecht that were present in the Oulu act can be further approached through Antonin Artaud, whose dramatic theories are discussed in the next chapter.

### III. GOD'S THEATRE AND ANTONIN ARTAUD

In the discussion provoked by the Oulu incident, one of the most commonly mentioned influences of the performance was Antonin Artaud (1896-1948). Artaud, a French actor, director, writer, and an artist, is mostly known for his major theoretical work *The Theatre and Its Double*, originally published in 1938. Artaud argued that theatre was losing its power and turning into dry representations of poetic work such as novels, and that a new approach to theatre and its language must be created (Sellin 82). He wanted theatre to act as a form of therapy by evoking strong emotions in the spectators, and wanted to move away from the logical reasoning of psychological theatre in order to emphasize non-verbal consciousness. Inspired by non-Western “oriental” theatre, Artaud “called for a return to magical devices in décor and sound effects, a hieratic poise in the actors, a delivery of the lines in an incantatory tone reminiscent of priests rather than naturalistic acting, and ultimately an abolition of the separation between actors and audience by placing the spectacle among the spectators themselves” (Esslin 169). One of Artaud’s most famous essays, “Theatre and Cruelty” summarizes some of his main ideas about the new form theatre must take, approaching cruelty as a natural part of the human experience. Discussion about Artaud in context of God’s Theatre is relevant, because the performers were familiar with his writings, and have admitted to being inspired by his theories (Personal interview with Esa Kirkkopelto, 2017). In this chapter I will analyze certain elements of the Oulu act in context of Artaud’s theories in order to identify the relevancy of Theatre of Cruelty in the given environment. I will also identify the ways in which God’s Theatre went against Artaud’s ideas.

### God's Theatre of Cruelty

The opening line of Artaud's essay "Theatre and Cruelty" from his *Theatre and its Double*, originally published in 1938, states: "We have lost the idea of theatre. And in as much as theatre restricts itself to probing the intimacy of a few puppets, thereby transforming the audience into Peeping Toms, one understands why the elite have turned away from it or why the masses go to the cinema, music-hall and circus to find violent gratification whose intention does not disappoint them" (Huxley & Witts 33). Artaud's interpretation of the society he was living in communicates a dissatisfaction with passivity and entertainment-seeking audiences, who seek fast and simple ways of temporarily escape their everyday lives. Artaud's goal of making theatre gain back its status and significance in society is based on the idea that the audience should not simply experience emotions within the frame of the performance and then return to their mundane lives – theatre should *change* its viewers. In his book *Artaud's Theatre of Cruelty*, Albert Bermel elaborates on Artaud's ideologies: "If theatre is a necessary part of our lives, an activity we cannot forgo without suffering the consequences, it has 'true destiny' that is much more momentous than dabbling in safe formulas that cause its audiences to smile, weep, frown, shudder and remain unchanged. It has an obligation: its every performance must, by virtue, of its cleansing and purifying, transfigure those audiences" (Bermel 14). Artaud's ideal theatre, then, was not a form of entertainment, but rather a form of therapy. The masses should be woken up from their confused and overwhelmed state caused by their chaotic and overwhelming surroundings by "arousing deep echoes within them" (Huxley & Witts 33). Artaud seems to be implying that the contemporary human is estranged from their true, somewhat primal feelings, and that theatre has the potential to fix this. Similar thoughts are expressed by God's Theatre member Jari Halonen in his 1987 interview: "In this society, in our system, theater...has

an ostensible influence. Theater doesn't affect anything anywhere...it is unquestionable that some kind of a transformational dramaturgy needs to be created" (02:51-03:17 Yleisradio).

Bermel explains that some people found the word 'cruelty' restrictive, because it directly implied that the audience will be punished. Artaud defended himself by saying that the punishment is beneficial, because suffering is natural. His intent was to expose the viewers to terror, and then free them from it: "He went to great pains to explain that his theatre was not a form of torture, but a facing of the worst that could happen, followed by a refreshing release from it. At the end the spectator would feel relieved, as if awakening from a nightmare, the evil and terror cleansed away (Bermel 16). God's Theatre lacked the element of release. If the performance was to directly follow Artaud's views, the audience would ideally not have escaped the show, and would simply have left the auditorium with a *sense* of what terror and cruelty might be. Instead, according to the witness statements, the performers blurred the line between the theatrical act and the outside world by forcing the audience to leave the space. The "evil and terror" was literally and figuratively not cleansed by any means after the situation was over. According to a witness, a number of the audience members were cleaning feces off their clothes after exiting the auditorium, while some people proceeded to vomit (Witness statement 1987). The audience members carried the so-called cruelty experienced in the auditorium with them, and were therefore involuntarily made to go through a similar level of suffering with the performers. In a chapter of *Reflections – Essays on Modern Theatre*" titled "Violence in Modern Drama," the author Martin Esslin elaborates on Artaud's concept of cruelty. Quoting Artaud, he writes: "This Cruelty has nothing to do with Sadism or Blood... I do not cultivate horror for its own sake. The Term Cruelty must be understood in its widest sense, not in the material and rapacious sense which it is

usually given” (168). The so-called cruelty of God’s Theatre is therefore very different from the cruelty that Artaud idealizes: the performance included both, sadism and masochism, and also resulted in blood. The performance could also be said to be “material and rapacious” in nature, as the performers were not satisfied with simply implying cruelty, but went even further and imposed themselves on the audience. This is ironic in the sense that Artaud’s concept of material and rapacious cruelty can be interpreted as a reference to the bourgeois class robbing the lower social classes – a capitalist system of oppression which the performers wanted to rebel against. Yet, it seems that God’s Theatre ran contrary to certain aspects of Artaud’s ideologies as a statement rather than as a result of misinterpretation. The audience was, after all, representing the ruling class in the hierarchy of Finland’s theatre circles. It seems that the performers had come to the conclusion that Artaud’s method of making the audience see what cruelty *can* be, and then being released from the simulation as a therapeutic tool, would not be powerful enough. By removing the therapeutic element, God’s Theatre turned the oppressors (the theatre leaders in the audience) into the oppressed (target of an attack), and metaphorical cruelty was transformed into lived, physical terror.

The fact that the group chose to call themselves and their performance “God’s Theatre” suggests a direct reference to Artaud and Cruelty, and the decision can be interpreted in several ways. As stated by Matti Mäkelä, the name is often interpreted to be a mean of provocation: “The name gave the performance its content. You can only imagine: if the performers, the name, the audience and the place would have been different...the performance would not be a subject of thesis statements, but a brief article on the crime section of Kaleva [an Oulu Newspaper]” (125). However, the decision of including the word “God” in their name suggests references to ideas that are separate from Theatre of Cruelty as well. The only direct reference to God in a religious context

was made in the performance that happened before Oulu, when the performers were hanging from crosses as a clear biblical symbol. In this performance that predates the Oulu events, the four actors were more loyal to Artaud's original ideas. Artaud has used re-enactment of Christ on the cross and resurrection as examples of Theatre of Cruelty, stating that "Spiritually cruelty means rigor, implacable application and decisiveness in an action, irreversible, absolute determination. It is wrong to give to the word Cruelty a sense of bloody severity, of the pointless and disinterested pursuit of physical suffering...There is in the exercise of cruelty a sort of determinism of a higher order, to which the executor is himself subject" (Esslin 169) Artaud's cruelty is therefore beyond physical sadomasochistic suffering, but includes the idea of sacrifice. The causer of the cruelty is simultaneously the target, and the suffering needs to have a higher purpose. The imagery of crucifixion in God's Theatre performance which took place in Helsinki's Lepakkoluola included the element of showcasing suffering caused and experienced by the performers themselves. Hanging from the crosses and reading out loud the names of the audience members, the actors also made a powerful reference to their position as theatre students, and possibly also to the rigorous training methods – sacrificing themselves and their bodies to their audience and theatre itself. In the Oulu performance the element of sacrifice could be said to be involved when Jorma Tommila cut his wrists. Yet, the attacks on the audience also turned the audience into an offering, sacrificed for the sake of the statement the performers wanted to make.

### **Language**

In his work, Artaud wanted to move the emphasis from words and lyricism towards non-verbal expression. He writes: "In a word, we believe there are living powers in what is called poetry, and that the picture of a crime presented in the right stage

conditions is something infinitely more dangerous to the mind than if the same crime were committed in life” (Huxley & Witts). Artaud is implying that a poetic representation of violence is experienced to be more harmful than the action being represented through words. The quote suggests that the reason for this is that people have become alienated from everyday cruelty, and react strongly to performer cruelty because to them, it is the only cruelty that they experience. Artaud also seems to be implying that theatre is expected to be an escape from reality, a potentially uplifting experience that can assist the audience in forgetting about the cruelty of the society in which they live. Considering the (Brechtian) ideologies that Turkka incorporated in his directing and teaching methods, the God’s Theatre members were likely to be strongly opposed to the concept of theatre as a form of escapism. Therefore, instead of delivering memorized lines that reflect on the socio-political culture in which the young acting students lived, the performers emphasized physical action on stage.

God’s Theatre did not follow a script – there were no dialogues or monologues. The performance was based on action. The power of words was also a major element in the ideology of Brecht, who thought of deceit as a weapon for oppression used by the ruling classes. In his essay “On the Artistic Originality of Bertolt Brecht’s Drama,” I. Fradkin states: “A lie is always resourceful: it emerges in imposing dress, in a cloak of pretty words, together with skillful demagogy; it attempts to arouse and manipulate the dark emotions and instincts stripped of rational control...But Brecht, dedicated to a sober and severe truth without verbal decorations and suspicious feelings (because of their “good origins”) unfailingly exposes every pose of social deceit and the machinations of the most “ideal life” (Demetz 99-100). In context of Artaud, then, décor if the public is addressed with “pretty words,” their worldview will also eventually be twisted, which results in the people being more easily controllable and passive.

After the performance, Esa Kirkkopelto commented: “The topics that have come out (after God’s Theatre) are topics that people were too afraid to talk about throughout 1980’s Finland. It has something to do with that inflation of words, that it becomes impossible to say anything at all. They’ve said numerous things about this. But what is the situation: they were forced to say the name of God in the news, and that someone lies, which felt simply impossible last Fall, when we lived in a general atmosphere of lying.” (Seppänen 83). For Kirkkopelto, Artaud’s desire to demolish empty and meaningless words was therefore fulfilled in the aftermath of God’s Theatre. The performance made the tabloids and the general public put into words their opinions and reactions to God’s Theatre. In a way, by introducing the topic of theatre ethics to the people, the idea of theatre was gaining its power back. By referring to the “inflation of words” and “atmosphere of lying” Kirkkopelto seems to be reflecting on political as well as capitalist bureaucracy. The “lack of discussion” mentioned by the group members when talking about 1980’s Finland communicates that many issues were kept either kept taboo or only addressed indirectly. Kirkkopelto’s attitude could be summarized in a Finnish idiom “Puhutaan asioista niiden oikeilla nimillä,” which translates to “Let’s address things with their real names.” Artaud, as well, was a firm believer that what we say matters. As Seppänen states: “Artaud understood, unlike many other scholars of his time, that language does not only reflect, but also constructs social reality” (33). Kirkkopelto’s reference to a “general atmosphere of lying” can then be interpreted to be influenced by both Artaud and Brecht, who wanted to strip the society from its social and poetic décor in order to fight the exploiting classes and institutions. Discussion about God’s Theatre did not only reflect on the general public’s reactions to the events, but simultaneously promoted its influence within Finland’s social reality.

## Performing Culture

Artaud was an admirer of oriental non-Western theatre - performance traditions that he experienced to be non-lyrical, yet extremely rhythmic and physical. Artaud's enthusiasm was provoked by a Cambodian dance group he saw in Marseille in 1922, as well as his attendance at a performance by a Balinese dance ensemble at the Colonial Exposition in Paris in 1931 (Sellin 49-50). These experiences inspired Artaud's idea that performances should aspire to provoke strong and soulful feelings in the spectators. However, Artaud's experiences with the cultures that inspired him were very limited, and his fascination towards non-Western traditions was very orientalist. Cultural observations were, in a far less admiring sense, also present in God's Theatre: some aspects of the Oulu performance appear as a reflection on the negative parts of Finnish culture, as well as the training methods of the Theatre Academy. Whereas Artaud saw beauty in cultural traditions, even to the point of appropriation, God's Theatre exposed some of the brutal and tragicomic characteristics of Finnish culture. One of the elements that was present in God's Theatre is the idea of trance, which Artaud was interested in. As Bermel explains: "He admires in the Balinese their ability to reach a state of ecstasy, delirium, intoxication, trance, and to propel their audiences into this same mood of spellbound alertness, a mood one might sum up by imagining oneself awake during a dream" (17). The kind of trance-like state which fascinated Artaud was also present in the Theatre Academy's actor training as well as God's Theatre, even though not necessarily in an ecstatic or positive way. In his article describing the training methods of Turkka in the 1980s, Esa Kirkkopelto introduces the concept of 'horkka' ('ague'). He explains how the students were often traumatized by the rehearsals where the director expected the students to remain in a receptive state. The director would suggest mental images to a student, who was supposed to remain attuned and "allow the external stimulus to modify his or her

own imaginary process” (18). In order to “protect” themselves from the critique that followed if the actor showed any sign of disturbance, the students “seized up” (Kirkkopelto 18). The negative experiences of the rehearsals marked its mark on stage as well. Kirkkopelto elaborates: “The actors tended to escape from the external control, the feeling of insufficiency and shame, either into over-exaggerated psychophysical states or an imitation of the external features of those states: the trembling of the chest, hyperventilation, hysterically repeated gestures, the uncontrolled secretion of mucus, constant weeping, glazed eyes and unarticulated monotonous speech” (19). The state Kirkkopelto is describing does resemble trance and intoxication, an uncontrollable state which the actors of God’s Theatre seemed to have reached in Oulu. As mentioned in the witness descriptions, the performers seemed to be unresponsive to external stimuli.

Regardless of Artaud’s interest in non-Western theatre, his thoughts on performing culture on stage were not limited to re-enactments of foreign traditions. Eric Sellin, the author of *The Dramatic Concepts of Antonin Artaud*, elaborates: “Artaud never sought to bring the oriental mystique intact onto the western stage. He realized that if the occidental theater was to be renewed, it had rather to find again its own language. It was necessary to dig deep into one’s own tradition, not cut across the surface to purloin the tradition of another culture” (Sellin 53). The state of so-called aggressive and even maniac ‘ague’ exhibited in Oulu by the actors should then be interpreted not as a re-enactment of ritualistic or possessed behavior of a foreign culture, but in terms of Finnish culture. When interpreted in context of its cultural origin, the Oulu act can be seen as cynical, or even ironic reflection on some negative aspects of Finnish culture. In a 1987 radio interview, God’s Theatre member Jari Halonen was asked what is the source for the anxiety or angst that resulted in the need for a cry of help. Halonen stated that all great and remarkable art is done for a cause - due to a need of changing something. He said

that once the God's Theatre members' "emerging artist selves" had started arising, he had started to pay more attention to his surroundings. (12:00-12:15 Yleisradio). Halonen elaborated on the culture of violence, especially among the neighborhoods of lower income: "In Kallio [a neighborhood in Helsinki with a bad reputation] you can sense an atmosphere of terrorism clearly as hell. Just today in some editorial, the chief of the Finnish Security Intelligence Service claimed that refugees bring terrorism to Finland...which is ridiculous, because we already clearly have terroristic behavior. And when you think about it: what is the use of producing things like *Dallas*, or any trash that's constantly on TV, that doesn't help at all. After *Dallas* a man will proceed to punch his wife on her face. At least in Kallio. You can tell...that it's not going well. So naturally things like these creates a certain angst within you." (12:15-13:21, Yleisradio). Halonen's commentary refers to domestic violence, which is one of the many issues often caused by the Finnish drinking culture. The violent behavior that took place in Oulu, then, can be even interpreted as a grotesque caricature of an intoxicated Finnish man. Another aspect of God's Theatre referring to Finnish culture is nudity - the performers were naked. Due to the tradition of sauna, nudity is not a taboo in Finland, and it is therefore not surprising that the speculation that followed the Oulu incident did not focus on the exposed genitals. The idea of being naked and showing aggressive behavior is also often associated with alcohol abuse, and creates a certain stereotype of melancholic Finnish masculinity. The concept of trance, then, is present in an ironic, contrary sense – not as a state of enlightenment, but as a lowered level of consciousness caused by intoxication.

Another way in which God's Theatre could be considered to be an investigation of Finnish culture is the notion of black humor, which is often thought to form the basis of the collective Finnish sense of humor in general. Artaud, who wanted to evoke strong and awakening emotions in his audience, believed in the power of surprise. Theatre of

Cruelty allowed humor, suggesting that the performances include “explosive interventions of poetry and humor aimed at disorganizing and pulverizing appearances” (Sellin 99). Even though the Oulu performance itself did not directly intend to be humorous, a 2004 TV interview with Jari Halonen suggests that the humor should have been inferred by the audience. In the interview, Halonen speaks about the audience that was present at the time of the performance, arguing that the spectators should not have taken the act as seriously as they did: “I think that these professionals should have found some sort of artistry within themselves. In particular, they should have laughed at that [the performance]...to clean the white dust off their coats and say: ‘God damn it, that was a great performance!’” (01:14-01:23 Yleisradio) Halonen’s comment suggests that if the spectators had processed their experience of God’s Theatre with a sense of self-irony, they would have communicated a certain artistic maturity. The performance could then have transformed into a kind of an inside-joke of the theatre circles, the spectators being participators rather than victims. Halonen’s comment also suggests that the spectators might simply not be willing to open their eyes to the issues of the society which they live in.

### **The stage and space**

Artaud also believed that the connection between the actors and the audience should be strengthened by making the performance invade the entire auditorium instead of simply occurring on the stage. A section of “Theatre of Cruelty” goes: “And in order to affect every facet of the spectator’s sensibility, we advocate a revolving show, which instead of making stage and auditorium into two closed worlds without any possible communication between them, will extend its visual and oral outbursts over the whole mass of spectators (Huxley & Witts 34). Artaud wanted to turn the illusion of theatre into

a “real” experience by minimizing the so-called fourth wall. The spectators should not be simply witnessing a performance - the performance should surround them. The awareness of the fourth wall, and its ability to create a boundary between the audience and the actor, resulting in isolation of a kind, was also present in the actor training at the Theatre Academy. Esa Kirkkopelto writes: “In the scenic logic of the Turkka school, the boundary between spectator and actor, the forestage or ‘ramppi’, is a sharp and isolating abyss or membrane, a canyon or ‘fourth wall’, over which one has to shout and wave energetically in order to be noticed and understood on the other side” (Kirkkopelto 15). According to Kirkkopelto, the architecture of the typical institutional theatres demanded big expression and gestures. Also for Artaud, motion and gesture were, along with lighting and objects, basic elements of the language of theatre. Sellin explains that Artaud’s ideal stage would be open like in the Japanese Kabuki theatre, not a “room with three walls of naturalistic, illusionistic theater, but rather spread throughout the theater area” (85). This kind of open space would not only bring the performers closer to the audience, but would disable the formation of a fourth wall. In Oulu, the performance took place in a traditional auditorium, a space that represents the opposite of Artaud’s ideal performance space. The auditorium can be seen as a metaphor for the modern society, in which people have lost the connection between each other. Kirkkopelto writes: “In Turkka’s case, it seems obvious that the isolating forestage was not meant to serve the actor’s public solitude but, on the contrary, the effort to overcome that solitude - the isolation and alienation of the modern citizen” (15). Considering the Oulu events, and the actors’ aggressive manner of invading the audience’s side of the space, the performers did not only break the fourth wall - they destroyed it in a war-like manner. Their actions, then, did not only attack the spectators, but the setting and space itself. The auditorium was damaged due to the eggs, feces, fire crackers and the fire extinguisher, but the

damage then becomes a statement against institutionalized theater in a wider sense, the auditorium being an architectural symbol for it.

### **Cry for help, need for violence?**

Artaud's notion of cruelty challenges the common understanding of the concept, often associated with sadistic and violent behavior or terror that communicates evilness. To him, cruelty is a natural part of life, and a potential source for healing within the society. However, he implies that the therapeutic kind of cruelty is only possible when produced and applied through theatre. He ends his essay on the Theatre of Cruelty by stating: "We must find out whether sufficient production means, financial or otherwise, can be found in Paris, before the cataclysm occurs, to allow such theatre (which must remain because it is the future) to come to life. Or whether real blood is needed right now to reveal this cruelty" (Hudson & Witts 35). This statement suggests that for Artaud, physical violence is the last resort - an unwanted, desperate and unintellectual way of solving issues. Therefore, it can be assumed that Artaud would not have approved the actions of God's Theatre. In the 1987 interview, after a discussion about the state of Finnish society and theatre industry, Jari Halonen is asked whether the only tools for change that the new generation desires are anarchism and terrorism. Halonen responds: "...not the only ones by any means, but they are good as hell...and some kind of cries for help...at that point when nothing else works, you will absolutely end up doing that" (08:30-08:55 Yleisradio). The comment, when interpreted in context of Theatre of Cruelty, suggests that the God's Theatre members experienced that they had no choice but to transform the natural, desired and somewhat metaphorical cruelty into sadomasochistic, violent cruelty. Therefore, the Oulu act might have been a bitter

expression of frustration caused by the realization that the idea about theatre being significant in the society and having the potential of influencing it, which was a central element in the ideologies at the Theatre Academy, was not only idealistic, but utopian. Even though the ideologies introduced to the God's Theatre members through their training were all based on social activism of a kind, neither Turkka nor the other theorists necessarily encouraged the actors to attack the audience. Even though the incident has clear parallels to the theatrical ideas of Turkka, Brecht, as well as Artaud, the outcome of their performance seems to be more tied into the early days of performance art. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

#### IV. GOD'S THEATRE AND THE FUTURIST MANIFESTO

As argued in the previous chapter, God's Theatre has parallels with Artaud's concept of Theatre of Cruelty. Yet, certain aspects of the Oulu performance communicate ideas promoted by the 20<sup>th</sup> century Italian Futurist movement. In "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism," originally published in 1909, Marinetti encourages his readers to take action in a rather aggressive way. Similarly to Artaud, he also wanted to let go of logical thinking and focus on sensuality and physicality (Huxley & Witts 294). Marinetti provides a list of 11 instructions which would function as the basis of Futurism. The first statement goes: "1. We intend to sing the love of danger, the habit of energy and fearlessness" (Apollonio 21). The concept of fearlessness was also present in the actor training of the Theatre Academy in Helsinki. As discussed in the chapters before, the instructors maintained an atmosphere of fear at the rehearsals, and a successful actor was defined in terms of their ability to "get over" their fear. When teaching, Turkka talked about the "fear of mediocrity," especially in context of the fear of failure actors might experience around the opening night of a performance. Kirkkopelto elaborates: "What was essential was that the fear was not denied, disparaged or avoided. In relation to the potential threat from the audience, acting is a matter not just surviving but also overcoming: becoming courageous, fearless" (11, 2017). "The love of danger," as the manifesto states, was also clearly present in the Oulu performance - the sadomasochistic nature of the act, as well as the performers' decision of attacking the audience regardless of the potential legal trouble, communicates that the members of God's Theatre wanted to take serious risks.

The third statement that Marinetti makes goes: "Up to now literature has exalted a pensive immobility, ecstasy, and sleep. We intend to exalt aggressive action, a feverish

insomnia, the racer's stride, the mortal leap, the punch and the slap (Apollonio 21). Marinetti communicates his frustration towards literature acting as a source of hedonism and passivity, and therefore expressing emotions similar to the ones that the God's Theatre members expressed towards theatre. The actors experienced that the theatre business, which was gradually becoming more centered around the entertainment business in the 1980's Finland, is in desperate need of a new generation that will revolutionize the art and shake the society out of its sleep. The Oulu act physically expressed the aggressive action, "the punch and the slap" that Marinetti refers to. This goes back to Artaud's idea of poetic representations of cruelty having very little potential to heal the society - in order to make changes, one needs to accept and experience cruelty.

The seventh instruction of Marinetti's manifesto reads: "Except in struggle, there is no more beauty. No work without an aggressive character can be a masterpiece. Poetry must be conceived of as a violent attack on unknown forces, to reduce and prostrate them before man" (Apollonio 21). Marinetti expresses thoughts similar to Artaud's, who believed that cruelty is natural, and any work that simply strives for beauty is meaningless. Both Artaud and Marinetti speak of violence, but the Futurist concept of violence appears to be more literal and physical, in the nature of God's Theatre. In most of the interviews, the God's Theatre members express anxiety about the struggle they saw in the society that surrounded them. As stated by Jari Halonen, the acting students felt like they had no choice but to use aggression and violence as a tool for making their voices heard (08:30-08:55 Yleisradio). Halonen's commentary on the class differences in Finland, as well as the way in which theatre was becoming more commercialized, communicates his willingness to fight for societal changes, even if it requires taking risks.

The ninth statement of Marinetti's list goes: "We will glorify war - the world's

only hygiene - militarism, patriotism, the destructive gesture of freedom-bringers, beautiful ideas worth dying for, and scorn for woman” (Huxley & Witts 291). Marinetti’s ideas are based on the concept of war - fighting for something you believe in instead of simply communicating your thoughts. The tenth statement of the list elaborates on the institutions Marinetti wants to attack: “We will destroy the museums, libraries, academies of every kind, will fight moralism, feminism, every opportunistic or utilitarian cowardice” (Huxley & Wittson 291). Marinetti’s negative attitude towards institutions is similar to the anger Turkka felt against institutionalized theatre, especially after being fired from the National Theatre. Marinetti also seems to suggest that feminism is a form of cowardice. Misogyny was an underlying element in Turkka’s teaching as well. The so-called “neutral body” was heterosexual and male, and the aggressive physicality that the students were encouraged to strive for was, according to the people enrolled in the acting program in the 1980’s, very masculine. According to God’s Theatre member Esa Kirkkopelto, the “toxic” masculinity that the acting technique required became a mindset that took him several decades to get rid of (Personal interview 2017). However, it is important to note that God’s Theatre did not have the element of misogyny that is present in the Futurist manifesto. In fact, in a 2017 article written by God’s Theatre member Jari Halonen criticizes the people who reacted to the performance hysterically, but states: “In reality, there (Oulu performance) were some far braver people present that day, women who didn’t whine about anything. On the contrary, they thanked us for the performance” (Iltasanomat 10). Even though there are no records of any audience members thanking the performers, Halonen’s reflection on the events communicates that the group’s mentality did not include hatred towards women. Elevated respect towards women can also be seen as one of the ways in which God’s Theatre members went against Turkka’s patriarchal attitudes.

Overall, Huxley and Witts state that Futurism was a political ideology rather than an art movement. Determined to destroy the past and focus on the younger generation's energy to move forward, it is no surprise that theatre was one of the tools adapted by the Futurist movement: "Theatre, as a major performance form, was of interest because of its immediacy, and the potential physical involvement of the spectators; it was able to maximise the sensory and minimalise the intellectual" (Huxley & Witts 294). The Futurist approach to theatre therefore has parallels to Turkka, Brecht, as well as Artaud through its aim to involve the audience and to reject logic in order to focus on the physical and sensual experiences. However, the clearest connection between Futurism and God's Theatre is the element of provocation by rebelling against the rules of the society. The first Futurist Evening that took place in Trieste, Italy, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January in 1910, unfolded very similarly to the Oulu performance. Organized by Marinetti, the event which consisted of powerful rants about patriotism and the glory of war, and the Futurist manifesto, took place in Trieste because the city was central to the Austro-Italian political conflict of the time. Austrian consulate made a complaint to the Italian government, after which the following Futurist Evenings were patrolled by the police (Goldberg 13). Marinetti also encouraged Futurist painters to go out on the streets to "launch assaults from theatres," which often resulted in the spectators throwing things at the participators. Most of the Futurist Evenings followed arrests and convictions, which Marinetti believed to be a positive reception. To him, audience should be despised – applause was a sign of a mediocre and dull performance. In his other manifesto titled "Pleasure of Being Booed" Marinetti argues that booing simply means that the audience is not blinded by "intellectual intoxication" (Goldberg 16). This mentality strongly resonates with God's Theatre members' dislike of the passivity they associated with Finland's atmosphere in the 1980's. Their direct attack on the audience that consisted of

theatre professionals was simultaneously an attack on the “intellectual intoxication” and elitism which, to them, was a reflection of consumer capitalism: in the 2017 article, Halonen summarizes the founding of God’s Theatre by stating: “At the end of the 1980’s a small group of theater students was terrified to see that so-called commercial forces have taken control over the arts” (Iltasanomat 10). The need to cause chaos, then, can be seen as an attempt to “wake the audience up” from their intoxication caused by materialism-infused escapism. In fact, Marinetti’s aim was to purposefully infuriate the spectators. He encouraged the performers to double book the auditorium, coat their seats with glue, and “to do whatever came to mind on stage” (Goldberg 16). These techniques resemble the actions enlisted on the plan which the God’s Theatre members composed prior to the Oulu performance (Appendix 4, 5). In both cases, the main idea seems to be the same: to give the power to the performers through attacking the audience.

Even though God’s Theatre’s actions resemble some of the fierceness and radicalness of Marinetti and the Futurists, the purposes of the Oulu act were fundamentally different. Whereas it appears that the Futurists wanted to completely destroy and demolish all existing cultural institutions by using the framework of art, God’s Theatre wanted to reflect on the state of the theatre institution by questioning the direction it was headed towards. The group members were, after all, members of a major institution themselves - The Theatre Academy of Helsinki. Three out of four of the members also returned to the institution, which means that the group did not strive for a movement that exists outside of the school in order to go against it. The certain rage communicated by each group also has a different nature and goal. The ideas listed in the Manifesto of Futurism communicate an admiration towards chaos and war, and idolize the state of violent rage. God’s Theatre, having labeled their act as a cry for help, experienced their violent behavior to be a final solution of a kind. Whereas the Futurists

wanted to destroy and silence the voices of their so-called opponents and take control, God's Theatre draw attention to the fact that their voice, and acting students' voices in general, are often silenced within the industry and the society as a whole.

## CONCLUSION

It has been 30 years since theatre students Esa Kirkkopelto, Jari Halonen, Jorma Tommila and Jari Hietanen climbed on the stage of Oulu City Theatre and started a discussion which still has not been erased from the minds of Finnish people. The debate on the ethics and motives of God's Theatre is not limited to the media outlets that scandalized the events in 1987 – the performance has been, and still occasionally is, discussed through tabloid articles, anonymous internet comments, and scholarly writing. To me, the research process has not only been a fascinating investigation of the incident itself, but also a self-reflective experience. Having studied acting and theatre scholars myself, and occasionally felt frustration with the field, I wanted to explore the topic without forgetting that the members of God's Theatre were around my age during the events. If approached simply as an act of vandalism, or even terrorism, the Oulu act can easily be interpreted as thoughtless behavior, or even mere rudeness and stupidity caused by the actors' young age. This paper, as my contribution to the ongoing discussion on the topic, then encourages its readers to approach God's Theatre as a part of the tradition of art activism, rather than as a scandalous event that exist independently of the ideologies and training background the group members were influenced by.

My conclusion is, very simply put, that the Oulu act was the result of frustration caused by the mentally and physically rigorous training and a certain pressure to make changes in the society that the group members felt as aspiring artists. The central element of God's Theatre, which is strongly present in the ideologies of Turkka, Artaud, and the Futurists, seemed to have been the conclusion that in order for theatre to become alive and powerful again, one needs to take action by going against the existing rules and

systems, both in theatre and the society in a wider sense. God's Theatre was not only an attack on the audience members who happened to be present in the auditorium – it was action taken in order to fight back the group members' anxiety and the forces causing it, fueled by sincere concerns about the world they lived in. Whether the way they chose to protest was right or wrong then becomes rather irrelevant – a performance that would have pleased the audience, or left them slightly offended at most, would have been another act of powerless theatre which the group wanted to resist. The Oulu act was, and still is, a sign that theatre is more than an art form that exists for the sake of escapism and entertainment: it doesn't only reflect on the society, but also has the potential to transform it. Most importantly, in context of God's Theatre, theatre has the power to make people reflect on the world through the discussion it provokes.

The young students burning desire to have their voices heard later became fulfilled through their life careers in Finland. All four members of God's Theatre are now influential professional performers and directors. Jorma Tommila has had a successful acting career in the Finnish film industry. Jari Hietanen has made a living through acting on stage, films, and TV, and has also directed and written movies. Jari Halonen, the only member of the group who has agreed to give interviews about God's Theatre during the past decades, has directed six full-length movies, and worked as a theatre director. In context of God's Theatre, Esa Kirkkopelto's career is the most fascinating one. Kirkkopelto proceeded to be a theatre director and playwright, and is now a Professor of Artistic Research at the Theatre Academy of Helsinki, where he never returned as a student after the 1987 temporary suspension. He was invited for the professor position by the academy in 2007, where he then conducted a collective research project on psychophysical actor training. According to his profile on the academy's website, his research focuses on the “deconstruction of the performing body” both in theory and

practice. During a personal interview, Kirkkopelto did not want to directly address God's Theatre due to the troublesome aftermath of the events. However, he stated that his entire career, including his PhD degree, "not about God's Theatre, but still all about it at the same time." According to Kirkkopelto, he would not be where he currently is professionally if things had unfolded differently in 1987 (Personal Interview, 2017). The group members now either teach or direct younger actors and colleagues, and will therefore pass their legacy onto the next generation of Finnish theatre makers.

God's Theatre itself will, regardless whether the performers themselves wanted it or not, exist as a relevant part of Finnish cultural history as long as it is being talked about. The Oulu events were not only significant due to the provocative and scandalous aspects which the media wants to focus on. When approached as a reflection of the time period rather than a thoughtless mistake, God's Theatre remains a valuable window into Finnish society, as well as the Theatre Academy, at the end of the 1980's. Focusing merely on the Oulu events without investigating the tensions leading up to it is therefore comparable to talking about an effect while ignoring its cause. This discussion then becomes similar to the kind of theatre that God's Theatre criticized – done for mere entertainment to escape the issues the society imposes on us.

## Appendix



Image 1. *God's Theatre in Lepakkoluola*. Courtesy of Harri Peronius.



Image 2. *God's Theatre in Oulu*. Courtesy of Eeli Aalto.



Image 3. *God's Theatre in Oulu*. Courtesy of Eeli Aalto.

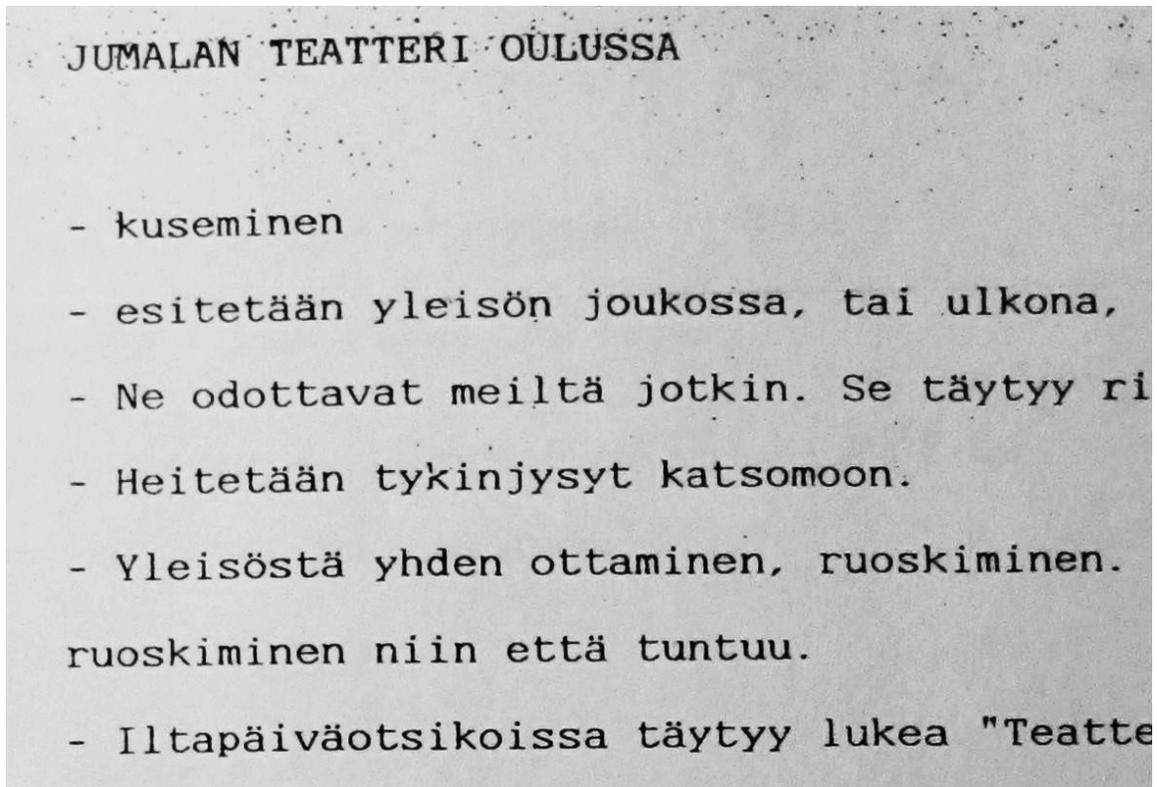


Image 4. *Script for God's Theatre.*

Translation:

#### GOD'S THEATRE IN OULU

- Peeing
- Performed within the audience, or outside,...
- They are expecting something from us. It must...
- Firing cannons at the audience.
- Taking an audience member, whipping. Whipping so that they feel it.
- The tabloids must say...

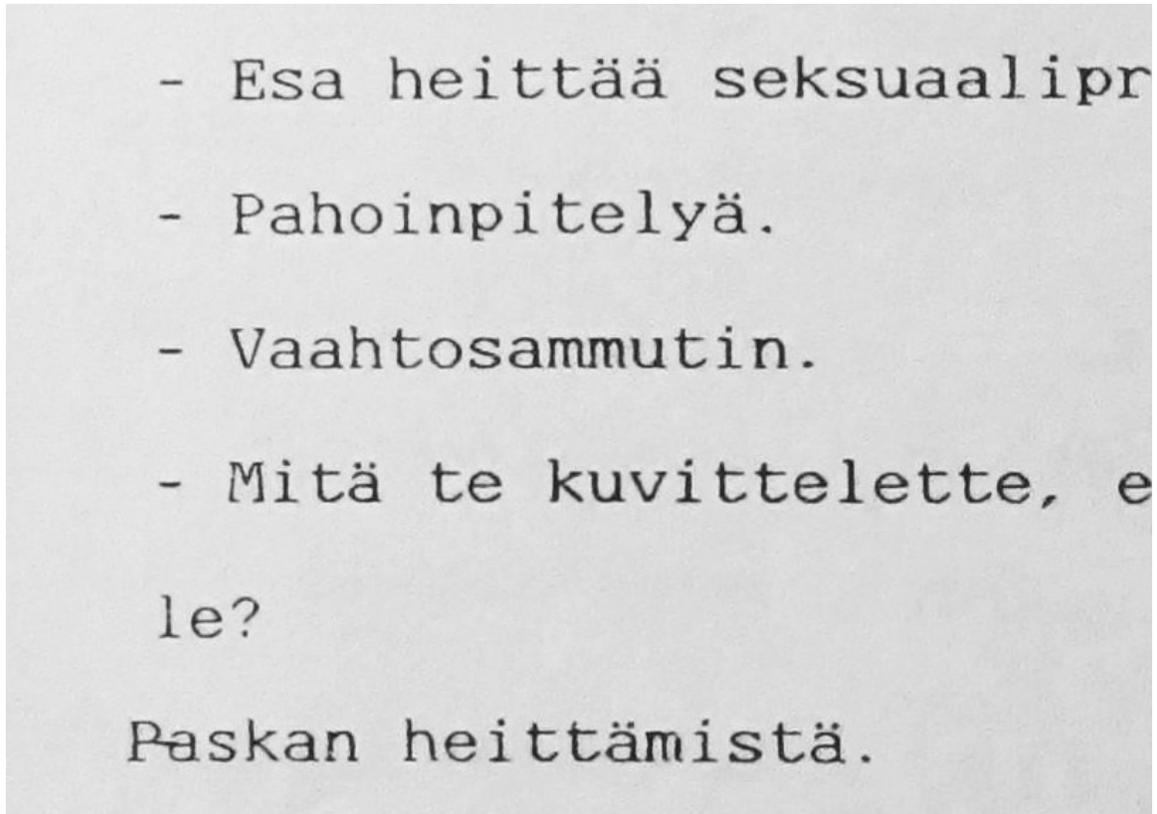


Image 5. *Script for God's Theatre.*

Translation:

- Esa throws sexual...
- Harassment.
- Fire extinguisher.
- What do you imagine,...
- Throwing shit.

## Works Cited

- Appolonio, Umbro, ed. *Futurist manifestos*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973. Print.
- Arminen, Ilkka. *Juhannustansseista Jumalan Teatteriin - Suomalainen julkisuus ja kulttuurisodat*. Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, 1989.
- Bermel, Albert. *Artaud's Theatre of Cruelty*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2001. Print.
- “Björstrand esittää: Turkalle ja Parviaiselle potkut!” *Pohjalainen*, 22 Jan. 1987: 13. Web. Accessed March 15 2017.
- Bradley, Laura. *Brecht and Political Theatre - The Mother On Stage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Print.
- Bäckman, Johan. “Jussi Parviaisen muistelmat paljastaa Jumalan teatterin.” *Suomen Antifasistinen Komitea*. Blogspot, 8 Nov. 2011. Web. Accessed 11 March 2017.
- Esslin, Martin. *Reflections - Essays on Modern Theatre*. New York: Anchor Books, 1971. Print.
- Goldberg, Roselee. *Performance Art – From Futurism to the Present*. New York: Harry N Abrams, 1988. Print.
- Halonen, Jari: “Jumalan teatterin jäsen Jari Halonen selittää: Mitä tapahtui 30 vuotta sitten?” *Iltasanomat*, 14 Jan 2017. Web. Accessed March 15 2017.
- Hietala, Heidi. “Yksi epäonninen sattuma pilasi Jussi Parviaisen teatteriuran - seuraukset piinanneet 30 vuotta: “Mietin, miksi nousen sängystä ylös.” *Iltasanomat*, 17 Jan 2017. Web.
- Huxley, Michael, and Noel Wits, ed. *The Twentieth-Century Performance Reader*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2002. Print.

“Jari Halonen ja Jorma Tommila kertovat Jumalan teatterin teatterinäkemystä”

*Tänään 10:00* from Yleisradio, 11 Dec 1987. Audio interview. Web. Accessed 3 Mar. 2017.

“Jari Halonen ja Jumalan Teatteri” *Persona non Grata* from Yleisradio, 2004. TV

interview by Timo Seppänen. Web. Accessed 9 Mar. 2017.

“Jumalan teatteri 1987-01-17” *EELI AALTO BLOGI*, uploaded by Eeli Aalto, 18 Feb

2009. Blogspot. Web. Accessed 4 Mar. 2017.

“Jumalan teatteri.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Huuhahtaja, 4 Oct. 2007. Web. Accessed 12

Mar. 2017.

“Jumalanteatteri tiedotustilaisuus 1987.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Kukka Kaali, 7 Feb.

2017. Web. Accessed 12 Mar. 2017.

Kallinen, Timo. *Teatterikorkeakoulun synty - Ammattikoulusta Akatemiaksi 1971-1991*.

Helsinki: Like, 2004. Print.

Kirkkopelto, Esa. “Psychophysical Zombies in the Ruins of the Bourgeois World: On the

Pedagogical Theatre of Jouko Turkka.” *Performing Ethos* 6.1-2 (2015): 9-23.

Print.

Koskinen, Anu. *Tunnetiloissa - Teatterikorkeakoulussa 1980- ja 1990-luvuilla*

*opiskelleiden näyttelijöiden käsitykset tunteista ja näyttelijöiden*

*tunnetyöskentelystä*. Master’s thesis, Teatterikorkeakoulu, 2014. Web.

Meriläinen, Pilvi. “Jussi Parviainen Jumalan Teatterista: “Se oli Terroriteko.” *Kansan*

*Uutiset*, 28 Jan. 2017. Web. Accessed 20 Mar 2017.

Mäkelä, Matti. “*Tämä Ei Ole Taidetta*” - *Tabujen rikkominen kissantaposta mustaan*

*marsalkkaan*. Helsinki: Kustanneosakeyhtiö Siltala, 2016. Print.

Mäkinen, Juha. *Inho Teatteria Kohtaan - Yövieraat-teatterin historia 1988-2001 (ja*

*vähän päälle*). Helsinki: Nälkäteatteri ry, 2014. Print.

Peronius, Harri. *Indiaphoto.org*. Web. Accessed 21 Mar, 2017.

Riikonen, Joel. "Jumalan teatteri vuonna 1987 johti tuomioon pahoinpitelystä." *Helsingin Sanomat*, 2 Jan. 2016. Web. Accessed 20 Mar 2017.

Sellin, Eric. *The Dramatic Concepts of Antonin Artaud*. Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 1968. Print.

Seppänen, Janne. *Tehtävä Oulussa – Tulkintoja Jumalan Teatterin Avantgardesta*. Tampere: Tampere U P, 1995. Print.

Weber, Carl, and Erika Munk. "Brecht as Director." *TDR (1967-1968)* 12.1 (1967):101-7. Print.