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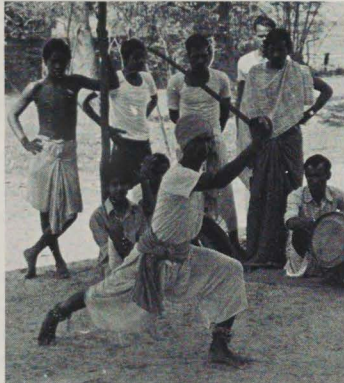
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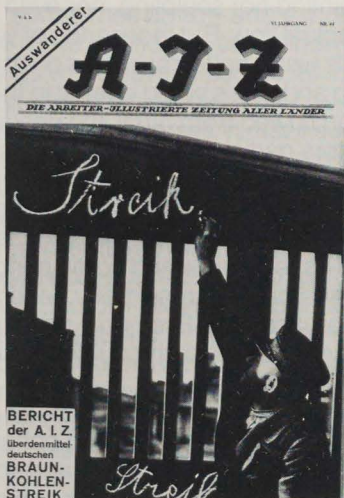
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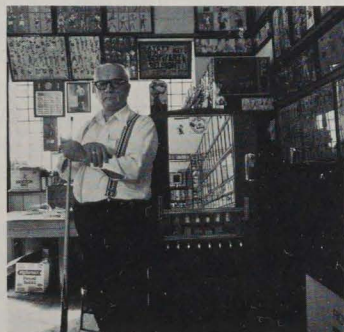
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Restoration of Behavior

Richard Schechner

Part I

Restored behavior is living behavior treated as a film director treats a strip of film. These strips can be rearranged, reconstructed; they are independent of the causal systems (social, psychological, technological) that brought them into existence: they have a life of their own. The original "truth" or "motivation" of the behavior may be lost, ignored, or contradicted. How the strip of behavior was made, found, developed may be unknown or covered over, elaborated, distorted by myth. Originating as a process, used in the process of rehearsal to make a new process—a performance—the strips of behavior are not themselves process but things, items, "material." The strips can be of long duration as in some rituals, or of short duration as in some gestures, dance movements, or mantras.

Restored behavior is used in all kinds of performances from shamanism, exorcism, and trance to ritual theater and aesthetic theater, from initiation rites to social dramas, from psychoanalysis to newer therapies such as psychodrama, transactional analysis, and primal. In fact, the use of restored behavior is the main characteristic of performance. The practitioners of all these arts, rites, and healings assume that some kinds of behavior—organized sequences of events, scripted actions, known texts, scored movements—exist separately from the performers who "do" these behaviors. Because the behavior is separate from those who are behaving, the behavior can be stored, transmitted, manipulated, transformed. The performers get in touch with, recover, remember, or even invent these strips of behavior and then rehearse according to these strips, either by being absorbed into them (playing the role, going into trance) or by existing side-by-side with them (Brecht's *Verfremdung Effekt*). The work of restoration is carried on in rehearsals and/or in the transmission of behavior from master performer to novice. Understanding the work of rehearsals, and the subjunctive mood used there, is the surest way to link ritual process to aesthetic process.

Richard Schechner, theater director and author, teaches performance theory at the School of the Arts, New York University. Among his books are Environmental Theater and Essays on Performance Theory. He was founder-director of The Performance Group and among his productions with the Group were Dionysus in 69, The Tooth of Crime, Mother Courage and Her Children, and The Balcony. He has done extensive intensive observation of performances and rehearsals in Asia, especially India, Indonesia, Papua-New Guinea, and Japan. At present he is working on three things: a theatrical work based on Shakespeare called Richard's Lear, a book on performance theory, and a detailed study of the Ramlila of Ramnagar, India, a 31-day annual cycle play.

Copyright Richard Schechner, 1981.

Restored behavior is "out there," distant from me in time as in the psychoanalytic abreaction, or in sphere of reality as in the encounter between Rangda and Barong in Balinese dance-drama, or by aesthetic convention as when Hamlet rejects his mother, Gertrude, or by tradition as in the brave way a Gahuku boy during his initiation accepts the ordeal of having sharp, jagged leaves slice the inside of his nostrils bringing much blood, or the shy way a New Jersey "blushing bride" behaves at her wedding even though she and her groom have lived together for three years.

Restored behavior is symbolic and reflexive. These difficult terms are reducible to the same principle of self-in/as-other: the social or transindividual self. Symbolic and reflexive behavior is the hardening into theater of social, religious, medical, educational, and aesthetic process. Performance means: never for the first time; it means: for the second to the nth time. Reflexive means to see the self in the self-and-other

Neither painting nor sculpting, nor even writing, uses behavior in actual flow. But thousands of years before movies, rituals were made from strips of restored behavior so that action and stasis could coexist in the same act. Great comfort flowed from ritual: the deeds of people, gods, ancestors participated simultaneously in being and becoming, in having been, are, and will be. These strips of behavior were replayed many times. Mnemonic devices ensured that the performance was "right"—as rehearsed or as received—and some performances have been transmitted across many generations with few accidental variations. Even now the terror of the first night is not the presence of the public but that mistakes are no longer forgiven.

This constancy of transmission is all the more astonishing when you realize that restored behavior involves choice. Animals repeat themselves, and so do the cycles of the moon, but only when the actor can say "no" to an action is there the possibility of restored behavior. Even the shaman who is called—the trancer falling into trance—gives over or resists; and there is general suspicion of he who too easily says yes. There is a continuum from the not-much-choice of ritual to the lots-of-choice of aesthetic theater. But in aesthetic theater this freedom is narrowed during rehearsals. Rehearsals function to build a score, and this score is a "ritual by contract" limited to the duration of the run.

Restored behavior can be put on as a mask or costume is put on. Its shape can be seen from the outside, and changed. That's what theater directors, councils of bishops, master performers, and great shamans do: change the performance score. The performance can change because it is not a "natural event" but one, as Turner (1969) says, in the subjunctive mood, in what Stanislavski called the "as if." Existing as second nature, restored behavior is always subject to revision. Its "secondness" is also its negativity, subjectivity, "anti-ness."

Part II

Put in personal terms, restored behavior is "me behaving as if I am someone else." But this someone else may also be "me in another state of feeling/being." Performing my dream, reexperiencing my childhood trauma, showing you what I did yesterday. Also social actions: the enactment of events whose origins can't be located in individuals, if they can be located at all. Sometimes these events are attributed to collective individuals like the Books of Moses, the Iliad of Homer, the Mahabharata of Vyas; sometimes they belong anonymously to folklore, legend, myth. Restored behavior offers to both individuals and groups the chance to become someone else "for the time being," or the chance to become what they once were. Or even, and most often, to rebecome what they never were.

Three performative systems are shown in Figure 1. In 1→2, I become someone else, or myself in another state of being. There is only moderate displacement—few rehearsals, sometimes none—and my performance is a solo. Two or more individuals can perform 1→2 simultaneously, as when several people fall into trance together. The astonishing thing about Balinese *sanghyang* is that each dancer has by herself/himself so incarnated the collective score that solo dances cohere into a group performance. Upon recovering from the trance, dancers are often not aware that others were dancing; sometimes they don't remember their own dancing. I've seen similar meshing of solo performing into a group event in a black church in Bedford-Stuyvesant during Easter week, 1978. As the gospel singing reached a climax, more than a dozen women and men "fell out" into the aisles at the same time. Each was dancing in trance alone—but the whole group was dancing together. The heat of the event was controlled by the singers who definitely were not in trance. Peter Adair's film of a snake-handling sect in West Virginia, *The Holy Ghost People*, shows the same thing.

In 1→3→4 a restored event is created from a distant place or an actual past. This is common enough when the action is frozen, as in the dioramas of animal and human habitats at the American Museum of Natural History. Strictly speaking, these are restored environments, not behaviors. But recently, and increasingly, action is being added to the environments. I will have a lot more to say later about "restored villages" and "theme parks," where fact and fantasy are freely mixed. Some zoos, reacting to the disappearance of species in the wild, now run "breeding parks" that replicate the vanishing wilderness. It soon may be that the African veldt is better preserved near San Diego than in Africa. In the breeding park near Front Royal, Virginia, the concern to keep the environment pristine is such that all visitors are excluded. Of course, the breeders, veterinarians, and ethologists are allowed in.

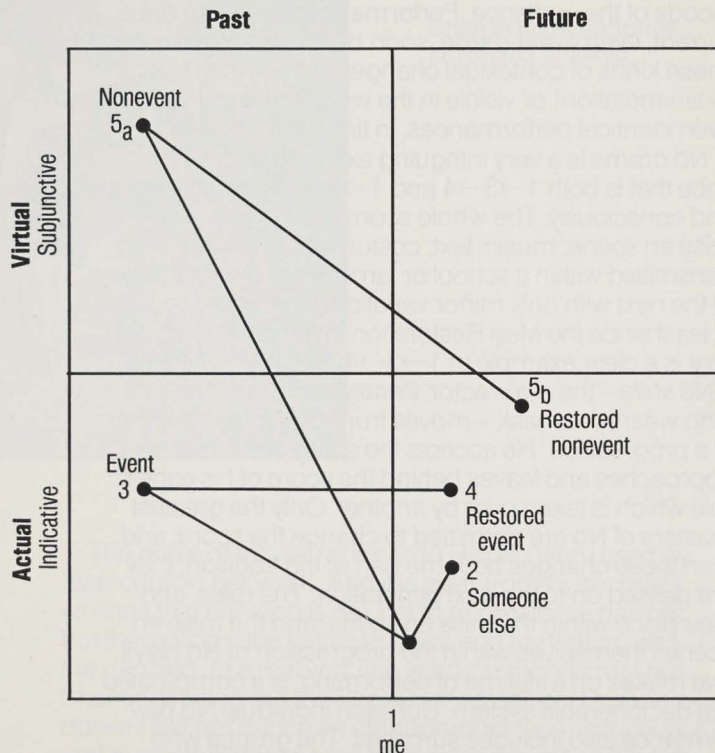


Figure 1 Restored events are placed in the future because rehearsals are a means of collecting behavior and "keeping" it for the performance-to-be. Once performances begin these are, of course, in the present.

Many traditional performances are 1→3→4—or performances that are kept in repertory according to a strict adherence to the original score. When the Moscow Art Theater visited New York in the mid-1960s they claimed to present Chekhov according to Stanislavski's original *mise en scène*. When I saw several plays of Brecht at the Berliner Ensemble in 1969, I was told that Brecht's *Modelbuchs*—his detailed *mise en scène* instructions—were followed to the letter. Certainly classical ballets have been passed on through generations of dancers with minimal change. But even the strictest attempts at 1→3→4 frequently are in fact examples of 1→5_a→5_b; 1→3→4 is very unstable simply because even if human memory can be improved upon by the use of exact notation, a performance always happens within several contexts, and these are not easily controllable. The social circumstances change, as indeed is obvious when you think of Stanislavski's productions at the turn of the century and the Moscow Art Theater today. Even the bodies of performers—what they are supposed to look like, how they are supposed to move, what they think and believe—change radically over relatively brief periods of time. Not to mention the reactions, feelings, and

moods of the audience. Performances that were once current, even avant-garde, soon become period pieces. These kinds of contextual changes are not measurable by labanotation¹ or visible in the written musical score. Even identical performances, in time, are not identical.

Nō drama is a very intriguing example of a performance that is both 1→3→4 and 1→5_a→5_b simultaneously and consciously. The whole score of a Nō play—its *mise en scène*, music, text, costuming, masking—is transmitted within a school or family from one generation to the next with only minor variations. In this sense, Nō, at least since the Meiji Restoration in the nineteenth century, is a clear example of 1→3→4. During his lifetime a Nō *shite*—the main actor, literally the “doer,” the one who wears the mask—moves from one role to another in a progression. He accepts the score of the role he approaches and leaves behind the score of his earlier role which is taken over by another. Only the greatest masters of Nō are permitted to change the score, and then these changes become part of the tradition: they are passed on to the next generation. The roles, and their place within the *mise en scène*, and the *mise en scènes* themselves within the progression of Nō plays that makes up a lifetime of performing, is a complicated but decipherable system. But each individual Nō performance also includes surprises. The groups who come together to do a Nō play are made up of representatives of many different families, each with their own traditions, their own “secrets.” The *shite* and chorus work together; the *waki*, the *kyogen*, the flutist, the drummers each work separately. True to its Zen roots, a Nō drama staged traditionally occurs only once, finding in the absolute immediacy of the meeting among all its constituent players a unique power. A few days before a scheduled performance the *shite* calls all the participants together and outlines his intentions. The first time the whole thing is done is before the audience during the actual performance. Like the Zen archer, the *shite* hits his mark or he doesn't.

During the performance—through signals coming from the *shite* to the musicians and others—variations occur: routines are repeated or cut, emphases changed, tempos accelerated or slowed. Even the selection of what costume and mask to wear depends on the *shite*'s opinion regarding the mood of the audience—an opinion he forms by watching the audience assemble or by gauging their reactions to the first plays of a full Nō program, which may include five Nō and four comic *kyogens* and last seven hours or more. Those Nō performers, made into a “company” for foreign tours, where they repeat the same plays over and over, performing with the same people, complain of boredom and the lack of creative opportunity. Traditionally, then, each performance of Nō, and every variation during a performance, is the leading edge of a long tradition formed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, almost

extinguished by the mid-nineteenth, and flourishing again now. This leading edge is both 1→3→4 and 1→5_a→5_b.

As interesting as Nō, though much more local, is Shaker dancing. The Shakers, a religious sect brought from England to America in 1774, are nearly dead now, but about the time of the Civil War numbered about 6000 members. Its ritual included song and dance. Originally these were done for the Shakers themselves. But:

As Shakerism grew, the religion and the social organization it engendered became less ecstatic and more rigid and institutionalized. The dances and songs, which were the main form of worship, also changed from involuntary ecstatic and convulsive movements with glossolalia occurring during spells of altered states of consciousness to disciplined choreographed marches with symbolic steps, gestures, and floor plans. These rituals became elaborate and fixed dance “exercises.” A steady stream of tourists came to the Shaker communities to watch these spectacles. [Youngerman 1978:95]

The Shakers had stopped dancing by 1931 when Doris Humphrey, one of the pioneers of modern dance in America, choreographed *The Shakers*. I don't have the time to go into the details that Youngerman assembles demonstrating the deep affinities between the Shakers and *The Shakers*. Clearly Humphrey did her research. Youngerman (1978) says: “Humphrey's choreography embodies a wide range of Shaker culture incorporating many direct references to actual Shaker dances.”

Humphrey's dance is still in the repertory of the José Limon Dance Company, where I saw it in 1979 and again in 1981. The dance is also labanotated, which means that other companies can dance Humphrey's dance much the way any orchestra can play a Beethoven symphony. In fact, in 1979, the Humphrey dance was performed by the Louisville Ballet at Shakertown, a reconstructed Shaker village at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky. This may not be the only example of an aesthetic dance being a main way of physically re/membering (=putting what has been dis/membered back together) an extinct behavior. Shakers dancing is 1→3→4; Humphrey's dance is 1→5_a→5_b. The Humphrey dance as a way of finding out what the Shakers did is restored behavior. The Shaker story goes on. Not only is the Humphrey dance in existence, both through the Limon Company where she danced and through labanotation, but some people have reconstructed the actual Shaker dances from original sources.

Robin Evanchuk visited a few surviving Shakers in 1962 and 1975. They had long since stopped dancing, but by eliciting their memories and those of people who knew Shakers, and by drawing on the research of



Shite in mask performs
Nō drama in Tokyo.

Edward Deming Andrews,² Evanchuk reconstructed the “authentic” dances. As of 1977 three groups “have learned and presented this reconstruction,” including her own group, the Liberty Assembly. Evanchuk is always bringing new dancers in; she does this by thorough orientation:

During the teaching sessions, the dancers must overcome their fear of appearing ridiculous due to the strangeness of the movements and the intense emotion. In addition to a strong orientation, I find that constant repetition of the movements, which allows the dancers to gradually become comfortable with them, tends to lessen their embarrassment and moves the emphasis from how the dancers feel to concern for how the Shakers themselves felt when they were involved in the exercises. [Evanchuk 1977-1978:22]

So we have three different but related performance traditions: the Shakers themselves, an art dance by Humphrey that continues to be performed both by her company and others, and an “authentic” reconstruction of Shaker dancing by Evanchuk. Of Shaker dancing in the nineteenth century I can say nothing, except to guess that it started as a performance of the $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$ type but soon became a $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ as tourists visited the Shakers to watch them dance. Clearly both Humphrey’s *The Shakers* and Evanchuk’s reconstructions are performances of the $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ type. For these are performances based on performances. One is “art”; but dance anthropologist Youngerman feels that Humphrey’s dance comes close to the heart of the sect, and she reports that

One of the last two Shaker brothers, Ricardo Belden, then 87 years old, saw the 1955 reconstruction of *The Shakers* at Connecticut College and reportedly was “enthralled” by the performance. He later wrote to Humphrey offering to come to New London the following summer to teach Shaker dances. What greater tribute could there be? [Youngerman 1978:106]

The notes of this same Ricardo Belden were used by Evanchuk in her work. And it is clear from Evanchuk’s writings that her wish is not just to re-create the dances but the feelings: the fervor, ecstasy, and joy that go with the dancing. In a real way she wants to reconstruct not Shaker dancing but the Shakers themselves. Humphrey doesn’t call her dance an ethnographic reconstruction, and Evanchuk doesn’t call hers artworks; they both fall between these too neat categories. They are both restorations of behavior of the $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ type.

$1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ is a performance based on previous performances—so much so that the totality of all previous performances is called “the original.” Just as Evanchuk says she is reconstructing “authentic” Shaker dances, I can ask: which dances, on which occasions, before what audiences, with whom as dancers? “The original” is almost always a bundle of performances conventionally represented as “an” original. Where there is an original, and it has been scored and notated, contextual and historical changes make even the exact replication of the original event different than the original event. Thus technically the Moscow Art Theater productions, the Brecht productions, the Humphrey *Shakers* danced by the Limon Company are $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$. But in practice they are all $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. Other examples of $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ include theater when the *mise en scène* is developed during rehearsals; rituals that actualize,³ commemorate, or summarize myth (though probably it’s the other way around: myths are word-versions of rituals); ethnographic films shot in the field and edited at home; versions of ancient forms, neoclassical or other, that purport to recover old works for modern audiences. In $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ the event restored has been forgotten, never was, or is overlaid with so much secondary stuff that its historicity is lost. History is not what happened (that’s its press) but what is encoded and performed.

1→3→4 is unstable. Many performances that start out as, or seem to be, 1→3→4 are really 1→5_a→5_b. Sometimes masters of an art reconstruct the scores they receive; these changes enter the score and become part of the tradition. This ability to accept change is a characteristic of a living tradition. Nō drama is fixed, but performers who achieve *hana* ("flower," or mastery of their roles) introduce changes some of which are passed on to their successors: Nō actors are also Nō directors and teachers. But 1→5_a→5_b is not restricted to these kinds of changes.

It's the work of rehearsals to prepare the behavior of performers so that it seems spontaneous, authentic, unrehearsed. I don't mean only in the psychological way familiar to Western naturalism. Authenticity is a question of harmony/mastery of whatever style is being played, Chekhov or Chikamatsu. For the Brechtian actor to show he is acting is no less difficult than for the Stanislavskian actor not to show he is acting. A story-teller like Bob Carroll plays with his audience—joking, offering them beer, stopping in mid-sentence to welcome a latecomer. Watching Carroll many times, I learned that these gestures, these genuine interactions, are part of a set scheme, strips of behavior. What Carroll does/says is fixed, the moments where he inserts these strips, the persons he directs them to, change according to circumstances. When planning an open rehearsal, a time when spectators can see the work process in raw form, I discuss with the performers what should and should not be shown. The presence of the public not only changes the way I work but what I work on. If a performer says she's not ready to show something, I don't force the issue, as I might in closed rehearsal.

During rehearsals a past is invented or assembled out of bits of actual experience, fantasies, historical research; or a known score is recalled. Earlier rehearsals and/or performances quickly become the reference points, the building blocks of performances. Useful recollections are not of "how it was" but of "how we used to do it." The "it" is not of the event but of an earlier rehearsal. Soon reference back to the original, if there is an original, is irrelevant. How Christ offered his disciples wine and matzo at the Last Supper (a seder) is irrelevant to the performance of the Eucharist. The church ceremony has its own history. The language of church ceremony has never been the language Christ spoke, Aramaic-Hebrew. Nor are the gestures or costume of the priest modeled on Christ's. And if the church had chosen another of Christ's gestures as the keystone of the mass—say, the laying-on of hands to heal the sick—this would have developed its own traditional script. Indeed, in some pentacostal churches the laying-on of hands is the key representation of Christ, the demonstration of His presence. Or the taking-up of serpents. And each of these gestures has developed its own way of being performed. What happens over centuries to the various church services, happens much more quickly during rehearsals.

This is not just a thing of the West. John Emigh⁴ reports an example of 1→5_a→5_b from the Sepik River area of Papua-New Guinea. In the village of Magendo, sometime before the performance Emigh saw, an uninitiated boy named Wok wandered into the House Tamboran (men's house, forbidden to the uninitiated) and was killed. The story goes that a bird came to the boy's mother in a dream and told her what had happened and where to find Wok's body. The mother accused her brother of causing Wok's death. She said her brother had painted a dangerous spirit image in the House Tamboran. The brother accepted the blame, the House was torn down, a new one built, and the spirit of Wok resided in the new house. Wok is also credited by the villagers with teaching them how to build better canoes, how to catch fish, and how to plant crops. Emigh goes on:

Now there are several things about this story and its preparation for the event at hand that I find fascinating. First is the immediate and physical sense of relationship between past and present. The old House Tamboran stood *there* across the swamp. The reeds the child was found in was over *here*—people are very specific about the geography involved, and also about improvements in village life made possible by the intervention of Wok's spirit. Performing the dance at this time would be an act of renewal, of reconnection of past and present.

But what's rehearsal at Magendo like? How does it use the material of Wok's story?

As the rehearsal proceeded an old man would stop the singing from time to time to make suggestions on style or phrasing, or, just as often, just as much a part of the event being rehearsed, he would comment on the meaning of the song words, on the details of the story. The rehearsal was at once remarkably informal and absolutely effective.

Questions of performing style are combined with interpretations of the story. The historical-legendary Wok is being transformed into his dance. A virtual or nonevent in the past—which, I grant, may have been itself based on something that happened, the death of a child—is made into a concrete, actual present. But this is rehearsal: the present is something being made "for tomorrow," for the future when the dance will be danced.

As the rehearsal proceeded men and women would occasionally drift by. The assembled singers, drummers, and witnesses practiced the movements of the dance that accompanied the mother's lament. Lawrence, a school-teacher who spoke English, explained that this was an "imitative" dance, a dance in which both men and women imitated the movements of birds performing activities that loosely correlated to the events described in the mother's lament.

Wok is represented by his mother's lament, and the lament is represented by dancers, both men and women — and they are dancing as birds.

The dancers imitate birds because the clan the story is significant to is a bird clan, has a bird as its totem. The story is at once distanced — put at an artistic remove — by the translation of the women's lament into gestures performed by both men and women acting as birds and made more immediate in its impact to all the people of the village by this artistic displacement.

More immediate because the bird clan exists now. A woman's lament for a murdered son is transformed into a dance of men and women imitating birds. A nonevent of the past — the killing of Wok (by a spirit?) — is used as the jumping-off place for a theatrical event of the future: a bird dance commemorating a mother's lament. I say "nonevent" because the killing of Wok, however it happened, even if it happened, is not what makes him significant to Magendo. It's as if the role of hero culture-bearer was there waiting for someone to play it, and Wok was selected. Wok's spirit taught the people how to fish, plant, build ceremonial houses. We don't know whether Wok's murder was the precipitating event or whether his role as culture-bearer meant that he had to be killed. It doesn't much matter. It can't be found out. And the Wok who is the hero bears no necessary relationship to that other Wok who was murdered, except that by now they are both part of the same script, the same strip of behavior. The important event — the event that Magendo needs — is neither Wok's death, nor his skills, nor his mother's lament: yet the performance of the dance that is none of these brings them all together. The performance is itself the text.

The rehearsal Emigh saw is, like so many performances elsewhere, doubly reflexive. The scheme of time is worked with as a single fabric, to be rewoven according to needs uncovered during rehearsals. And the attention during rehearsal is as much toward the technique of the dance as it is toward what the dance signifies. The rehearsal looks backward to Wok and forward to its finished performance. Rituals disguise themselves as restorations of actual events, when in fact they are restorations of earlier rituals. The ritual process as rehearsal is a shuttling back and forth between the nonevent and the restored event to be performed, between the significance of the event (as story, obligatory act, prayer, etc.) and the details of technique that make up the performance as performance. The rehearsals create the nonevent even as the nonevent is apparently creating the rehearsals. It is not because of Wok that the people of Magendo dance, but because of their dance that Wok (still) exists.

Look again at Figure 1. The fetch, or distance traveled, increases so that the trip $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ is greater than either $1 \rightarrow 2$ or $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$. This increase is in scope of time as well as scope of mood. $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ links past, rehearsal time, and performance time both in the sub-

junctive and indicative moods. (I use " $5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ " because the nonevent and the restored nonevent are versions of one another, not independent events.) Doing a known score is $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$. But even this known score has behind it a $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$: a time when the score was being invented, being put together, in flux.

The model has implications for a unified theory of ritual. The repetition of individual or social facts in the future indicative ($1 \rightarrow 2$) is ritual in the ethological sense. The repetition of a given or traditional performance score ($1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$) is ritual in the social and religious sense. It is also those aesthetic performances — Nō drama, a performance of medieval music on original or facsimile instruments by the Pro Musica Antiqua — that share a necessity for unchangeability. The collective invention of new performances, or the substantial revision of traditional performances, that draws together all times and moods ($1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$) is ritual in the symbolic sense. A particular performance can combine or be between modes — especially between $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$ and $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$; that's what Nō drama does. The model is meant to provide guideposts in a dynamic system. Performances of the type $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ may seem to be recollections of the past, but actually they are conjunctions whose center cannot be located in any time or mood but only in the whole bundle, the full and complex interrelation among them all. As performances they are played in the indicative mood, but as performances of something they are in the subjunctive mood. The difference between animal ritual and human ritual is that animals are always performing what they are, while humans almost always perform what they are not.

Part III

A very clear example of a restoration of behavior of the $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ type is the *agnicayana* that Frits Staal and Robert Gardner filmed in 1975 in Panjal, Kerala, India. Staal writes:

This event, which lasted 12 days, was filmed, photographed, recorded, and extensively documented. From 20 hours of rough footage, Robert Gardner and I produced a 45-minute film, *Altar of Fire*. Two records are planned with selections from the 80 hours of recorded recitation and chant. Photographs of the ceremonies were taken by Adelaide de Menil. In collaboration with the chief Nambudiri ritualists and other scholars, I am preparing a definitive account of the ceremonies, which will appear in two illustrated volumes entitled: *Agni — The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*. . . Vedic ritual is not only the oldest surviving ritual of mankind; it also provides the best source material for a theory of ritual. . . Hubert and Mauss. . . used the Vedic animal sacrifice as source material for a construction of a ritual paradigm. However, they did not know that these rituals are still performed, so that many data were inaccessible to them. [1978]⁵



Altar of Fire: Constructing the altar.

This was written in 1978; by now most of Staal's program has been executed. Note also that he regards the agnicayana as a chief source of ritual paradigm: the performance exists to feed scholarship. Indeed, in his work Staal develops a theory of ritual based on the 1975 performance. I am not concerned here with that theory because of an irony: were it not being filmed, photographed, and recorded the agnicayana would not have been performed. The impetus for the 1975 agnicayana came from America, not India; and most of the funding originated outside India. I doubt that various agencies would have responded with cash to pleas by Nambudiri Brahmans for support of a ritual that was too expensive for them to mount unaided. In fact, it was the threat of extinction, the sense that "this is the last chance to record this event," that created the event.

Yet, accurately, the film's narrator proclaims that the viewer is seeing "probably the last" of its kind. Actually the 1975 agnicayana was either the one after the last of a series or the first of a new series. Before 1975, agnicayana was last performed in the 1950s. Behind them is an undocumentable but safely presumed set of performances reaching back maybe the 3000 years Staal and Gardner claim. But maybe not: it's not clear when agnicayana was performed before the 1950s. The transmission of the ritual — both its *mise en scene* and its text — was largely oral, from man to boy, older Brahman priest to younger, employing a number of mnemonic devices used by Vedic reciters.

The ritual is very expensive by Kerala Indian standards. Many priests are employed, a ritual enclosure has to be built, an altar of fired brick assembled, implements gathered, and so on. The rite itself is archaic: long ago Vedic ritual gave way to later forms of Hinduism; Brahman priests had to reconstruct the agnicayana from a variety of sources: memory, Sanskrit texts, local opinion. Also, and decisively, the agnicayana involves animal sacrifice, now repugnant to many, if not most, Indians in Kerala. A great row erupted over whether or not to include the required sacrifice of fourteen goats. The debate was sharp, often political, with local Marxists being most strongly opposed to blood sacrifice. Finally, the goats were spared, and rice wrapped in leaves was substituted. It's therefore ironic when Staal speaks of "Vedic animal sacrifice...still performed."

Thus the whole contextual situation of the performance of the agnicayana in 1975 is more multiplex than Staal says. For the 1975 performance re-presents the earlier performances while being the single seed of a whole forest of future possibilities. And many of these possibilities are far from Kerala in time, place, and ideational style. This multiplexity is depicted in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Time	Original events	in between	Media events	in between	Scholarship
"Then" 1	Agnicayana, 1950s and earlier: the oral tradition				
"Now" 2		Deciding how to do the ritual: consulting priests, scholars, locals, filmmakers, etc.			
2		The shooting script			
2		Agnicayana, 1975			
2			Rough footage being shot; Still photos being shot; Recording sound		
2		People who came to see the ritual			
			People who came to see the filming		
2		People who came both for ritual and filming			
2		Row over sacrificing the goats			
"Later" 3				Finished film Finished book Finished recording	
"Indefinite Future" 4					Theory of ritual

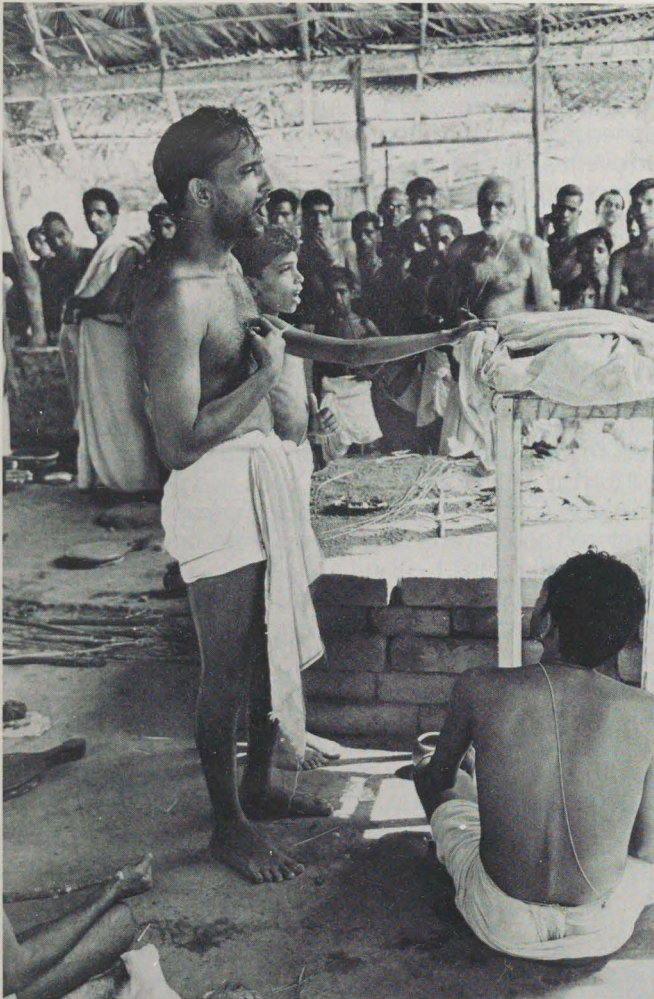
In this figure time is relative to events. The film of the 1975 agnicayana becomes the "now" for all future persons who experience the ritual performance through this medium. And, as Staal says, it is likely that most people will experience agnicayana this way. Even if a living tradition continues, it is probable that the stagers in Kerala will refer to the film. The filming, as distinct from the film—that is, the process of "getting the 1975 performance on film"—is in fact a generating event. It generates events behind it: planning, consultations with ritual specialists, assembling people, material, and animals; and it generates events ahead of it: items of Euro-American culture like films, books, cassettes, and items of scholarship, such as theories of ritual shared by Euro-Americans and Indians. The media event—the actual shooting of the film in 1975—attracted locals and internationals, many of whom came as much to see the film being made as the agnicayana being performed. The whole bundle in Figure 2 between original events and scholarship is, in Turner's vocabulary, both liminal (an authentic ritual event) and liminoid (a voluntary performative event). Insofar as the 1975 agnicayana is liminoid it serves purposes far beyond what the agnicayana was when it was solely part of the Kerala oral tradition. Furthermore, in restoring the agnicayana considerations of how best to document the performance were always in the minds of Staal-Gardner; after all, they are as much movie producers as anthropological observers. Their shooting script shows how deeply their instruments intervened in the event. Not that passive recording of events is possible, even with the notebook and pencil; read your Heisenberg.

Like many rituals the agnicayana involves some very dense hours of theatricality—much simultaneous action occurring over a fairly wide range of spaces. But the camera and microphone are instruments of focus; and certainly finished film and sound cassettes are outcomes of a rigorous selective/editing process. As performed in 1975 the agnicayana took 120 hours, plus many more hours of preparations. Staal-Gardner could shoot only 20 hours, and their script says that for "numerous episodes filming depends on remaining quantity of raw stock."⁶ *Exigency über alles*. The 20 hours of raw footage were edited into a 45-minute film.

As best I can gather—and by analogy with other ritual events I've attended in India—agnicayana flows unevenly over its 120 hours. It has the feel often of synchronous not diachronous time; spatially it gathers itself in climaxes and is dispersed among several points: the main altar, the subsidiary altars, the home of the chief sacrificer, the purifying waters, and so on. But filmmaking works by taking bits and then later assembling them, and recombining them, into a diachronous whole. Filmmaking is a Frankenstein process of breakdown and stitched-together assemblage. Staal-Gardner's shooting script is no exception to this process. The 12-day ceremony is broken into episodes convenient to the camera. And the script is very specific about who the main performers are, and what's of interest:

Altar of Fire: Priest offers oblation with clarified butter from a long wooden ladle into the fire on the completed eagle-shaped altar. Photo by Adelaide de Menil





Altar of Fire: Priests recite mantras over a bundle of soma stalks, which ask the bundles to grow, on stool south of the domestic altar. Photo by Adelaide de Menil

Advaryu 1 [chief priest]: as stage manager he performs most of the rites and commands the others. He is where the action is....

The final killing of the goat within the Camitra will not be filmed on this occasion [day 1] since this would upset many people; but hopefully on a later occasion....

[For day 2] No more than 30 minutes of filming for the entire day.

These procedures—the media event itself—are only faintly perceived in *Altar of Fire*. Edmund Carpenter, one of the visiting scholars lassoed for the filming, says on camera that three kinds of events are going on simultaneously: the agnicayana, the social event surrounding the ritual (common in India), and the media event. *Altar of Fire* spends virtually all its time on the agnicayana. There is a saying in India: “Every *lila* [performance] is surrounded by a *mela* [fair and market].” Media events are even more rare than *lilas*: so the 1975 agnicayana attracted a large number of onlookers, merchants, soothsayers, beggars, entertainers. But *Altar of Fire* is carefully nonreflexive. Except for a few feet here and there, concentrating on the visiting Western scholars, Staal-Gardner used the old fly-on-the-wall technique: “Gosh, it sure is lucky we got here in time to shoot this.”

No one in the film goes into the controversy surrounding the sacrifice of the fourteen goats. Can there be agnicayana without blood sacrifice? How did the priests feel about the issue? What were the political questions surrounding the argument—that is, were “progressive” Marxists pitted against “reactionary” ritualists; and did the “ugly American” come in for a beating? Kerala has long had a Marxist government; Kerala’s literacy rate, 80 percent, is the highest of any Indian state. The issue of the goat sacrifice was debated hotly in the area, and its press, during the filming.

Altar of Fire doesn’t hint at any out-of-sequence filming, but as the script indicates the sacrifice was put off from day 1 to a later time; and then effigies were used instead of goats. Was the ceremony using these effigies filmed out of sequence and later edited into sequence? The film is mute on this; everything seems to be “in place in time.” And, most importantly, except for the shots of the visitors there is no sense that a film is being made. *Altar of Fire* is designed to make the viewer feel “I am here at the enactment of a rare, ancient ritual.” But after I saw the movie several times, more questions arose. There is an old priest—a Walter Huston of a man, with a scraggly beard and a canny sparkle—a casting director’s dream of a “wise old folksy priest” who explains in English much of what’s going on. But he isn’t the chief priest, who is much younger and doesn’t look the part (to American eyes). Why was the old man chosen? There are other evidences of “film logic” as understood by American filmmakers taking over.

Such procedures raise important questions. We need no renewed educating to the idea that the instruments and means of observing and recording things so deeply affect what's being observed that a new situation arises, one in which the observer is included in the same bundle as the observed. And we are used to questioning the authenticity of performances like the 1975 agnicayana, as Robert A. Paul (1978) did and as Staal (1979) answered. But if the discussion stops here, we miss a chance to recognize in the Staal-Gardner film another harbinger of an important shift toward the theatricalization of anthropology. I mean this in a double sense.

First, by replacing the notebook with the tape recorder, the still camera with the movie camera, the monograph with the film, a shift occurs whereby we understand social life as narrative, crisis and crisis resolution, drama, person-to-person interaction, display behavior, and so on. As Staal-Gardner say succinctly in their shooting script: "the advaryu 1 as stage manager...is where the action is." More than that, media create action.

Second, this shift of paradigm has direct consequences in the world it maps. The shift in anthropology is part of a larger intellectual movement in which understanding of human behavior is changing from clear differentiation between cause and effect, past and present, form and content—and the literary, linear modes of discovery, analysis, and presentation—to the theatrical paradigm. The theatrical paradigm uses editing, rehearsal, deconstruction/reconstruction of actuality: the creation and organization of strips of behavior. These techniques

blur temporal and causal systems, creating in their stead bundles of relations that attain only relative clarity, and that only within contexts that themselves need definition. An effect may precede its cause. Something that happened later—in the shooting of a film, in the rehearsal of an event—may be used earlier in the finished performance, as when effigies of goats are edited into the sequence of the agnicayana with the result that they appear before it was actually decided to use them at all.

Look at the chart (Figure 2) mapping the time scheme of the agnicayana. The original events—the ritual as performed in the 1950s and earlier—and the scholarship purporting to interpret this ritual are separated by a cluster of performance events. The ritual was not a function of Kerala culture 1975, but of Euro-American culture. Scholars now writing on Vedic ritual, however, will turn to *Altar of Fire*, and the book and recordings. Probably scholars will talk of the agnicayana, not of the "restored agnicayana." Scholars will assume that original events of the class $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$ are being discussed. But actually the 1975 agnicayana is $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ event. It was restored in order to be filmed. It exists liminally between the original series that ended in the 1950s and the media events of the Staal-Gardner project. *Altar of Fire* ends with the narrator announcing that the viewer has seen what is probably the last performance of agnicayana. Not true. The viewer has seen the first of a new series of performances, one in which the event has been restored, compressed, edited; and in which the event will never change because it is "on film." When people

Altar of Fire: Priests, while chanting "soma sequences," mark on a cloth the number of rounds that have been sung. According to Staal, the configuration of the twigs represents the structure of the chant.



want to "see" the agnicayana, they will not go to Kerala; they will rent *Altar of Fire*. Scholarship using the agnicayana will not be based on the series that ended in the 1950s, about which very little is known, but on the material gathered by Staal-Gardner. And few, if any, scholars will examine the raw footage, the full set of tapes; they will instead look at the movie and listen to the recordings released by Staal-Gardner. Theories will be built on items extrapolated from strips of restored behavior.

But is this any different than building theories on writings? Writings are more easily recognized as interpretations than restorations of behavior are. Theories are presented in the same bundle as the data on which these theories rest. References are freely made to earlier interpretations and theories. Often, writing is clearly reflexive. I don't prefer writings to restorations of behavior as a way of scholarship. But restorations are not yet understood as thoroughly as writing. Therefore, at present restorations leave more mess than writing. People use restorations and consider them $1 \rightarrow 2$ or $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$ when actually they are $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ is hard to deal with, ambivalent, with no clear temporal sequence, no fixed causal system.

Why not think of Staal-Gardner as film producers-directors? Their work in India is more easily understood when seen in performative terms. An earlier event is "researched" and/or "remembered" — actions equivalent to rehearsals. A performance is arranged that presumably duplicates this earlier event. An event created in the future (the film *Altar of Fire*, 5_b) is projected backward in time (the "original" agnicayana, 5_a) and restored "now" in order to be filmed (what happened in Kerala in 1975, 1). The items in this bundle cannot be separated; they must be considered as a unit. The so-called prior event — the "original" agnicayana is not strictly prior — certainly did not "cause" the 1975 performance. The 1975 performance was caused by the project of making a film. So in a sense the future is causing the present which, in turn, makes it necessary to research, remember — rehearse — the past. But this past — what is turned up by the rehearsal process — determines what is done in 1975, and those events are used to make the movie. The movie then replaces the "original" event; the movie is what we have of the past.

Sometimes the restored event can spark a new series of original performances. Alan Lomax (1973) reports the experience of Adrian Gerbrands:

Gerbrands by chance screened a documentary on Eastern New Guinea mask-making for a native group in New Britain. The audience reacted powerfully during and after the screening. They, too, had once known how to make such masks and should, they felt, try their skill again, especially if their art too would be filmed. After Gerbrands had filmed the group's mask-making, a lone native approached him with the offer to perform a very important and defunct ceremony if he would film it. Naturally again Gerbrands used his

camera. On his next trip to New Britain, the other men in the village insisted on seeing the film and were so distressed at the poor quality of the filmed ceremony that they vowed forthwith to reenact the whole ceremony, masks, costumes, ballet, feasting, and all, but at a length suitable for filming. This event and its resultant film were such a success locally that the ceremony is now being celebrated every year just as in former times.

Ceremonies like this, and like the agnicayana, exist between fact and fiction: they are a new class of facts. Simulations, models, and theatricalizations are part of this new class. Their in-betweenness links them to Turner's Talmud on Van Gennep's idea of "liminality" and to what D. W. Winnicott calls "transitional objects and phenomena." More on these later.

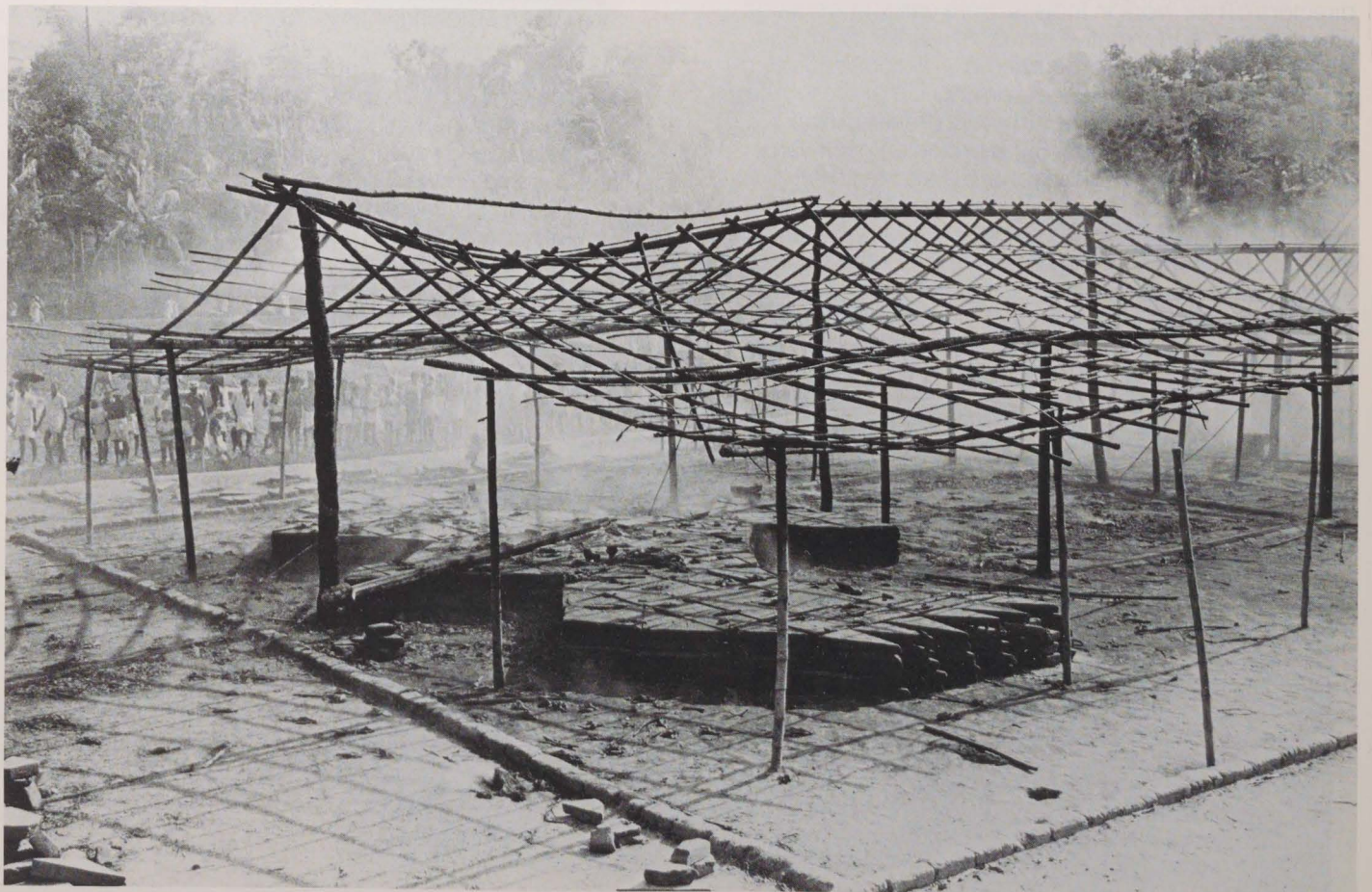
Sometimes restorations clash with the very agencies that promote them:

In an effort to boost tourism, tribesmen in New Guinea have offered to turn cannibal again. They told committee members of the Mt. Hagan Show, the big territorial festival, that they were prepared to eat human flesh at the show in August [1975]. The tribesmen added, however, that they did not want to kill any of their enemies and would make do instead with a body from the local hospital morgue. A government officer at the meeting politely but firmly declined the tribesmen's suggestions.

The rhetoric of the Los Angeles *Times* story is the key to the cultural contexts in conflict here. To American readers "tribesmen" = savages, "committee members" = Europeanized savages, "government officer" = the New Civilized Power. The story is full of sly humor, delectably alluding to a taboo appetite. That's why it was picked up by a major American paper. But the locals have logic on their side. If old dances are being restored, why not the cannibal feast? The locals know how far they can go: the body will come from an approved repository of corpses, a hospital, a representation of the New Civilized Power. The Power has its role to play too: it must demonstrate far and wide that, well, New Guinea is and isn't New Guinea anymore. So the story "gets out," and the sponsors of the Mt. Hagan Show have their cake without having to eat it too.

Altar of Fire: Crowds estimated at 10,000 to 15,000 gather for the final day and the burning of the altar.

Altar of Fire: At the end of the ritual—and the climax of the film—is the burning of the ritual enclosures. After the fire the only thing left is the eagle-shaped altar.



Part IV

Restorations needn't be exploitations. Sometimes they are arranged with such care that after a while the restored behavior heals into its presumptive past and its present cultural context like a well-set bone. In these cases a "tradition" is rapidly established and judgments about authenticity hard to make. Let me give two examples from India.

Bharatanatyam, the classical Indian dance, is traced back not only to the ancient text on theater, *Natyasastra* (ca. 2d century B.C.-2d century A.D.), that describes dance poses but also to temple sculptings that show these poses. The best known of these sculptings is the group at the fourteenth-century temple of Nataraja (Siva, king of dancers) at Cidambaram, south of Madras. Most writings assume a continuous tradition connecting *Natyasastra*, temple sculptings, and today's dancing. According to Kapila Vatsayan, India's leading dance theorist and historian:

Bharatanatyam is perhaps the oldest among the contemporary classical dance forms of India. . . . Whether the dancer was the devadasi of the temple or the court-dancer of the Maratha kings of Tanjore, her technique followed strictly the patterns which had been used for ages. [1974:15-16]

Whenever the contemporary forms of Bharatanatyam and Manipuri and Odissi evolved, two things are clear: first, that they were broadly following the tradition of the *Natyasastra* and were practicing similar principles of technique from their inception, and, second, that the stylization of movement began as far back as the 8th and 9th century. . . . Some contemporary styles preserve the characteristic features of this tradition more rigorously than others: Bharatanatyam uses the basic adhamadali [postures] most rigorously. [1968:325, 365]

But in fact it's not known when the "classical" Bharatanatyam died out, or even if it ever existed in the form in which it is described by scholars and danced by contemporary dancers. The old texts and the sculptings surely show that there was some kind of dance, but nothing was remembered of this dance, not even its name, when moves were made to "revive" it at the start of the twentieth century.

There was a temple dance called *sadir nac* danced by women of families hereditarily attached to certain temples. According to Milton Singer (1972:172):

The dancing girls, their teachers, and musicians performed not only on the occasion of temple festivals and ceremonies, but also for private parties, particularly weddings, and at palace parties. Special troupes of dancing girls and musicians were sometimes permanently attached to the courts.



Purulia Chhau. Festival at Matha, 1976. Photo by Richard Schechner

Some dancing girls were prostitutes: temple prostitution was widespread. The British and some Indians campaigned from the start of the twentieth century to stop temple dancing. In 1947 Madras State outlawed it. Long before that the number of *devadasis* (dancing girls) dwindled. Connected with the campaign to outlaw *sadir nac* Dr. V. Raghavan, scholar and critic, coined the term Bharatanatyam to describe the dance he and dancer Rukmini Devi were developing. They wanted to use *sadir nac* but not be identified with its bad reputation. They cleaned up *sadir nac*, brought in gestures based on the *Natyasastra* and temple sculptings, developed standard teaching methods. They claimed that Bharatanatyam was very old. And, of course, a conformity to ancient texts and art could be demonstrated: every move in Bharatanatyam was measured against the sources of which it presumed to be a living vestige. The differences between *sadir nac* and the old sources were attributed to degeneracy. The new dance, now legitimized by its heritage, not only absorbed *sadir nac*, but attracted the daughters of the most respectable families to practice it. Many study Bharatanatyam as a kind of finishing school. It is danced all over India by both amateurs and professionals. It is a major export item.

The "history" and "tradition" of Bharatanatyam—its roots in the ancient texts and art—is actually a restoration of behavior of the $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ type. 5_a = the "ancient classical dance." But this dance is a construction based on the restoration work of Raghavan, Devi, and others. They used *sadir nac* not as a dance in its own right but as a faint image of some ancient glory. But that "ancient classical dance" is a projection backward in time: we know what it looks like because we have the Bharatanatyam. Soon people believed that the ancient dance led to Bharatanatyam when, in fact, the Bharatanatyam led to the ancient dance. An original ancient dance is created in the past in order to be restored for the present and future. There is no single source for Bharatanatyam, only the whole bundle $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$.

Purulia Chhau, a masked dance of the semiarid region of rural Bengal adjoining Bihar and Orissa, is an athletic dance-drama of many leaps, somersaults, and stampings. The drummers of the Dom caste beat huge kettle drums and long oblong drums, taunting the dancers into frenzied twisting jumps, screams, and mock battles. Rivalry among villages competing at the annual festival at Matha is fierce. According to Asutosh Bhattacharyya (1972), Professor of Folklore and Anthropology at Calcutta University, who has devoted himself entirely to Chhau since 1961, the Purulia region is inhabited by many aboriginal tribes whose

religious customs and social festivals show very little resemblance with those of Hinduism.... But, it is also a fact that the Mura of Purulia are very ardent participants in Chhau dance. With practically no education and social advancement the members of this community have been performing this art which is based on the episodes of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the Indian classical literature most faithfully, in some cases, for generations.... Sometimes an entire village, however poor, inhabited exclusively by the Mura, sacrifices its hard-earned resources for the cause of organizing Chhau dance parties. [p. 14]

This presents a problem for Bhattacharyya: "the system which is followed in Chhau dance today could not have been developed by the aboriginal people who practice the dance. It is indeed a contribution of a higher culture keenly conscious of an aesthetic sense" (*ibid.*: 23). He guesses that the drummers, the Dom, an outcaste group, originated Chhau, for the Dom were at one time a "highly sophisticated community, ... brave soldiers in the infantry of the local feudal Chiefs" (*ibid.*: 24). Thrown out of work when the British pacified the region in the eighteenth century, failing to farm because of what Bhattacharyya calls the "vanity of their past tradition of warriors," they were reduced to their present untouchable status: workers of hides, drummers. But their war dance lives on as Chhau.

Some interesting prejudices sparkle from Bhattacharyya's story. Aboriginal peoples have no developed aesthetic sense; high-caste dancers are transformed into low-caste drummers because warriors are too proud to farm (how about using their swords to steal land and then becoming landlords, a time-honored practice?); great amounts are spent on dance parties, but these compete at Matha, the annual festival initiated by Bhattacharyya in 1967, not an ancient tradition at all. As he says:

In April 1961 I visited an interior village in the Purulia District with a batch of students of the Calcutta University and for the first time observed a regular performance of the Chhau dance.... I found that there was a system of this dance and a definitely established method which was well-preserved. But it was on the decline due to lack of patronage from any source whatsoever. I wanted to draw attention of the world outside to this novel form of dance. [*ibid.*:Intro.]

And that he did. All-star parties of Chhau dancers have toured in Europe in 1972, in Australia and North America in 1975, and in Iran. They have danced in New Delhi, and as Bhattacharyya exults:

I attracted the notice of Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi [the Government agency established to encourage and preserve traditional performing arts] to this form of dance. It took immediate interest and invited me to give performances of the dance in New Delhi. In June 1969, I visited New Delhi with a batch of 40 village artists for the first time outside their native district. Performances were held there before very distinguished Indian and foreign invitees.... Performances were also shown on TV in Delhi. Only three years later it was also shown on BBC television in London and five years later on NBC in New York, USA.⁸

Note how Bhattacharyya refers to the dances as his: "invited me to give performances of the dance." This is not bragging but acknowledgment of the circumstances: without a patron the villagers would have gotten nowhere. And these days a patron needs more than money—or maybe he doesn't need money so much as knowledge, and a wish to devote himself to the form he's restoring. Government comes up with the cash.

Chhau 1961 and after is a creation of the mixture of what Bhattacharyya found and what he invented. But his invention was of the $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ type. As a folklorist-anthropologist he dug into the past and constructed a history of Chhau, and a technique, that he then proceeded faithfully to restore. His annual festival at Matha coincides with the Chaitra Parva celebrations common to the area, and the occasion of the annual Chhau festivals of Seraikella and Mayurbhanj (related forms of the dance). These festivals, once paid for by maharajas, are now sponsored, less lavishly, by the government. In 1976 I went to Matha, a hill station, not a town, but only a few buildings and an open field. The dances go on there all night for two nights.



Village rehearsal and training for Purulia Chhau, 1976. Photo by Richard Schechner

Villagers, arriving from towns as far as a two-day journey, set up camps. Roping together *charpois* (sleeping cots made of wood and twine) a theater is jerrybuilt. Women and children watch, and sleep, sitting and reclining on the charpois elevated to a height of 8 feet or more. Men and boys stand on the ground. A narrow passageway leads from the area where performers put on costumes and masks to the roughly circular dancing ground. Parties enter down the passageway, stop, present themselves, then leap into their dancing. All dancing is done with bare feet on bare earth, swept clean of large rocks but still raw, pebbled, with turned-up clods and scrub grass. To me it felt like a rodeo in a backwater town. Torches and petromax lanterns throw shadowy light, the drums bark and roar, the *shenais* (clarinet-like instruments) shriek, as party after party compete. Most parties consist of five to nine dancers. Some masks adorned with peacock feathers rise 3 feet over the dancers' heads. The mask of 10-headed Ravana is more than 4 feet long. Wearing these masks dancers make full somersaults and twisting leaps. The dances are vigorous, and it's very hot inside the papier-mâché masks. Each dance lasts less than 10 minutes. Every village dances twice. There are no prizes but there is competition, and everyone knows who dances well, who poorly.

Just in case there are doubts, on each afternoon following the night's dancing Bhattacharyya critiques the performances. During the dancing he sits behind a desk, two petromax lanterns making him the best-lit figure of the event; and next to him are his university assistants. All night he watches and writes. The next day, one by one the villages appear before him. I listened to what he said. He warned one party not to use story

elements not found in the Hindu classics. He chided another for not wearing the standard basic costume of short skirt over leggings decorated in rings of white, red, and black. Bhattacharyya selected this basic costume from one village and made it general. When I asked him about it he said that the costumes he chose were the most authentic, the least Westernized. In a word, Bhattacharyya oversees every aspect of Purulia Chhau: training, dance themes, music, costuming, dance steps. He selects individuals from different villages to make up the all-star teams that tour. He rehearses the touring parties and they, of course, return to their home villages with enhanced reputations. Touring, in fact, has had deep effects on Chhau. Three "foreign parties" came into existence since the first tour in 1972: 19 people went to Europe, 16 to Iran, and 11 to Australia and North America. Because foreigners won't sit through 9 hours of dancing, Bhattacharyya made a program of 2-hour duration. And because he didn't think that bare chests looked good on the male dancers he designed a jacket based on an old pattern. Both these changes have become standard back in Purulia. Many of the people who went abroad formed their own groups at home. Each of these groups are called "foreign parties," and bill themselves as such; this gives them status, drawing power, and the ability to charge more. There is demand now for performances as performances, not as part of the ritual calendar. A performance can be hired for about 1000 rupees—a lot cheaper than Jatra, the most popular form of entertainment in rural Bengal. But 1000 rupees is still a lot of money for performers of Chhau. In Bhattacharyya's opinion, as the financial opportunities have increased the subtlety of the art has declined. John Emigh spoke to Bhattacharyya in the summer of 1980. In reflecting on the tours, Bhattacharyya told him that he thinks they saved a form otherwise doomed, but at the expense of stirring jealousies and rivalries and

Rehearsal and training for
Purulia Chhau, 1976.
Photo by Richard
Schechner



generating irreversible changes in the form. Chhau is a masked dance, and one side effect of its popularity abroad has been the demand by tourists for masks. Many masks are shipped that have never been worn by a dancer.

These changes can be traced back to Bhattacharyya. He is the big Chhau man, and his authority is rarely questioned, never overturned. He's a professor, a scholar from Calcutta. When he writes about Chhau he emphasizes its village base and ancient origins; he even suggests a possible connection between Chhau and the dances of Bali. (The Kalinga Empire of Orissa, ca. 3d century B.C., possibly traded across the seas as far as Bali.) But he hardly mentions his own role in restoring the dance. Rather he speaks of himself as "discovering" it. His 1980 conversation with Emigh is the first acknowledgment of the changes consequent to his discovery.

In 1977, along with Suresh Awasthi, former Secretary of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, the man who introduced me to Chhau, and Shyamanand Jalan, a theater director of modern plays and a Calcutta lawyer, I helped organize a Chhau Festival in Calcutta. This was the first time ever that all three kinds of Chhau were seen on the same program. And the first time many of the dancers from Purulia, Seraikella, and Mayurbhanj saw each others' dances. Traditionally, Chhau is danced only on Chaitra Parva (in March-April), so all the dancing parties are occupied simultaneously and tied to their home territories. But in 1937–1938, when maharajas had plenty of cash, dancers of Seraikella Chhau toured

to Europe. They also danced for Gandhi in Calcutta. The patron, teacher, and choreographer of the Seraikella troupe was Bijoy Pratap Singh Deo, brother to the maharaja. And the star dancer was Suvendra, the crown prince (he died at age 23). After Independence and the abolition of the Privy Purses the dances declined for lack of patronage. The three forms of Chhau are related, though more scholarly work needs to be done to establish exactly what the connections are. Dancing masters from Seraikella were imported into Mayurbhanj by its maharaja early in the century. Both Seraikella and Purulia Chhau use masks, though these look very different from each other. Seraikella style is also influenced by Western ballet. Remember that maharajas were often culturally as much European as Indian. At the 1977 Calcutta festival there were 3 days of dancing, demonstrations of techniques, and talk. A second Chhau Festival, under government sponsorship, was held in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, in 1978. Festivals such as these are themselves hybrids, crosses between the Indian love of jatra-lila-mela (pilgrimage, performance, and fair-ground) and the Western taste for collecting behaviors as "items" of culture, then dissecting the collection in a scholarly way at conferences-cum-junkets. Who ever pays his own way to a scholarly meeting? In 1980 Kedar Nath Sahoo—the Seraikella Chhau master dancer-teacher, and the last man alive who danced under Bijoy—went to Europe and the United States demonstrating the art and teaching. It's neither possible nor desirable to keep forms "pure." The



Kenetasarobe mask. Photo by Joan MacIntosh

question is to what degree should cross-breeding be managed, and to what degree promiscuous?

Sometimes, actually, changes are insisted upon by insiders and not imposed from without. One of the best-known films concerning non-Western performance is the Mead-Bateson *Trance and Dance in Bali* (1938). At one of the showings of this film at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, Mead said that in preparing the confrontation between Rangda and Barong for filming, the trance club of Pagutan decided that foreign viewers would rather see young women go into trance and stab at their breasts with kries. Customarily only men and old women perform this. The women often go with their breasts bare—naked breasts do not suggest the same erotic significance in Bali as in New York. But, also I suppose to please, or at least not offend, foreigners, the Balinese women's breasts were covered. Without telling Mead or Bateson, the men of the trance club instructed the young women in the proper techniques for entering trance; the women were also taught how to handle the kries. Then the men of the club proudly announced to the filmmakers the changes made for the special filming. In *Trance and Dance*, as the narrator says, one old woman who "said she wouldn't go into trance" is unexpectedly deeply possessed. The camera follows her: she is bare-breasted, she is deep in trance, her kris is powerfully turned against her own chest; later, slowly, she is brought out of trance by an old priest. Members of the trance club were angry at this old woman because they felt that her trance disturbed the aesthetic refinements they had rehearsed for foreign eyes.⁹ Which is "authentic"—the young women prepared by the Balinese themselves, or the solitary old woman doing the traditional thing? Cases abound where, as in Pagutan Baji District, local performances are adapted to suit foreign tastes. Hula dancers, for example, are traditionally heavy—that is, powerful and mature—middle-aged women. But tourist hula, now almost traditional in its own right, features slim-hipped young women. It's precisely when changes feed back into the traditional forms, actually becoming these forms, that a restoration of behavior of the $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ type occurs.



Purulia Chhau. Festival at Matha, 1976. Photo by Richard Schechner

Sometimes even, knowing the money that tourists have to spend, performances are invented and foisted upon tourists as traditional when they are not. I was in the Papua-New Guinea Highlands in 1972 where I saw the tourist performance of the famous Mudmen of Asaro, whose story is sad indeed. These white-clay-covered dancers, with their grotesque masks of hardened clay, originally depicted ghosts arising from a stream. Their performance was very effective in scaring away enemies. But when photos of their masks appeared, in the *National Geographic*, I believe, a demand was created for their dancing. The whole performance was dislocated. The dancers danced at midday instead of dawn; they were visible in the center of the small village instead of lurking in the bush near the stream; they performed twice weekly instead of only when necessary, that is, when threatened by enemies. And, naturally, they were exploited: when I saw them they kept 10 percent of the tourists' dollars. Because I was photographing the tourists disembarking from their

Mud men of Asaro, 1971.
 Photo by Joan MacIntosh



Kenetasarobe mask.
 Photo by Joan MacIntosh

Volkswagen minibus, and because I arrived before the ordinary tourists and remained after, I was approached by a villager. He asked me to come with him to his village, Kenetasarobe, not far from Asaro. Once there he showed me his group of dancers, with their spectacular masks; and he put on a display of fire-making. He made it clear that he had devised this performance and believed that I was a tourist agency booker. I took a few photos, paid some money, accepted a bamboo smoking pipe as a souvenir. Regrettably I told my local choreographer that I could not help him sell his dance.

With both Bharatanatyam and Purulia Chhau a modern version of an old art is born through the intervention/invention of one or a few dedicated persons from outside the class of those they are leading. This is, maybe, a version of the Moses myth or the Marxist fact: revolution comes to a group from the outside, typically brought in by a lost member of the tribe who rediscovers his origins. As Indians, Raghavan, Devi, and Bhattacharyya are not outsiders the way Staal, Gardner, and Gerbrands are. But Raghavan and Devi were not from devadasi families, and Bhattacharyya is no aboriginal tribesman.

I see nothing amiss in the restorations of behavior called Bharatanatyam or Purulia Chhau. Artforms and rituals too are always in the process of development. And sometimes the impetus comes by way of restored behavior. Bharatanatyam and Chhau are analogous to the works of the French dramatists of the seventeenth century, who were conforming to what they thought were

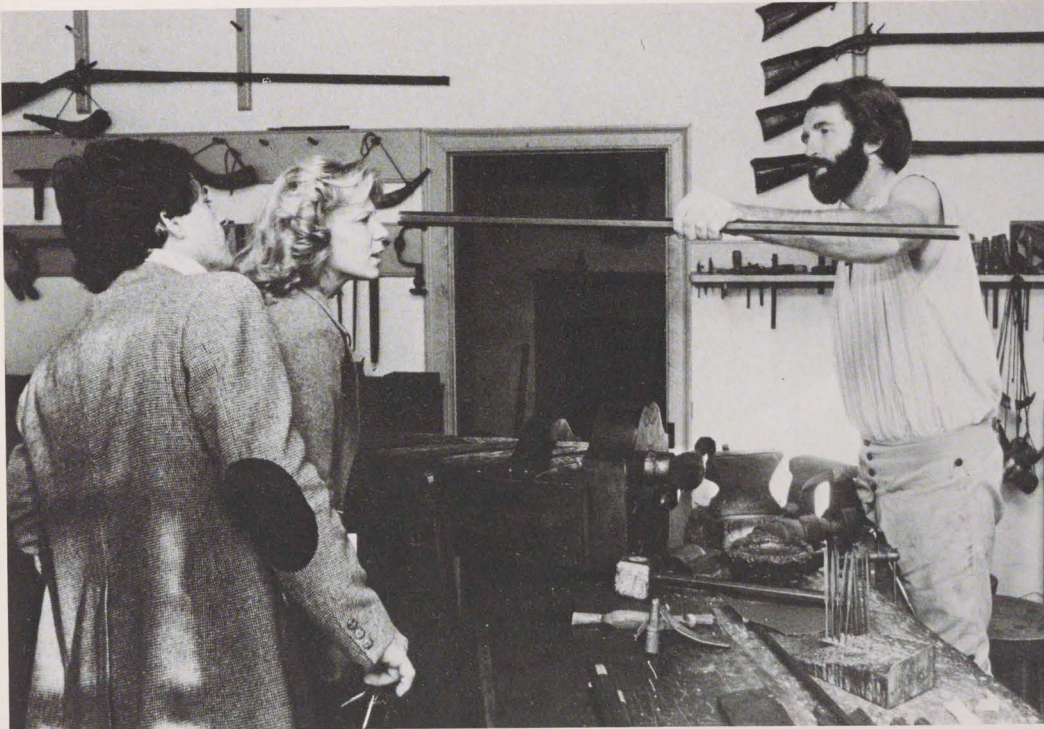
Kenetasarobe masked dancers, 1972. Photo by Joan MacIntosh



the rules of Attic tragedy. Or to those of Renaissance architects restoring what they thought were classical styles. These people had at hand Aristotle, the Greek plays, architectural ruins, and Vitruvius. Today we have at hand relics of behavior, ancient texts, sculptures, and the memories of Hindu priests. We also have ways of getting, transmitting, storing, and broadcasting information that makes a one-world information network a reality. "Nativistic movements" seek to restore the old ways. I'm talking about something else. There is something postmodern in restoring behavior. Scholars and specialists fear a disruption of historical variety brought about by world monoculture. Just as physical well-being depends on a varied gene pool, so social well-being depends on a varied culture pool. Restored behavior is a way of guaranteeing a varied culture pool. It is a strategy that fits within, and yet opposes, world monoculture. It's not the "natives" who practice restored behavior. The devadasis were content to dance their sadir nac, even if it was doomed; the Mura and Dom danced and drummed their Chhau before Bhattacharyya arrived in 1961, even if it was "in decay." But the moderns want to bring into the postmodern world "authentic cultural items." Within the frame of postmodern information theory—all knowledge is reducible/transformable into bits of information, and therefore potentially reconstructible in new orders, new beings in fact—an illusion of diversity is projected: backward in time to 5_a , forward to 5_b . This illusion is artful because it is art itself, pure theater. And the underlying idea that information, not

things, is the basic material of nature, not just culture, is at the root of such recent explorations as recombinant DNA, gene-splicing, and cloning. What is created through these experiments is a liminal existence between nature and culture. It suggests that nature and culture might be a false dichotomy, representing not opposing realms but different perceptions of identical processes.

When Bhattacharyya goes to the field and finds Chhau "in decay," or when Ragnavan finds "vestiges" of a classical dance in sadir nac, is what they find incomplete? Only with reference to a presumed past and a rehearsed-restored future is it incomplete; only when measured against the whole bundle $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. The restorers view the behaviors they restore through a wider time-lens, a wider conceptual-lens, than the dancers of "native" sadir nac and Chhau. Restored behavior is not a process of scraping away dead layers of paint to reveal the original artwork; it is not discovering an unbroken—dare I say, unconscious?—tradition, but of research and fieldwork, of rehearsals in the deepest sense. There is more of this kind of thing coming. Already the past 70 years are available on film. Waves of styles return regularly because of this availability. We are not going to "lose" behavior from the 1920s, for instance, in the same way or to the same extent as we've lost previous epochs. We're in a time when traditions can die in life, be preserved archivally as behaviors, and later be restored.



Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia: A demonstration by the gunsmith. *Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg*

Part V

Although restored behavior seems to be founded in the past and follow a linear chronology — “Bharatanatyam is perhaps the oldest among the contemporary dance forms of India,” “Vedic ritual is...the oldest surviving ritual of mankind” — it is in fact a synchronic bundle, $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. The past, 5_a , is recreated in terms not simply of a present, 1, but of a future, 5_b . This future is the performance being rehearsed, the next showing, the “finished thing” made efficient, graceful, and perfect through rehearsals. Restored behavior is both teleological and eschatological. It joins original causes and what happens at the end of time. It is a model of destiny.

Part VI

Restorations of behavior are not limited to New Guinea or India, that world of the non-Western other. All over America restorations of behavior are common, popular, and making money for their owners. Maurice J. Moran, Jr., (1978) has written an account of theme parks and restored villages. Their diversity is undeniable: Renaissance Pleasure Faires in California and New York, restored villages in almost every state, Disneyland and Disneyworld, safari and wildlife parks, amusement parks organized around single themes, Land of Oz in North Carolina, Storyland in New Hampshire, Frontierland, Ghost Town in the Sky, even L'il Abner's Dogpatch. The Marriott Corporation, operators of parks and owners of hotels, describes the parks as “a family entertainment complex oriented to a particular subject or historical area, combining a continuity of costuming and architecture with entertainment and merchandise to create a fantasy-provoking atmosphere” (ibid.: 25). These places are large environmental theaters. They are related to get-togethers like the Papua-New Guinea kaiko, the Amerindian powwow, and the Indian kumbhmela: pilgrimage centers where performances, goods, services, and ideologies are displayed and exchanged.



Colonial Williamsburg,
Williamsburg, Virginia:
Spinning and weaving.
Courtesy of Colonial
Williamsburg

In this essay I concentrate on only one kind of theme park, the restored village. As of 1978 there were more than sixty such villages in the United States and Canada, and, it seems, more are coming. Millions of people visit them each year. Typically they restore the Colonial period or the nineteenth century; they reinforce the ideology of rugged individualism as represented by early settlers of the Eastern states (Colonial Williamsburg, Plimoth Plantation), the shoot-'em-up West (Buckskin Joe and Cripple Creek, Colorado, Cowtown, Kansas, Old Tucson, Arizona), or romanticized heroic industries like mining and whaling. Some, like Amish Farms and Homes in Pennsylvania, present a spectacle of people actually living their lives; a few, like Harpers Ferry in West Virginia, commemorate historical confrontations. The scope of the architectural reconstructions and the behaviors of the persons who work in the villages make these restorations more than museums.

At Columbia Historic Park, California,

the tour of a still functioning gold mine is a major attraction — where would-be spelunkers are warned of the dangers of cave-ins and claim jumping. The miners are two retired men who can actually make a living from the little bit of gold left in the vein. (ibid.: 31)

Historic Smithville in New Jersey covers 25 acres on which stand a cluster of 36 buildings including a gristmill, schoolhouse, Quaker meetinghouse, cobbler's shop, and firehouse,

most of which are original structures from the Jersey shore area. "Residents" of the town are dressed in period costume and work at the tasks of the 18th and 19th century citizens. (ibid.: 36)

Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts was started in 1946. By 1978 there were more than 35 buildings on the 200-acre tract. The crafts people are dressed in period costumes. On Sundays

a Quaker meeting is held. There is village dancing on Wednesday evenings. School is actually taught in the little faded schoolhouse two days a week, and there are presentations of plays from the period (*The Drunkard*, 1840, *Ever So Humble*, 1836). On July 4th the entire village celebrates as it may have been then. [ibid.: 40-41]

At Louisbourg, Quebec, the employees of the village

assume the names of people who actually inhabited the village. The visitor is stopped at the gate and instructed to proceed only after an informal search, conducted in French. If you reply in English, a wary eye is kept on you as you proceed. (ibid.: 50)

Given the present temper of relations between English and French speakers in Quebec, this entrance initiation reverberates across several centuries.

One woman asked this writer if he had met her "husband." She was referring in the present tense to the man who had served as the chief engineer in the original Louisbourg. Her "maid" and "children" ("I had five, you know, but one died this past winter") cavort in the kitchen, smiling at the strangely clothed visitors with their magic boxes [cameras]. [ibid.:51]

The performance is carried further at Plimoth Plantation in Massachusetts. According to materials sent to me by Judith Ingram, director of marketing at the Plantation, an attempt is made at a total re-creation, including performing actual residents of Plimoth in the seventeenth century:

Our efforts on this behalf began in the late 1960s. Since that time, visitors to our Pilgrim Village have been afforded the opportunity for total immersion in 17th century life. Staff members are trained in what might be termed "non-programmatic" interpretation which stresses the ability to converse with visitors naturally while putting in a hard day's work running the community in a holistic way. This approach assures that all the senses are brought to bear in the learning process. . . . No one who has entered the small, cluttered houses in our village in July and had to contend with the flies and dust, who has seen a fire on the hearth on a hot scorching day, or who has observed the difficulties just keeping the food edible, will come away with the traditional stereotype of the starched Pilgrim intact.

In 1978 interpretation in the Pilgrim Village took another important step forward with the introduction of first person interpretation. Within the palisaded walls of the village no trace of the modern world can be found [except for special paths and access to several structures for the handicapped]. Now, we have recreated not only the houses and furnishings, but also the residents of 1627 Plymouth. Great care has been taken in replicating the attire, the personalities, and even regional English dialects of the Pilgrims.¹⁰

The Plimoth staff are careful to point out that the Plantation is not a "restoration" but a "re-creation." "We have no surviving original houses," says Ingram, "we do not know the exact design of the houses and must recreate structures typical of the period."¹¹ These "re-creations" are built after much research. The same care goes into building roles—and these are modeled not on "typical" people of the period but on actual residents of the colony.

According to Bob Marten, cohead of the Plantation's Interpretation Department, ads are placed each January to fill about 30 roles to represent the actual 200 persons who lived in the colony in 1627. That is, 30 out of 200 villagers are actually represented by what Marten calls "cultural informants":

Marten said the Plantation tries to find people who are similar to the characters they will play. "We're looking for the 20th-century counterparts of 17th-century people. If casting for the part of Elder (William) Brewster, we'll look for someone of approximately the same age with a gracious manner of expression and ready vocabulary. . . . John Billington was a rogue, a con man. So we'll find someone who's capable of being in this role. He's usually played by a character actor who could sell a man his own shoes."¹²

As in movie acting, a lot of type-casting is done. "A truck driver makes a better yeoman than a teacher," says Marten.

Interestingly there is little group rehearsal—this is not a play the performers are preparing for, but a more improvisatory world of interaction not only among themselves but with the tourists who visit the Plantation daily. (The Plantation is open seven days a week, 9 to 5, from April 1 through November 30.) Each performer is given a "Documentary Biograph" and a "Personation Biograph." The documentary biograph tells what is known about the character to be portrayed: age in 1627, place of origin, parents, social status, and so on. Some of these data are noted as "current opinion" (rather than established fact), and some as "learned fabrication"—a category that means invented, but according to probability. The personation biograph includes dialect specimen, signature, names of the character's friends, some suggested readings, and, very importantly, a paragraph or two of "notes." For example, Phineas Pratt, we are told, is 34, comes from Buckinghamshire, arrived at Plimoth aboard the Sparrow in 1622, and is a yeoman. The notes on Phineas's personation biograph tell the performer, in part:

P. Pratt is a man of Character; he cannot Lie, nor swear, nor suffer one heard—Quicker Master P. would unscabbard his temper a' his sword than tolerate a false-hood or an dissembling man. Nor ought he, by his own Code of Good Word and Valient Deed. One doesn't find him continually Defending his or others verity, however, for the same disposition which causeth him to believe in his own Truth Telling, causeth him to trust the truth of Others—unless he find ample cause to Doubt. . . . He has lived as close to the red men—friends & foes—as anie English Man & accepted—nay, even *adopted* to his open ways, their customs & beliefs—but his animated telling of the sagacities & civilities of *The Beaver* causes some of the more canny & doubtful of the community to wince at 'Finyuz's' acceptance of what they deem heathan apocrypha.



Plimoth Plantation, Plymouth, Massachusetts: (top) raising the frame of the Alden house; (middle) shearing sheep; (bottom) salting pork. *Courtesy of Plimoth Plantation*

These notes are written in what I suppose is a seventeenth-century hand, in seventeenth-century grammar. The biograph also has a drawing of Phineas in his clothes—or costume, depending on whether you take his point of view or that of the performer playing him. Along with the biographs a performer is given a cassette tape of someone talking in the proper dialect.

Moran visited Plimoth:

In each building a member of the household that would have resided there greets you and asks "How be ye?" Within a few minutes you find yourself responding in a language that was foreign only moments ago. "I be well, thank ye." One little girl is asked, "Where be ye from?" "New Jersey," she answers. "I'm afraid I don't know that place." A parent intervenes. "You see, Susie, New Jersey isn't invented yet."... As the day proceeds, the villagers go about their work. Food is prepared in black kettles over hot coals, while they explain to their visitors the difference between pottage and ragout.... One young lad is helping build Mr. Allerton's house. With Irish brogue he explains, "I was in a shipwreck on my way to Virginia colony. When I washed ashore the Indians took me here. I was surprised to find anyone speaking English in these wilds."... One goat insisted on coming into the Standish household, only to be shooed away by the maid. The houses are all hand-constructed, some with wooden floors, some with clay (damp in the spring thaw). The streets are uneven, rocky.... Many special events continue the theme of historic reenactment. There is the opening of the Wampanoag Summer Settlement, staffed by native Americans in the style of the 17th century. There is a village barnraising and a reenactment of a typical wedding in the colony and also in the Indian camp. But the classical attraction, and one of the chief fundraisers for the village, is the Harvest Festival in October.... Here the villagers renew 17th century harvest customs with cooking and feasting, songs, dances, and a general show of high spirits. Native Americans from the summer settlement join in friendly challenges of skill and chance.¹³

In the information sheet I got from Ingram the "first person interpretation" technique is celebrated:

First person interpretation not only encourages the personal involvement of visitors, it also facilitates the discussion of difficult concepts and ideas. Indeed, it has been our experience that since the implementation of this technique in the Pilgrim Village the frequency of questions dealing with matters that can collectively be termed the 17th century world view has risen. There has also been a corresponding decrease in the questions that fall into the "What is that?" category. By speaking in the first person, our staff can respond to questions in personal rather than abstract terms.¹⁴

Much effort is made to separate the seventeenth from the twentieth century. "Unlike places like Sturbridge and Williamsburg," says Ingram, "no items whatsoever are sold aboard the Mayflower or in the Pilgrim Village.... Our program carefully separates modern element from period element, using the former to prepare the visitor for a suspension of doubt as he steps into the past."¹⁵



Plimoth Plantation,
Plymouth, Massachusetts.
*Courtesy of Plimoth
Plantation*

This is somewhat like Disneyworld, and other theme parks, where a radical separation is attempted between the ordinary world and the world of the park. At Disneyworld the backstage is actually underground, and central control areas are several miles from the part of the park that visitors stroll in. All employees at Disneyworld enter and leave the area underground and out of sight: they are seen in the Magic Kingdom only in costume and in character.

But despite—even because of—these attempts at separating realities, or spheres of experience in time/space, spectators enjoy what can best be described as a postmodern thrill at the mix or close coincidence of contradictory categories. At Plimoth hosts are twentieth-century persons trained in seventeenth-century English (more or less); the visitors are tourists who have paid to be treated as guests dropping in from another century. A brochure emphasizes the reality of the seventeenth-century world, while encouraging the visitors to break that frame:

The people you will meet in the village portray—through dress, speech, manner and attitudes—known residents of the colony in 1627. Their lives follow the seasonal cycle of all farming communities—planting and harvesting crops, tending animals, preparing meals, preserving food—what you see will depend upon the time of your visit. Busy as they are, the villagers are always eager for conversation. Feel free to ask questions; and remember, the answers you receive will reflect each individual's 17th century identity.

The give-away phrase is “busy as they are.” It's not true: they are paid to respond to the visitors. I doubt that a villager who refused to talk to the tourists would last long in the seventeenth century, for he will have violated a rule laid down by his twentieth-century employers. The little one-page map and flyer is also full of the contradictions. The Village is entered only after the tourist has gone through a reception center and an orientation center. The reception center is where business is done: restaurant, gift shop, bookstore, tickets for the Village itself; also telephones, toilets, a picnic area. The orientation center includes a multi-image slide show which is, the flyer tells us, “an essential part of your visit.” It gives historical background and lays out what's offered. The orientation to the seventeenth century “lasts about 15 minutes.”

There is some cuteness amidst the insistence on stepping back into the seventeenth century. Spanish and French persons, “if unarmed,” are welcome at the Plantation even though England was at war with Spain and/or France for much of the seventeenth century. The architecture of the Village is totally re-created indoors and out—nothing survives from the original colony. Thus an unusual situation obtains at Plimoth. It is known who was there, and background information has been researched; consequently, the characters have a kind of authenticity that the architecture lacks. The buildings and furnishings are “typical” of the period, but the people

are "actually from" 1627. At Plimoth restored behavior is ahead of re-created architecture. And performers who have been at it awhile identify closely with their roles. Marten has played Myles Standish from 1969:

After living with Myles Standish for all these years, Marten said he's "more supportive and defensive" in his attitude toward the historical figure than a historian might be. Aside from appreciating Standish's virtues, Marten has gained an understanding of why the soldier committed some of his more controversial acts. "He killed a number of Indians — not in fair combat, but in ambush," Marten said. "If he had to knock off a few Indians for the good of the colony, he would do it without question. I don't think I'd have the stomach to do what he did, but in the context of that time, what Myles did made sense."¹⁶

What happened to Marten happens to all actors: they build roles, filling in from their own feeling what can't be located in any background study. I don't know Marten's ethnic roots, but Native Americans are hired to portray Indians at Plimoth. And the brochure tells visitors to "meet the Native American people who lived for centuries along the New England coast." And an avowed aim of the Plantation is to provide "the opportunity for members of the Native American community to learn about aspects of their own culture that are in danger of being lost."¹⁷ I suppose that such authenticity as is needed at Wampanoag is not necessary for the Pilgrim Village. Or is it illegal? Are there any blacks playing pilgrims? And if not do they have the basis for a class-action suit? State health codes prohibit visitors from tasting the ragout boiling in the stew-pots, though one visitor reports that this law is not always observed. The point is that there is no way of avoiding anachronisms at the deepest level: authenticity is a question of stage convention, of respecting the sponsors' implicit request not to question too far, and to enjoy contradictions: real Indians not real British colonists.

Inside the fence a seventeenth-century village atmosphere is kept up. As it is aboard the Mayflower II and in the Indian settlement. But a visit to the whole complex — reception center, orientation center, re-created environments alive with restored behavior — is a thoroughly anachronistic experience, a theatrical experience, made even more sharply so by the use of restored behavior as the key element. Spectators-participants generally go along with the seventeenth-century reality. John S. Boyd plays Stephen Hopkins, assistant to Governor William Bradford. Hopkins is also the Village's first tavern keeper.

Right now, that is in 1627, Hopkins is a "husbandman" or farmer who spends much of his time working in the fields around the plantation, when he is not answering the questions of modern tourists. "You are meeting people from all over the world," Boyd says. "I have met people from five different countries in one day... Most visitors enter into the spirit of the Plantation, Boyd says, but a few are nonplussed when a plantation resident will claim never to have heard of Pennsylvania or ask visitors if they have a "good king." Most of them, though, "really do accept us as from another century."¹⁸

Accept in the same way that Robert De Niro is accepted as Jake La Motta in *Raging Bull*. In fact, in the Pilgrim Village it's the logic of the movies that dominates, not theater as Artaud, Brecht, or Richard Foreman conceive it.

Looking at the Plantation's programs over a full year: the meetings held on location by local groups, the films, the winter education programs, the information distributed explaining how the Plantation works, the flyers, brochures, even the handsome Annual Report detailing attendance (590,000 in 1979), sales, contributions, and costs (about \$1.5 million a year), we have a uniquely late-twentieth-century American phenomenon. Everything is as authentic as possible, but the day ends for visitors at 5, and the Plantation is closed for the winter. By closed I mean the performers are no longer about their daily chores, no longer living in the seventeenth century. The Plantation is open for special programs and as a show business gearing up for an early spring opening. Maybe the Village is closed for the winter because those early Pilgrim winters were hard. The ordeals of hunger and cold, of death, can't yet be shown — or, rather, re-created. The limits of theater end with Thanksgiving. Or maybe it's that outdoor entertainment in Massachusetts would be a loser in the winter. Probably it's both. The contradictions and anachronisms — framed and carefully kept separate (all gifts and books, restaurant and toilets, slide projectors and brochures, are outside the Village proper) — are what gives Plimoth and its sister restored villages their special kick. The contradictions are hidden, almost, and revealed at special times and places: like the magician who shows a little bit of his magic. It keeps the appetite whetted. So inside the Village it is all naturalism; but taken as a whole the Plantation is, after all, somewhat like Brecht and Foreman. The people who make Plimoth are aware that what they're doing isn't "just" mounting static exhibits à la the dioramas at the American Museum of Natural History. They may not say it in these terms, but Plimoth is restored behavior mixing 1→3→4 and 1→5_a→5_b.

But what of villages that specialize in restoring fantasies? More than one Old West town features regular *High Noon* shootouts or an attack by "savage" Indians. These events are not taken from history, at least not directly. They are not researched the way data about the early settlement of New England are by people at Plimoth. They are played back from the movies. They

are reflexions not reflections of the American experience. Sometimes, curiously, they double-back into movies. *Buckskin Joe*, Colorado, was created by Malcolm F. Brown, former art director at MGM. The town has been the setting for more than one movie, including *Cat Ballou*, a parody of Westerns. At *Buckskin Joe* a shoot-out takes place in front of the saloon, and the spectators, who are actual customers at the bar or other stores, duck for cover. At *King's Island* in Cincinnati a passenger train is held up, the conductor taken hostage, and passengers asked to intervene to save the day. Audience participation, on the decline in theater, is increasing at theme parks and restored villages.

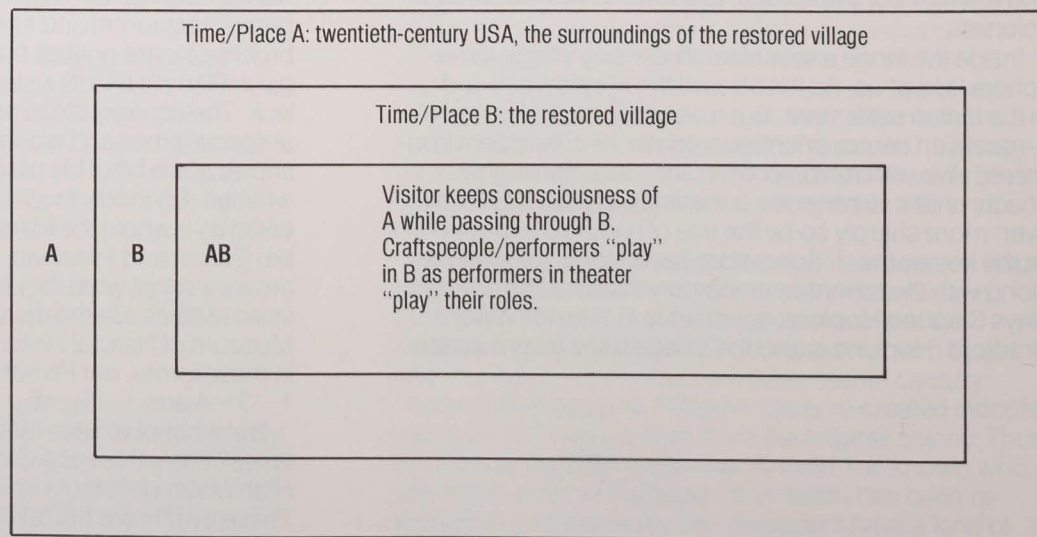
Considered theoretically, restored villages, even those built on fantasies and/or movies, raise hard questions. How are they different from the Staal-Gardner agnicayana? Staal-Gardner based their Vedic ritual on a reconstruction of an "old India" as distorted, and as true, as the Old West of America where Amerindians attacked settlers and shootouts occurred in front of saloons. The Brahman priests went to texts, their own memories, and what old people could recall of the agnicayana, just as architects, performers, and craftspeople of restored villages research their stuff. And as for things taken from pop mythology, as at *Buckskin Joe*, there are parallels in Chhau where the stories reenacted are from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, sacred in Sanskrit and very popular in numberless other versions including movies and comic books. No, the difference between the American restored villages and the agnicayana and Chhau is that the performers and spectators in the restored villages know it's all make-believe (Figure 3).

There is a move from frame A into frame B resulting in a special consciousness, AB. AB is another way of stating the subjunctive mood of restored behavior: the overlaying of two frames that cannot coexist in the indicative: "being in" the nineteenth and twentieth centuries simultaneously, "being" Rama and Ravana and two village persons, "doing" a Vedic ritual before cameras and tape recorders. What happens is that the smaller subjunctive frame temporarily and paradoxically expands and contains the indicative frame. Everything is "for the time being" (Figure 4).

The indicative world is temporarily isolated, surrounded and penetrated by the subjunctive: on the outside is the environment of the performance; on the inside is the special consciousness of performing and witnessing/participating in a performance. The famous "suspension of disbelief" is the agreement to let the smaller frame AB become the larger frame AB.'

At Plimoth, after a few hours in the village, the visitors leave the seventeenth century; at the end of the day the craftspeople pack up and go home. Even those who make their home in the village keep an awareness of the world outside. But sometimes the anachronistic choice is radical, affecting a person's whole being. I met a number of families living in the mountains surrounding Santa Cruz, California, without electricity and other "modern conveniences." But the most studied, most extreme examples of anachronistic living are those done for the media, like the agnicayana, or like the Celtic encampment near London:

Figure 3 Restored villages: time/place.



Five young couples and their children lived together in a house made of sticks, grass and mud, lighted only by fire and the daylight that came through two low doors. They grew vegetables, raised boars, cows, chickens and goats, and kept a polecat for catching rabbits. They shaped pottery, forged tools, built cartwheels, wove cloth, cured the skins of animals. They sound like the Celtic tribesmen who lived not far from what is now London 2,200 years ago; they are actually 20th century Britons who have been living like Iron Age Celts for almost a year. Their experiment was conceived by John Percival, a BBC producer, to dramatize archeology for a series of 12 television documentaries.... Cameramen arrived at the Wiltshire village southwest of London every week to make films. Otherwise the "Celts" were well insulated from the modern world. ...Kate Rossetti, a Bristol teacher, had a long list of what she missed: "My family and friends, chocolate, comfy shoes, Bach and Bob Dylan, being able to zoom up to Scotland." But she said she does not think she will ever live in a city again.¹⁹

This kind of thing is no Arcadian return to nature. Contemporary Arcadians live in the Santa Cruz mountains. The BBC Celts are more like breeding zoos—places where images of bygone life can be bred and recaptured (in this case on film); a convergence of archeology, anthropology, and media. It stands between the obvious fakery of a restored village and the not so obvious fakery of the 1975 agnicayana. By fake I mean something unable to live on its own, something that needs a media push or seems out of joint with contemporary life. Of course theater is fake, but it celebrates its fakery, while restored villages slyly try to hide theirs. This sly faking is on the increase.

The BBC Celts are close to the Brahman priests who restored the agnicayana for Staal-Gardner. For the 1975 agnicayana there were two audiences: an immediate one of locals, many of whom treated the ritual as a media event (this happens whenever a film is shot on location, even outside my window on Sullivan Street in Manhattan); and an audience of Americans who see *Altar of Fire* mainly as a documentary of an actual ritual. But ritual with a difference—ritual for study, for entertainment: a "specimen." The inversion is ironic. The audience in Kerala sees the agnicayana as media; the audience in America sees the media (version of agnicayana) as ritual. Both audiences are alienated from the "pure" agnicayana. But was there ever a pure agnicayana? Isn't every instance of it $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$? The narrator of *Altar of Fire* tells the audience that the performance they are seeing is probably the last ever of this ritual. This adds a P. T. Barnum flavor. And at Plimoth nothing (new) is going to happen; life there is finished. These examples of restored behavior are very much like theater in a theater: the script is set, the environment is known, the actors play set roles. But Bharatanatyam and Chhau are different. These restorations have healed seamlessly into their cultural surround: they are living arts. As such these dances will change; their future isn't predictable. Plimoth Plantation either continues as it is or ceases to be what it is: its very existence is knotted into its specific historicity. Each production of aesthetic theater is like Plimoth, but the theater as a genre is like Bharatanatyam and Chhau. The similarities and differences among various performance systems are summarized in Figure 5.

Figure 4 Subjunctive/indicative.

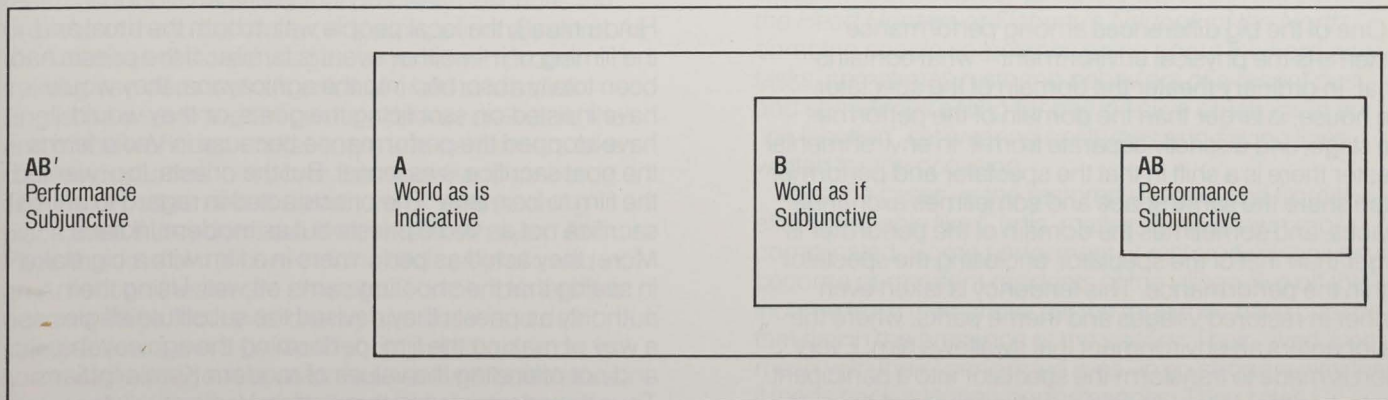


Figure 5 Performance systems: a comparative chart.

	A	B
1	Arts Theater, dance, etc.	Restored arts Bharatanatyam, Purulia Chhau, etc.

Between these there is little or no phenomenological distinction making it very hard to tell A1 from B1 without doing historical research—B1 heals seamlessly into A1. Both A1 and B1 have a “life of its own.” In both, performers know they’re “in a show” and audiences know they’re “watching a show.”

	A	B	C	D
2	Media fiction Regular movies	Media simulation Recreated especially for media, as were the BBC Celts	Media “push” Without media there would be no event, as the 1975 agnicayana	Media “there” Documentaries, news

A move to the right = decreasing dependence on media to make the event, though news items are edited creating a feedback between what “is” news and what media “makes into” news. Also a move to the right = an increase in narration, in suggesting an independent event that needs an observer outside “objectively” explaining it. B2, C2, and D2 merge into one another. Only in A2 is the performer sure he is “in a show” and the spectator sure he is “watching a show.” A recent form, “docudrama,” combines A2 and D2.²³

	A	B	C
3	Theme parks Disneyland, Land of Oz, Dogpatch, etc.	Restored villages made from fantasy and history Buckskin Joe, Frontierland, Columbia Historic Park, etc.	Restored villages made from history Plimoth, Smithville, Louisbourg, etc.

In A3 everyone knows they are “in a show” as spectator-participants or performers. In B3 and C3 even the performers begin to feel they are “in life.” But, paradoxically, B3 and C3 are very close to A1 and B1 where the event begins to have a “life of its own.” In A3 most of the machinery—mechanical and human—is hidden from the spectator creating a fictive environment. In B3 and C3 there is an attempt—as at museums—to show as much as possible. But these days even museums are fictionalizing. For example, the Ice Age Art exhibit at the American Museum of Natural History (1978–1979) was made mostly from simulated items.

One of the big differences among performance systems is the physical environment—what contains what. In ordinary theater the domain of the spectator, the house, is larger than the domain of the performer, the stage, and distinctly separate from it. In environmental theater there is a shift in that the spectator and performer often share the same space and sometimes exchange spaces, and sometimes the domain of the performer is larger than that of the spectator, enclosing the spectator within the performance. This tendency is taken even further in restored villages and theme parks, where the visitor enters an environment that swallows him. Every effort is made to transform the spectator into a participant. And while the visitor keeps a consciousness of his own time and place, he simultaneously enjoys a temporary surrender of them. The 1975 agnicayana combines the qualities of film with those of a restored village. There are two frames working: that of the ritual and that of the film being made of the ritual. The Brahman priests are performers of the agnicayana and “visitors” absorbed into it (Vedic ritual being older and different from Brahman

Hindu ritual); the local people watch both the ritual and the filming of it—neither event is familiar. If the priests had been totally absorbed into the agnicayana, they would have insisted on sacrificing the goats, or they would have stopped the performance because in Vedic terms the goat sacrifice is essential. But the priests, too, wanted the film to be made. The priests acted in regard to animal sacrifice not as Vedic priests but as modern Indians. More: they acted as performers in a film with a big stake in seeing that the shooting came off well. Using their authority as priests they devised the substitute effigies as a way of making the film, performing the agnicayana, and not offending the values of modern Kerala Indians. Thus the priests played three roles: Vedic ritualists, Brahman priests arbitrating a living tradition, and film performers. In a way the film performers convinced the Brahman priests that it was okay to tamper with the Vedic tradition. Or, as film performers Brahman priests were asked to play the role of Vedic ritualists. This double, or triple, life is typically that of theater actors; it is the theatrical brand of truth. And between the frame of the

agnicayana and the frame of the filmmaking stood the local audience, enjoying both spectacles.

But is it fair to say that the priests were play-acting? From the perspective of Euro-American conventions, "acting" means make-believe, illusion, lying. Even Goffman, who has studied acting in ordinary life, identifies it most directly with con men and others who must maintain a "front" separate from their "true" selves. This understanding of acting derives from our Platonic view of a hierarchy of realities in which the most real is the most distant from experience and from our Aristotelian view of art, which is an imitation of a reflection. But from the perspective of Indian conventions—and the system of maya/lila underlying them—acting is playful illusion, but so is the world itself, so that in India acting is both false and true. In fact, in Asia the mask is often credited with being closer to the way things are in the world than the face behind the mask can be: acting becomes not a species of lying but a means to the truth. Since Stanislavski at least this has been the ambition of theater in the West; and it is this ambition—this wish to have art search out and represent truth—that has fired much theatrical experimentation. And driven artists to seek non-Western cultures, Asian especially, ways of making theater that are not Aristotelian. Brecht, Meyerhold, Grotowski, Artaud, Cage—seminal figures all—used Asian practices as models for their own work.

But back to the priests officiating at the Staal-Gardner agnicayana. I might think they were acting, and Kerala villagers might think they were doing what priests always do—mediating between ordinary and nonordinary experience, both of which need acting. The priests are trained/prepared by birth and education to restore the behavior of the agnicayana. It is not accurate to call them actors and it is not accurate to not call them actors. They were between "not actors" and "not not actors"—a realm of double negativity that precisely describes the process of theatrical characterization, a liminal realm. As for American restored villages, anyone with proper training can demonstrate colonial crafts and speak English in a seventeenth-century Yankee dialect. At the end of the work day, craftspeople and performers take off their costumes, put down their tools, and go home. The visitors assume this divestiture of roles is taking place even if they don't see it with their own eyes. At Plimoth some of the conventions ordinarily followed in an American theater are dropped. The performers are not on a stage, not rewarded by applause, and don't strictly follow a word-by-word script called a drama. In some of the villages the actors interact with spectators, making the visitor enter into the world of the village, thereby further blurring the seam between the performance and its nonacting surround. The performers at Plimoth are acting, but they may not seem to be acting. In America we say someone is "only acting" when we detect the seams between the performance and the nonacting surround. We also say someone is acting when he or she is performing on a stage. We say some-



Plimoth Plantation, Plymouth, Massachusetts.
Courtesy of Plimoth Planation

one is not acting when he or she is doing what one ordinarily would do were there no audience. Documentary film imposes an acting frame around a nonacting situation. But documentaries like Curtis's *In the Land of the Head Hunters* or Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* combine people sometimes going about their ordinary tasks, sometimes restoring behaviors of a recent past, and sometimes acting for pay in fictive situations in an "on location" set wearing costumes and saying lines written for the occasion.

In some cases, in the restored villages, and from the effect of people like Curtis, matters have grown more complicated. Some performers at restored villages have become permanent residents of the village, live off the income from their crafts, eat the food they have cooked that day in the presence of the visitors. Their "lived lives" mesh with their "performed lives" in so strong a way that it feeds back into their performances. Their roles become their "ordinary life," supplying their restored behavior with a new source of authenticity. When this happens, the residents of the restored villages can no more comfortably be subsumed under the category of "play actors" than can the Kerala Brahman priests.

In T. McLuhan's 1974 film, *The Shadow Catcher*, a few of the original participants in Curtis's 1914 *Head Hunters* explain how Curtis's interest in the "old ways" rekindled their own interest—and led to their restoring some ceremonies previously abandoned. Thus the value frame of the new dominant culture encouraged the enactment as fiction of what was previously performed in fact; while other actions—masked dancing, shamanic healing—were done in fact but before the rolling camera. Later a new cultural whole emerged combining fiction and fact and including performances invented for tourists. Younger Kwakiutls said Curtis's movie helped them learn about the old life, because seeing something "really being done" is so much more powerful than just hearing about it. But what was "really being done" even the old-timers didn't do anymore by the time Curtis arrived. Who knows if they ever did it the way he filmed it. Curtis paid performers 50¢ an hour—\$5 when there was danger, like rowing the huge war canoes or hunting sea lions.

Increasingly, American theater of all kinds is like *Head Hunters* (whose title was changed to *Land of the Long Canoes* because Curtis thought American audiences would find head-hunting repulsive; the movie failed commercially anyway)—combining documentary, fiction, and history: in other words, restored behavior, $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. From the 1970s into the 1980s experimental theater has put acting and nonacting side by side, as in the work of Spalding Gray, Leeny Sack, Robert Wilson-Christopher Knowles, and Squat Theatre. In contrast, such strongholds of "fact" as network news programs are anchored by people selected for their ability to perform, not to gather or edit news. A suitable aesthetic theory doesn't exist to handle these crossovers and juxtapositions. They are all $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$.

Taken as a whole, the performances I'm discussing belong to the subjunctive, not the indicative, mood. And the spectators, too, by virtue of their being physically inside the action instead of standing outside looking in, give over to the subjunctive—to behaving "as if" they were really there in that negotiated space-time-event I call restored behavior. Negotiated because it takes an agreement among all parties to keep the thing up in the air, moving, alive. The restored village and Curtis's half restoring, half inventing for the sake of his feature film are performances intermediate in type between the Brahman priest restoring an archaic and nowadays unperformed ritual for the benefit of the cameras and Olivier playing Hamlet on the orthodox Euro-American stage. Intermediate also are performances like those of Wilson-Knowles, Gray, and Squat. The most interesting work of the past ten years is intermediate, liminal: work that illuminates its own ambivalence, that is explicitly reflexive, and that is very difficult to categorize. In orthodox theater the domain of the spectator ("the house") is larger than and separate from the domain of the drama ("the stage"). This framing helps maintain the objectivity



Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia: Coopering.
Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg



Plimoth Plantation, Plymouth, Massachusetts: Militia drill.
Courtesy of Plimoth Plantation

and critical/aesthetic distance of the orthodox theatergoer. But in restored villages, as in environmental theater, the domain of the performance surrounds and includes the "spectator." Looking at becomes harder; being in, easier. There is no house, and spectators are thrown back on their own resources for whatever assurance they need to maintain who/where they are. How to behave, what to do or not to do, are troubling questions in this situation. Although work like Wilson-Knowles's and Gray's does not include the spectator physically, it undermines his psychic distance by presenting non-acting as performance. The same uneasiness results.

Part VII

The theory explaining all this will come from theater specialists or from social scientists learned in theater. Theater is the art that specializes in the concrete techniques of restoring behavior. Turner's theory, like Goffman's, is actually a theatrical one generalized to suit social process. Working the same field are Geertz, Rappaport, and Myerhoff. The field is fertile because individual cultures and world monoculture are increasingly theatrical.

Preparing to do theater includes memorizing a score of gestures, sounds, and movements and/or achieving a mood where apparently "external" gestures, sounds, and movements "take over" the performer as in a trance. This basic theatrical process is universal. Whether the performer is in a Broadway musical, an experimental theater workshop in Soho, a shingeki performance in Tokyo, a Nō drama in Kyoto, the Bolshoi ballet, or the Moscow Art Theater, a Balinese trance drama, Ramlila in India, the dances of the pig kaiko of Papua-New Guinea, or Yoruba theater—anywhere—behavior that is other is transformed into the performer's alienated or objectified parts of his own self—either his private self or his social self—then reintegrated and shown publicly in a total display. The process has two parts and a conclusion; these are strictly analogous to what Van Gennep and Turner describe as the ritual process. First there is the breaking down, where the performer's resistance is overcome, where he is made open and vulnerable, "ready"; then there is the building up, or the filling up, where at first short and then increasingly long and integrated strips of behavior are added to what the performer can do. At a certain point in the process—a point that differs widely from culture to culture, artistic form to form—a public is required before whom, or in collaboration with, the new behavior is displayed.

This process has been described from the social perspective by Turner and from the individual-psychological perspective by Winnicott. Turner's key idea is his elaboration of Van Gennep's term, liminality:

Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. [Turner 1969:95]

The neophyte in liminality must be a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate, on which is inscribed the knowledge and wisdom of the group, in those respects that pertain to the new status.

[ibid.:103]

Theater is an "artificial species" of ritual, a hothouse version often created by individuals or temporary groups. Turner calls the arts and some other leisures of modern society "liminoid," suggesting that they share some of the functions and processes of liminal acts, but that

they are also characterized by a voluntariness—a conscious subjunctivity—that is not present in liminal actions. In theater the performer induces in himself, or has induced for him, replications/restorations of those life-crises most people avoid or undergo only when pressed by necessity. Comedy as well as tragedy deals with difficult, anxiety-ridden crises. The pleasure comes because of the subjunctive mood of the activity, the learned ability to experience an action without suffering its consequences. Hamlet dies, not Olivier. Of course, as I've noted, contemporary theater skirts or even crosses the boundaries, and some of our recent Hamlets have suffered a real wound or two.

The workshop-rehearsal phase of performing, the "preperformance," is designed to make the performer a *tabula rasa* with regard to what is going to be performed. The performer is stripped of his everyday identity or learns how to put it aside. Then, once cleansed, the performer brings out of himself, or is inscribed upon, or filled up with, Another, a "character," or some special aspect of himself, his "persona." Workshop-rehearsal passes through three distinct steps that coincide with the ritual process: (1) separation, or stripping away, reducing, eliminating, or setting aside "me"; (2) initiation, or revelation, or finding out what's new—in "me" or in/from Another, or what's essential and necessary; and (3) reintegration, or building up longer and longer meaningful strips of behavior; making something for the public—preparing to reenter the social world but as a new and/or different "self." The time spent in these three steps, and the place where this work is done, is liminal. Not the finished performances but this multiphasic process of "making up" performances are what need to be compared to ritual. Little comparative work of that kind has been done because few anthropologists have participated in, or closely observed, the workshop-rehearsal process.

How do workshop-rehearsals work? There are two basic methods. In the first, actual items of performance are passed on directly from master to neophyte. There is no "technique" separate from parts of the performance to be learned. I've watched Kakul, the dance guru of Batuan, Bali, as he stood behind a young girl, maybe 8 years old, manipulating her wrists, hands, and shoulders with his hands; her torso with his body; her legs with his knees and feet. He used her as a puppet transferring directly his own body-sense of the dance. She gave her body over to him. Eventually, Kakul says, the dance "goes into" her body; she learns it in much the same way that spoken language is learned, by being surrounded and immersed in it. She may never know the "grammar" of her dancing, just as many fine speakers of English never know its grammar. Also this way of training prepares her for trance possession where culturally known beings will go into her body using it in much the way that Kakul used it to train her. In this

method of "direct acquisition" by manipulation, imitation, and repetition there is the paradox that the "creativity" of the performer comes only after he has mastered a form by rote learning. Kakul, at the end of his career, after he gained a reputation as a great performer, began to improvise and introduce new material; just as a Nō performer who has achieved *hana* (flower) can modify what he has learned from his father. Experimentation which literally means "going outside the boundaries" is reserved for the most experienced most respected and often the oldest performers. In Euro-American theater, experimentation is mostly the work of the young. And this is because the initial phases of workshop-rehearsal are the freest; and it is the youthful performer who is encouraged to "do something new."

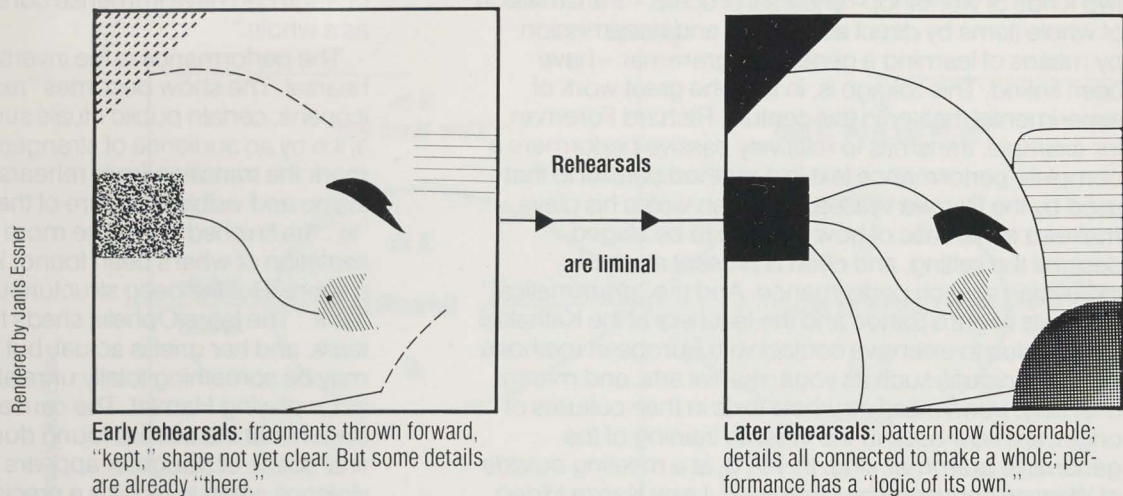
In the method of direct acquisition there is no reference during training to any generative grammar of performance. Nor do training or exercises stimulate "creativity" or encourage experimentation or the discovery of new material or patterns. I've watched the *vyas* (director) of the Ramnagar Ramlila employ direct acquisition in teaching the texts and gestures to the teen-age boys who perform the *swarupas* (the gods Rama, Bharat, Lakshmana, and Satrughna). Learning the score "prepares" the boys to be entered by the gods during moments of the actual performance. The last thing a *vyas* wants of such performers is "creativity." The *swarupas* must be receptive, even passive. When the boys are not wearing the crowns that signify the activation of the god-head within them, they are just boys, lectured by the *vyas*, scolded by their mothers. At the same time, however, they are fed a special diet of godly foods: pure milk, sweet rice, fruit, nuts, yoghurt. This diet not only gives them strength but makes them feel like gods. Through the method of direct acquisition two tasks are accomplished simultaneously. Performance texts — I mean not only the words but the whole *mise en scene* — are passed on from generation to generation, and particular performances are made ready for the public. There is no way to separate these tasks, for the texts are both written and oral; the libraries where these texts are kept are the bodies of the performers.

The second method of workshop-rehearsal is to teach a grammar, a set of "basic exercises" out of which, through transformation, the particular, and often very different, *mise en scènes* will come. Some great texts do not exist as performances but only as words. There is no one way to play *Hamlet*, nor even any 250 ways. There is no continuity of performing *Hamlet* from 1604 to now. Not only were the theaters closed during the Cromwell era, but the Euro-American modern tradition locates continuity in the written text and innovation in the performance. Recent "violations" of this tradition — for example, my collaging and rearranging classic texts, or the attempt to build in theater "performance texts" as is seen in the work of Brecht and Mabou Mines — have had tough going. In the "learn a basic alphabet/

grammar" method students learn how to "use" their mind-bodies in order to invent the particular gestures that will make up this or that production. A radical separation of written text and performance text has occurred. The written text is preserved separately from any of its performances. A large body of criticism dealing with the written text arises, and this criticism tends to dominate the field. There is also a separation between training and rehearsal. Training is generalized, in the sense that techniques are learned that can be applied to any number of performances. Schools brag that their graduates can act in any number of styles. It would be absurd for a Nō actor to perform modern naturalism. However, Kanze Hideo, a leading Nō actor, has worked with experimental theater director Tadushi Suzuki, who bases much of his training on Nō (as well as martial arts and kabuki). In the "alphabet method" an actor pants, not so that he may be able to pant in performance, but in order to strengthen his diaphragm, get in touch with the different ways the voice can resonate, control his breathing so that difficult physical exertions can be accomplished without losing breath, and so on. Or scenes from plays are practiced in training not because they will be performed soon or in that way, but so that the student can learn to "build a character," evoke genuine emotions or effectively feign them on stage, or deal with his fellow actors.

But just as there are intermediate or liminal performance styles, so are there some training methods that occupy a position in between these extremes, combining elements of both. Guru Kedar Nath Sahoo, master dancer of masked Seraikella Chhou, teaches first a set of sword and shield exercises that will later be transformed into moves used within the dance-drama. These exercises also strengthen the body and familiarize the performers with Chhou's martial roots. And in Kathakali, the dance-drama of Kerala, training begins with a series of massages administered by the guru's feet to the student's whole body. These massages literally erase old body stances and help bring the student's body to a new alignment. The massage period coincides with a series of rigorous exercises that are later used with some variation in the Kathakali itself. Neither in Chhou nor in Kathakali are the exercises used as the basis for invention; they are there to help the student use his body in the necessary way. Thus the exercises can be looked at as part of the "breaking down" phase of training. They do not help a student grasp the underlying logic of the performance. That can come only after years of experience as the student deciphers for himself what he is doing. Many excellent performers never come to this kind of theoretical knowledge. But some do, and those are the ones most likely to introduce changes.

Figure 6 Rehearsals.



In the Euro-American method rehearsal is not a matter of transmitting a known performance text but the invention of a new text. This new text is arrived at during rehearsals. It is necessary to teach performers a generative code. In the method of direct acquisition rehearsals consist not in inventing a new performance text but in mastering a known one. But performance itself can be more flexible. Nō drama appears very formal and set. But during performance subtle cues pass between the shite (principal actor) and musicians, chorus, and waki (second actor). These cues tell the others that the shite has decided to repeat a section, or will increase the tempo, or slow it down, and so on. If, however, a performer goes beyond what is given him to vary—if he performs publicly without mask or traditional costume—a storm breaks: is this "new thing" actually Nō? In the Euro-American method rehearsals are "explorations" that lead to a "fixed score" during performance. Only shows advertised as improvisatory change markedly night to night. And most improvised shows are mere rearrangements of fixed routines. But the physical details of shows can vary greatly as long as the written text is recognizable. Shakespeare has been done in period costume, modern dress, eclectic mixed dress. Yet when I staged plays environmentally, and introduced audience participation, journalists publicly demanded, "Is this theater?"

During rehearsals of the Euro-American type the grammar of techniques is used to discover and "keep" items that will later appear in the performance. That which is already known in the direct acquisition method is discovered or invented. Something happens that is "right," and the director says "keep that." What he means is, not to do it again, but to put it ahead in time—to literally throw it forward in the hope that the item of action will be used later, that it will provide a clue as to what the

finished mise en scene will look like. During rehearsals the shape and feel of the performance being discovered/invented/restored lies in a liminal area between present and future, and between past, present, and future as personal associations from performers and director are added to the scheme. Thus a $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ situation occurs. To the outside observer, the bits of performance being "thrown forward," being "kept," may appear haphazard. But sooner or later a pattern emerges as when, through a fog, a coastline is first sensed ("I smell land"), then vaguely discerned as a darkness, then seen as a blurred image, and finally resolved with increasing detail. So too, in this method, depicted in Figure 6, the performance evolves out of rehearsals. As Brecht said, the performance is the least rejected of all the things tried.

Early rehearsals are not only jerky and disjointed; they are laden with anxiety. The actions of the rehearsal have a high information potential but a very low goal orientation. "What are we doing?" "What are we looking for?" "Why are we doing this?" are the common questions. The director doesn't know; he too is hunting. A director may maintain confidence by imposing order in the guise of known exercises, or he will introduce new basic techniques, expanding the range of the group's generative grammar. But if, by a certain time, a target is not visible (not only a production date but a vision of what's to be produced), if not enough has been thrown forward to provide an outline, a goal, the project falters, then fails. The possibilities for failure are great enough when, as in the case of *Hamlet*, it's a matter of generating a performance text that suits a written one. Where there is no preexisting text whatsoever—as with much contemporary theater—the likelihood of failure is still greater.

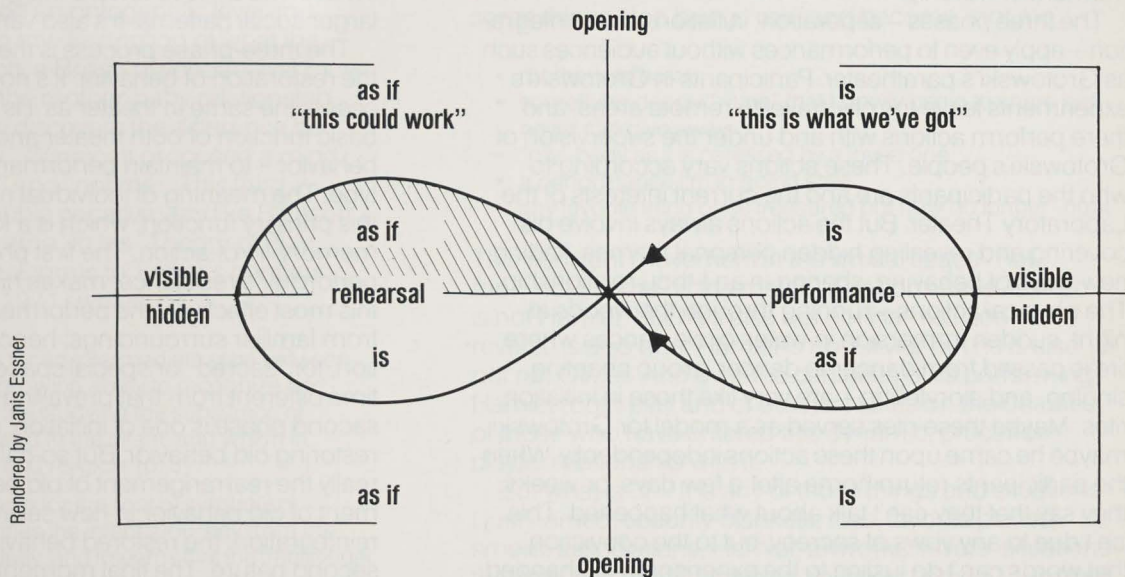
During the past 50 years, since Artaud at least, the two kinds of workshop-rehearsal process — transmission of whole items by direct acquisition and transmission by means of learning a generative grammar — have been linked. This linkage is, in fact, the great work of experimental theater in this century. Richard Foreman, for example, transmits to relatively passive performers a complete performance text in a method parallel to that used by the Ramlila vyases. Foreman writes his plays, makes a schematic of how they are to be staged, designs the setting, and often is present as chief technician at each performance. And the “grammatical” methods of guru Sahoo and the teachers at the Kathakali may be due to extensive contact with European methods. Also techniques such as yoga, martial arts, and mantra chanting, transmitted as whole texts in their cultures of origin, are now used in the West as training of the generative grammar kind. In 1978, at a meeting outside of Warsaw convened by Grotowski, I saw Kanze Hideo put on a Nō mask, crawl on the floor, and improvise actions having nothing to do with classical Nō. And his friend, director Suzuki, in a production of Euripides’ *Trojan Women*, combined Nō, kabuki, martial arts, modern Western experimental theater, and ancient Greek tragedy. The play was as much about post-atomic-bomb Japan as Troy. Examples multiply, bearing witness to exchanges between, especially, Asian and Euro-American theater. Three kinds of workshop-rehearsal are now occurring: (1) those based on transmitting a total performance text; (2) those based on generative grammars resulting in new performance texts; and (3) those combining 1 and 2. This last is not a sterile hybrid, but the most fertile of the three.

There is another way of looking at the workshop-rehearsal process connecting Turner’s ideas of subjunctivity/liminality to Stanislavski’s “as if”:

Figure 7 shows that the deep structure of workshop-rehearsal inverts the deep structure of performance. In workshop-rehearsal real work is being done, work that is serious and problematical. Workshop-rehearsal ironically belongs to the indicative, to the realm of the “is,” but on a deep, hidden level of structure. The visible aspect of workshop-rehearsal, its processual frame, is “as if,” subjunctive, tentative — “let’s try that,” “this could work,” “what would happen if?” — play. Techniques of “as if” — exercises, games, improvisation, therapy — bring up material from within those making the show or from the outside. The work of workshop-rehearsal is to find, reveal, express these deep things, and then to integrate them into a new whole. Even while deep things are “brought up” the workshop-rehearsal must be kept open — that is, liminal. The “as if” is a scalpel cutting deep into the actual lives of those making the work. And the most serious crises of performance — the things that can destroy a work most surely — happen during workshop-rehearsals. This is the period during which performers throw tantrums, directors fire persons who disagree, and writers phone

their agents in terror. For during this time every small change can have immense consequences on the “work as a whole.”

The performance is the inverse of the workshop-rehearsal. The show becomes “real,” part of history, when it opens; certain public rituals such as reviewing, attendance by an audience of strangers, an opening night party mark the transition from rehearsal to performance. The frame and visible structure of the performance is an “is,” the finished show, the more or less invariable presentation of what’s been found, kept, and organized into a score. But the deep structure under this “is” is an “as if.” The tears Ophelia sheds for Hamlet are real salt tears, and her grief is actual, but the cause of that grief may be something totally unrelated to Hamlet or to the actor playing Hamlet. The cause is possibly some association that the actress found during rehearsals. Or the final scene of slaughter appears to be a confusion of violence when in fact it is a precision of near misses. As workshop-rehearsals move toward performance, the “as if” is intentionally sunk out of sight. If the performance is a good one, all the audience sees is the “is” of the show. Of course, there are variations of this classic scheme. The investigation of the rehearsal process by Stanislavsk and Brecht made it possible to play around with the process. Brecht wanted actors to be in character (“is”) some of the time and to stand beside their characters (“as if”), questioning these very characters, at other times. Thus Brecht introduced a part of the rehearsal process into public performances. And since Brecht many others have staged rehearsals. But these breaking of frames occur not only in serious drama, but in circus and Broadway musicals as well. There is a scene in *Sugar Babies* where the star, Mickey Rooney, loses his wig. He laughs, his face turns red, he runs to the edge of the stage and shouts something at the audience: he acknowledges that underneath all the puff roles he plays there is the person, the star, Mickey Rooney. Losing the wig looks accidental, but I have confirmed that it happens in each performance in the same scene. Probably Rooney lost his wig “for real” during one rehearsal, and this nice piece of business was kept. It helps the audience feel good about paying so much money to see the star; for a brief moment they see him as himself, unmasked. Of course this unmasking is a trick, not an unmasking at all. In the 1980 Ringling Brothers Circus a female performer concluding a stunt on the high bar is unable to pull herself up. The orchestra stops, there is silence in the arena. Slowly, inch by precious inch, she hoists herself up until she is able to reach the bar with her hands and regain a safe position. I saw the circus five times and the same “accident” occurred each time. Paul Bouissac assured me that such tricks are common, especially in acts that need to look more dangerous than they are. I do not criticize the rehearsedness of these scenes. In my own work, whenever I’ve tried to have “open rehearsals” where the public was invited to see a

Figure 7²⁰ "As if."

work "in process," or when during finished performances I've tried to include "raw elements" such as having the green room visible during *Mother Courage*, I learned how quickly the processual or open nature of workshop-rehearsal is lost. The performers in *Mother Courage* soon found a space out of sight of the audience where they went, making that hidden space the genuine green room; what the audience saw was a make-believe green room. The performers even tried to fool me, knowing that I wanted them to "be really in the green room" in sight of the audience. It was only when I found ashtrays, costumes, and empty soda cans back where the lights were stored did I know what was going on. I shouldn't have been surprised. The "as if" wants to submerge when the public is present. Only while working with those they can trust, usually a few comrades who have shared a lot of working together, can performers play "as if" with "is" material. When working under the eye of a critical public, the performers present only the "is" of their "as if."

The last part of rehearsal is practice. Longer and more complicated units of restored behavior are organized into the actual performance. Music, costumes, lighting, make-up accumulate. Each of these is blended in with the intention of making an integrated whole. During this final push gestures are edited so that they send the clearest signals, and practiced until they become second nature. Pacing, the relation of the rhythm/tempo of each part to that of the whole, becomes all important. This last phase of rehearsal is comparable to the phase of reintegration in a rite of passage. Strangers to the theater often think only of this last phase when they hear the word "rehearsal." But as I have tried to show, reintegration

is only the final part of a long process.

Immediately before going on most performers engage in some ritual. The Nō actor contemplates his mask; Jatra performers in Bengal worship the gods of the performance who manifest themselves in the props assembled on the trunks set up backstage; Stanislavski advised 30 seconds of silent concentration. Warm-ups are universal in experimental theater. These preparations immediately preceding public performance somehow recapitulate the workshop-rehearsal process and concentrate the performer's attention on the task at hand. It's a little like the moment of prayer or the singing of an anthem before a ballgame or prize fight. But these ceremonies are not holy in the religious sense, even when they include religious ritual. I think, rather, the ritual is a way of focusing the work of workshop-rehearsal and bringing this work across a difficult threshold, limen, that separates rehearsal from public performance. Sometimes these preparatory "moments" are hours long. Tribesmen in Papua-New Guinea, and performers of Yakshagana, Kathakali, and Ramlila in India, spend up to 4 hours putting on make-up and costumes. I always met with The Performance Group 2 hours or more before a performance to give notes, clean up the space, and do warm-ups. The main function of these preparations—even the putting on of effectively transformative costumes, masks, and make-up—is not merely to make the performer "look" the role, but to set aside time immediately before the performance for the work of training, workshop, and rehearsal to be awakened and take hold. I've seen Guru Sahoo even without the paraphernalia of Chhau, without mask or costume or

music, give great performances. But never without a moment of worship.

The three phases—separation, initiation, and reintegration—apply even to performances without audiences such as Grotowski's paratheater. Participants in Grotowski's experiments leave the city, travel to remote areas, and there perform actions with and under the supervision of Grotowski's people. These actions vary according to who the participants are and the current interests of the Laboratory Theater. But the actions always involve discovering and revealing hidden personal themes, finding new ways of behaving, sharing in an I-thou relationship. The physical actions—running through the woods at night, sudden immersion in water, circle dances where fire is passed from dancer to dancer, group chanting, singing, and storytelling—are very like those in initiation rites. Maybe these rites served as a model for Grotowski; maybe he came upon these actions independently. When the participants return home after a few days, or weeks, they say that they can't talk about what happened. This isn't due to any vows of secrecy, but to the conviction that words can't do justice to the experience. "It changed my life" is a frequent summary. So also at the level of action the experience with Grotowski resembles an initiation rite in which a transformation of self, a change of status, is effected. But ex-Grotowski-ites have been mostly unsuccessful in starting their own theaters or feeding what they've done with Grotowski into their own work. They are disabled rather than invigorated. Grotowski has not worked out, nor have his clients been able to supply, phase three of the rehearsal/ritual process: reintegration. There is no reintegration in Grotowski's paratheater—no way that the participants can bring it home or do it publicly. Thus participants are left hanging: they have been separated, stripped down, made into *tabula rasae*; they have had deep experiences, been "written upon," made new; but they have not been enabled to reintegrate this new self into the social world. Not only does Grotowski's theater no longer perform publicly, he disavows that his work is religious, and so it does not knit in with any existing system.

The absence of a means of reintegration in Grotowski's paratheater is related to the intentions of Grotowski's experiments. Theater has but two stances in relationship to society at large: either to be tightly woven into broader social patterns, as rituals are, or else to serve as an analytical instrument for the dialectical critique of the society which is theater's backdrop and surround, as Brecht's theater tried to do. Most theater people are not conscious of these stances, and their work drifts. But Grotowski is among the most conscious individuals I've ever met, and until recently he has avoided taking either of these stances. That's why his work is intentionally incomplete. His newly proposed "theater of sources" will culminate in a "transcultural village" where masters of performance from different non-Western cultures (a performative theme park/theater zoo) will meet Grotowski's

people and selected individuals from Euro-American culture. It is a move toward integrating his work into larger social patterns. It's also very romantic.

The three-phase process is the basic machine for the restoration of behavior. It's no accident that this process is the same in theater as it is in ritual. For the basic function of both theater and ritual is to restore behavior—to maintain performances of the $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ type. The meaning of individual rituals is secondary to this primary function, which is a kind of collective memory-in/of-action. The first phase breaks down the performer's resistance, makes him a *tabula rasa*. To do this most effectively the performer has to be removed from familiar surroundings; hence the need for separation, for "sacred" or special space, and for a use of time different from that prevailing in the ordinary. The second phase is one of initiation, of developing new or restoring old behavior. But so-called new behavior is really the rearrangement of old behavior, or the enactment of old behavior in new settings. In the third phase, reintegration, the restored behavior is practiced until it is second nature. The final moment of the third phase is the public performance. Public performances in Euro-American theater are repeated until there aren't any more customers; theater "productions" are treated as commodities. In most cultures performances occur according to schedules that strictly ration their availability. What we call "new behavior," as I said, is only short strips of behavior rearticulated in novel patterns. Experimental theater thrives on these rearticulations masquerading as novelties. But the ethological repertory of behaviors, even human behaviors, is limited. In rituals, relatively long strips of behavior are restored, giving the impression of continuity, stasis, tradition: not only the details but the whole thing is recognizable. In creative arts, especially experimental performance, relatively short strips of behavior are rearranged and the whole thing looks new. Thus the sense of change we get from experiments may be real at the level of recombination but illusory at the basic structural/processual level. Real change is a very slow evolutionary process.

Part VIII

D. W. Winnicott's ideas add an ontogenetic level and a new set of categories to my description of what the performer does. Winnicott, a British psychoanalyst (now dead), was interested in the mother-baby relationship, particularly how the baby discovers the difference between "me" and "not me." Winnicott proposed a mind/body state between "me" and "not me." This third, intermediate state is a double negative very like Bateson's description of the "play frame" in his "Theory of Play and Fantasy." It also is analogous to Turner's concept of the liminal. Winnicott (1971) writes:

I am here staking a claim for an intermediate state between a baby's inability and his growing ability to recognize and accept reality. I am therefore studying the substance of *illusion*, that which is allowed to the infant, and which in adult life is inherent in art and religion. [p. 3]

I think there is use for a term for the root of symbolism in time, a term that describes the infant's journey from the purely subjective to objectivity; and it seems that the transitional object (piece of blanket, etc.) is what we see of this journey of progress toward experiencing. [p. 6]

The transitional object and transitional phenomena start each individual off with what will always be important to them, i.e., a neutral area of experience which will not be challenged. [p. 12]

The important part of this concept is that whereas inner psychic reality has a kind of location in the mind or in the belly or in the head or somewhere within the bounds of the individual's personality, and whereas what is called external reality is located outside these bounds, playing and cultural experience can be given a location if one uses the concepts of the potential space between the mother and the baby. [p. 53]

In babies, and in performers (as adults), the movement from "not me" to "not not me" is seen in the following objects and situations:

- a security blanket that a child needs to hold in order to feel good
- favorite toys that can't be replaced
- the script — not just words but the whole pattern of words and actions — that during the rehearsal become "mine"
- necessary props, even some that the audience doesn't see
- the gestures of a role as the role becomes "mine"
- anything a person acquires, needs, and can't throw away even though a replacement is available and/or the item is of no "use"

In each of these cases a process occurs in which something that is "not me" becomes "mine" in a bodily, deeply felt, ingested way. The thing or action is more than "mine" — it is "me." Or, as I have put it, it is "not me... not not me." Thus the liminality that Turner identifies at the heart of the ritual process is also an essential part

of individual development: at the heart of each person's most private growing. The process is two-directional: some things stop being "me" and become "not me":

- mother's breasts
- something deeply "mine" that I slowly begin to share but never can give away
- "my" body as it is caressed by a loved one
- a performance I'm in going stale
- any favorite thing once treasured but now no longer "right"

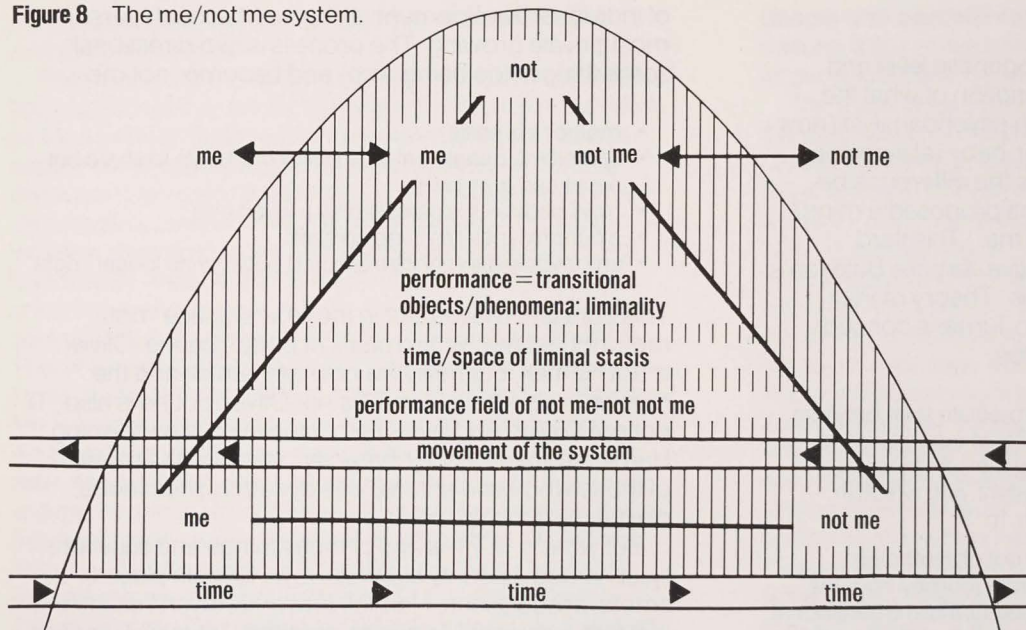
This constant movement in the liminal space "not me... not not me" is the matrix of performance. Olivier is not Hamlet, but he's also not not Hamlet; and the reverse is also true: Hamlet is not Olivier but he is also not not Olivier. And over the centuries of its performing Hamlet (both play and character) takes on the qualities of those who have entered this dynamic, precarious, playful relationship with it.

But what is "it"? It is any of those things and situations I just named: security blankets, toys, favorite places, smells, associations, Hamlet, artworks, lovers, situations that feel "just right," fantasies, routines, "rituals" if you will. Hierarchies of all kinds — ontological, social, aesthetic — are dissolved, set aside for the "time being" so that people can "make believe." Thus in theater we get a very powerful kind of subversion/deconstruction followed by a reconstruction of realities according to new, playful possibilities. Winnicott (*ibid.*:89) goes on:

The essential feature in the concept of transitional objects and phenomena... is the paradox, and the acceptance of the paradox: the baby [the performer] creates the object but the object was there waiting to be created [actions in the script]. ... We will never challenge the baby [the performer] to elicit an answer to the question: did you create that or did you find it?²¹

A restatement in psychoanalytic terms of Turner's notion of liminality (= transitional). Also a version of the old saw about "willing suspension of disbelief," which can be translated into my double negative as "not agreeing to not believe." Winnicott is saying the player playing Hamlet is not to be interrupted in the middle of "To be or not to be" and asked: Did you think up those words? Nor is Othello to be stopped while smothering Desdemona and interrogated about the authenticity of his passion. Or if the performer is stopped — as Brecht might do, or Pirandello — the audience assumes at once that the interruption is itself part of the script. By script I don't mean just the written play, but the whole score of the performance, including what arrangements have been made to deal with hecklers.²²

Figure 8 The me/not me system.



Rendered by Janis Essner

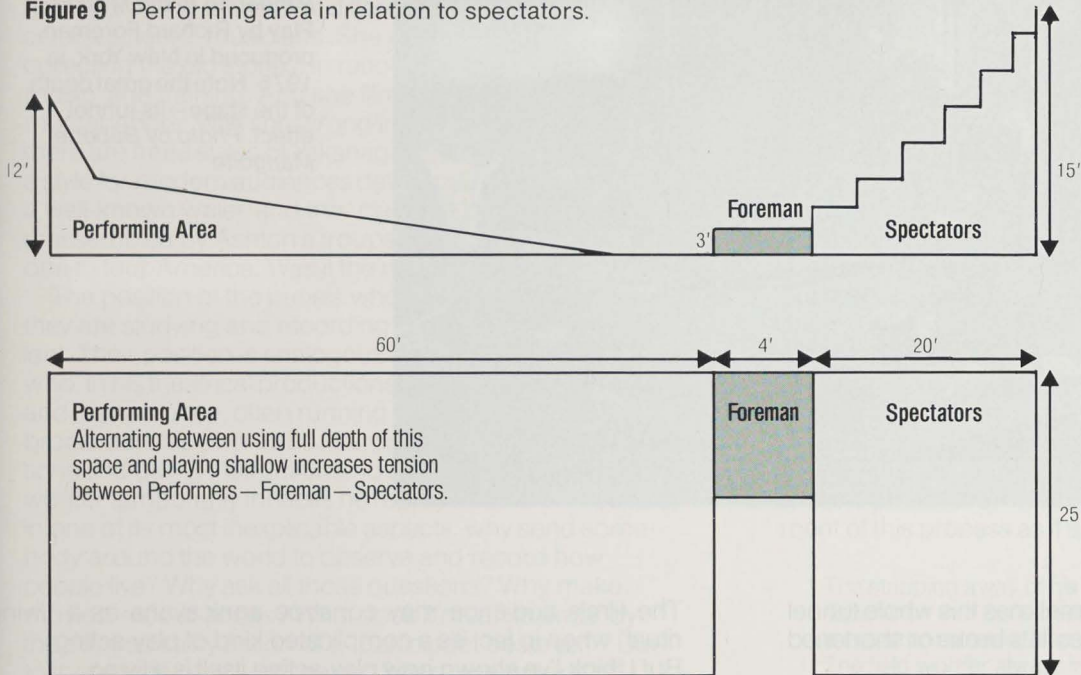
Restored behavior of all kinds—rituals, theatrical performances, restored villages, agnicayana—is “transitional behavior.” Elements that are “not me” move toward becoming “me,” and parts of “me” move toward becoming “not me.” The whole process is framed in the negative, the subjunctive, the “as if.” This is the peculiar but necessary double negativity that characterizes symbolic action in general. Performance is where this double negativity is most visible because in performing, the performer, the “me,” does not disappear as the performance takes shape. A painting may be hung without doing the same to the painter, but a play needs players to be played. More: a performer experiences his own self not directly but through the medium of performance, of what happened during rehearsals, or under the aegis of tradition, of experiencing the Others. While performing, he no longer has a “me” but a “not me...not not me.” In this way restored behavior is simultaneously private and social: the performer moves between denying himself in favor of the social reality of the script and denying the social reality of the script in favor of himself. A person performing recovers his own self only by going out of himself, by entering the social field: the “space between.” A performance “takes place” in the “not me...not not me” area “between” performers; “between” performers and script; “between” performers, script, and environment; “between” performers, script, environment, and spectators. The larger the field of the “not me...not not me,” the more powerful the performance. It is the ambition of every performance to expand this field until it includes all beings and things and relations. But this field is precarious. The larger it gets, the more doubt and anxiety are aroused. When everything is going well, the

“between” field, the liminal space, is experienced as the “ensemble feeling” performers enjoy, the sense of being “touched” or “moved” spectators talk about: that special absorption the stage engenders in those who enter on it or come close to it.

By integrating the thought of Winnicott, Bateson, and Turner with my own work as a theater director, I am proposing a theory that includes the ontogenesis of individuals, the social action of ritual, and the symbolic-fictive action of art. Clearly these overlap. That’s because their process is identical. It is the process I’ve called the “not me...not not me”; the restoration of behavior; the rehearsal process; the deconstruction-reconstruction of experience through workshop-rehearsal-performance; tradition as expressed in ritual; the play frame; the liminal; the transitional.

The field of performance, the liminal time space, is precarious because it rests not on how things are but on how they are not: that is, it rests on mutuality among participants. It’s not that the women in Papua-New Guinea don’t know who is behind the masks, but that they agree to proclaim that they don’t know. As with Londoners enjoying Olivier, these women do not agree to not believe. Why do I insist on a double negative = a positive instead of a simple positive? Because in the direction of negativity lies potentiality. A choice made denies all choices not made; but a choice not made keeps alive every possibility. Thus a double negative has the existential actuality of a doing while maintaining the full potentiality of the suspended choice. The whole performance is “not real...not not real” at the same time/space. Or, to put it another way, the technical mastery of performing is knowing how to do certain things,

Figure 9 Performing area in relation to spectators.



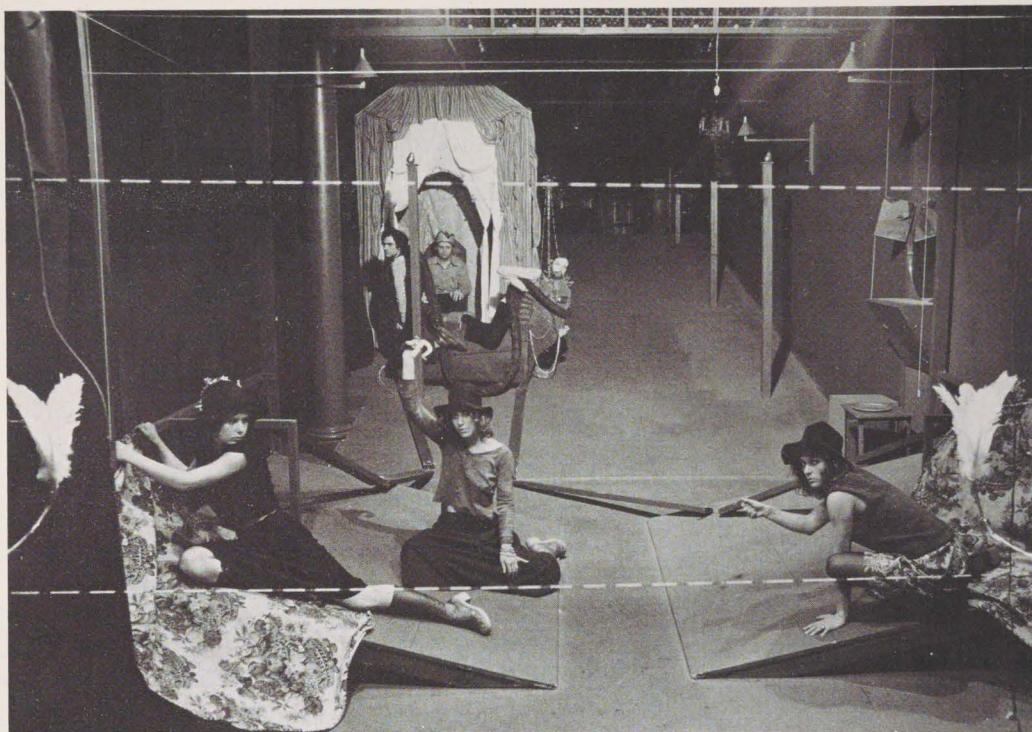
achieve levels of skills, pull off tricks. But no matter how phony the show, an audience responds to sincerity, and there is as much sincerity involved in tricking as there is in so-called truth-telling. To perform excellently is to master whatever the craft is: telling the truth, telling lies. This amorality is one of the main things that makes theater dangerous.

In Figure 8 I have tried to portray this system. This figure is a version of $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. Things, actions, people—whatever is being “worked on” in the performance (and a shaman will work on different orders of being than a stand-up comic, but the process of their working will, I think, be the same)—move from “not me” toward “me” and from “me” toward “not me.” This constellation of performative elements passes through the time/space of “not me...not not me.” And in this time/space diachronics are abolished. Actions are thrown forward in time—“keep that,” says the director—to be recovered and used later.²³ A show is assembled out of fragments, rehearsed out of order later to be reintegrated into the order, the “unity,” the audience sees; and many details are repeated over and over again. The French word for rehearsal is *répétition* (repetition), and it’s apt. Even where there are no rehearsals in this Western sense—as in Nō drama—the gestures used have been devised over the centuries and practiced in the training for years. It’s all restored behavior. Associations from early in life are juxtaposed with spontaneous interactions happening in the here and now of workshop-rehearsals. Or, as in Nō drama and many rituals, in the here and now of performance. The system as a whole

moves against the flow of ordinary time. That is, the completed total system is always coming at you from the “future,” where you meet things earlier thrown ahead. During performance, if everything is going well, the experience is of synchronicity, of flow, as ordinary time and performance time eclipse each other.²⁴ And, as in a solar eclipse, a scintillating corona is briefly visible: a radiance splashing out from the dark core of double negativity. This eclipse/corona is the “present moment,” the “eternal present,” the reactualized *illud tempus*,²⁵ the ecstasy of trance, liminal stasis, the balancing act of shamans (Myerhoff 1976). Great performers are very special because they keep their balance in the presence of onlookers. Not for long.²⁶

Part IX

The theater of Richard Foreman exemplifies this “liminal-transitional” process. Much in Foreman’s work is interesting, but I’ll attend to only one thing: the overall arrangement of space and Foreman’s place in it. From 1971 to 1979 he wrote, directed, and designed his own productions in his own theater—a loft about 100 feet deep and 25 feet wide—on lower Broadway. In terms of control Foreman’s work belongs more to painting than to theater: his struggle is with his material, including people, but not against cocreators who might mess up his vision. The audience of seventy-five sat on steeply rising bleachers facing the long narrow stage area reach-



Pandering to the Masses.
Play by Richard Foreman,
produced in New York, in
1975. Note the great depth
of the stage—its tunnel
effect. Photo by Babette
Mangolte

ing back more than 60 feet. Sometimes this whole tunnel was open to view, and sometimes flats broke or shortened the space (see Figure 9).

Foreman himself was located between the performers and the spectators. To the spectators he was a performer, and to the performers he was a spectator. He was "not a performer... not not a performer," "not a spectator... not not a spectator." Foreman manipulated all the sound, scenic, and light cues himself, and his voice is the one heard on tape giving directions to the performers and making comments on the action. Foreman not only supervised the performance but indirectly entered it. Yet his position is peculiar and precarious. He was "in transition" and "liminal" relative to his own work. His actual presence was made ambivalent by his mediated presence as tape-recording, script, director, technician, and designer. In one of his productions he began to resolve this ambivalence by pointing it up. A Sword of Damocles descended from the ceiling and hung inches above his balding skull, at once pointing him out to all in the room and threatening him. In the next production he got up from his seat and entered the stage briefly. Shortly thereafter, he sold his theater.

Part X

What about Staal and Gardner? They entered Kerala as theatrical producers-directors in the guise of anthropological researchers. Not finding a ritual worthy of being filmed, they arranged for one to be performed. They made sure there was enough lead time to get money to make the film and to import a bevy of important scholars. Their lie, if there is one, comes with the marketing of *Altar of Fire* as a document of an ancient ritual they just happened upon. In the nick of time, too.

The film's audience may construe agnicayana as a "living ritual" when in fact it's a complicated kind of play-acting. But I think I've shown how play-acting itself is a living ritual, though one made reflexive through the use of rehearsals. *Altar of Fire* is not a film of Vedic ritual. The filming itself ritualizes the action of restaging/restoring the agnicayana. Too bad Staal-Gardner didn't include a reflexive consciousness of this—or at least issue two films, one of the ritual "in itself" and one of their making of the film about it, a kind of Truffautian film of them filming *Altar of Fire*. The same twist is at the heart of restored villages. They aren't a return to earlier centuries but our own epoch's way of ritualizing our daily lives. And like all rituals a visit to a restored village gives one a sense of tradition, of significance, of continuity. And the ritual includes, of course, packing the family into the car and driving off to the village.

Maybe even today most anthropologists would agree with Turner, who said of his own stay with the Ndembu, "We never asked for a ritual to be performed solely for our own anthropological benefit; we held no brief for such artificial play-acting" (1969: 10).²⁷ There are two responses to Turner. First, I think the presence of the field worker is an invitation to play-acting. People want their pictures taken, want books written about them, want to show how they are and what they do. Second, what does he propose relative to traditions that are near extinction? Ought we not recognize that in many societies patronage itself has been traditional and has guaranteed the continuation not only of aesthetic but also of ritual forms? How ought we respond to the dooming of many varieties of ritual theater by modernization? In Karnataka, South India, not too many miles from where Staal-Gardner filmed, Martha Ashton was studying Yakshagana, a form of dance-drama hardly ever done according to the old ways. Ashton got a company to-

gether drawing on several different groups. She hired actors, singers, musicians. She assisted them in re-collecting the old stories; in reconstructing the old steps, music, and training. And she filmed the results of their mutual labors. Was she wrong in doing this? Today there are three styles of Yakshagana: the popular version, a style for modern audiences developed by K. S. Karanth, a well-known writer, and the "classical Yakshagana" reassembled by Ashton's troupe. This last style was the one to tour America. Was it the most or the least Indian?

The position of the purists who won't stage the rituals they are studying and recording is not pure but ambivalent. Their position is analogous to that of Foreman, who, in his theatrical productions, sits between his players and his audience, often running a tape recorder that broadcasts his own voice interpreting and asking questions and giving instructions. To the society the field worker temporarily inhabits he represents his own culture in one of its most inexplicable aspects: why send somebody around the world to observe and record how people live? Why ask all those questions? Why make movies, record songs? What does it mean to embody the contradictory action of a "participant observer"? But to those who read—or see and hear—the reports of the field worker, he is our big link with both fresh aspects of human nature and the often proposed but never proven thesis that humans comprise one species culturally as well as biologically. As more and more field reports accrue, the exotic annals of human behavior look less and less exotic: we can detect structural affinities, universal patterns and processes. These are nowhere more apparent than in the arts, which seem to be of a piece from the earliest cave paintings to present-day performances.

The script of the field worker demands a pretended distance, a studied absence: to be present but invisible. Everything is supposed to be as it would if the field

worker weren't there. Of course this is a gross fiction, a theatrical convention. The field worker is like the aristocrat preening on the Restoration stage: everyone watches his slightest move, but he's not part of the story. Yes, the field worker's circumstances are theatrical. He exists in a liminal state, a situation in transition. He is not a performer and certainly not a spectator. He's in the middle, like Foreman, between two spheres of actuality, two societies. To each society he represents the other; in each society he is a "not me...not not me." Foreman put himself precisely where these two actualities press against each other. How can the field worker position himself?

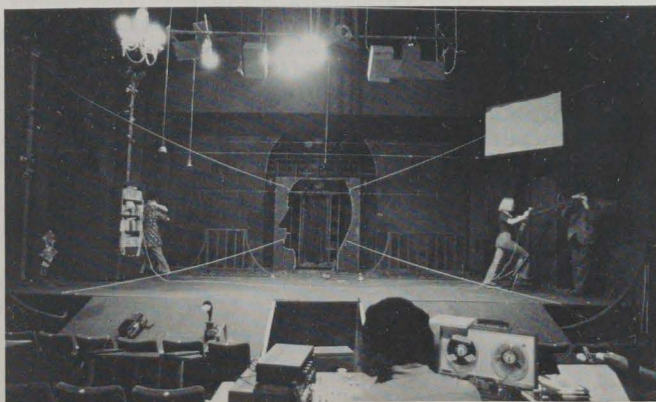
The field worker, like the theater director, like performers in workshop-rehearsals, goes through the three-phase process Van Gennep mapped out as the pre-liminal rites of separation, the liminal rites of transition, and the postliminal rites of incorporation.²⁸ My restatement of this process as it applies to the field worker is:

- 1 The stripping away of his own culture-habits—a brutal *separation* that is the deepest struggle of fieldwork, which is never completed, learning "to see with a native eye." The field worker always lives "in between." So does the director who is part of the audience to the performers and part of the performers to the audience.
- 2 The finding out of what's "new" in the society he is temporarily a part of, or "partner of." This is the field worker's *transition*: his new role, identity, position, status in regard to his adoptive culture. The theatre director works in a similar way to understand and then draw from the performer's "material."
- 3 The task of using field-notes, or whatever, to compose an acceptable monograph, film, whatever: something that's "true to" both his adopted people and his home culture. The director must find a way to make a production "work." If successful, the field worker becomes a professor, the director is given new works to direct: their *incorporation* is completed.

The field worker is no novelist freely transforming his own actual or fantasy experiences; nor is he a "hard scientist" building models strictly fenced off from ordinary life.

More and more—especially as films, photographs, and tape cassettes become his tools—the field worker is like the theater director—the evoker-observer who participates and keeps a distance at the same time; the collector of items to be "thrown forward" in time and made into a unified construct that "comes after" but is not necessarily "true to" its sources: a restorer of behavior. The field worker, like the director, is present at the mid-phase of making a production but apparently absent at its inception (script making) and conclusion (performance for a public); he does not author the script but somehow guarantees its realization before an audience. The field worker doesn't create the societies he studies, but his presence gives these cultures a special significance,

Une semaine sous l'influence de: Paris production of play by Richard Foreman (1973). Note Foreman's head as he manipulates controls in full view of the audience. Photo by Babette Mangolte



a reverberation felt both among those he studies and back home where his productions find their niche. The field worker, like the director, is the embodiment of linkage, the essence of in between.

Now theater directors are leaving the shadowy area out of sight off stage. They are entering the stage, as Foreman did, as Tadeusz Kantor, the director of *The Dead Class*, does when all during the show he talks to, manipulates, and coaches the performers: the play is set, rehearsed, but also taking new shapes right before our noses. This doesn't make the director a performer just like the others, just as the field worker isn't a hard scientist or novelist, but a special kind of performer, a master of liminality, a specialist in reflexivity. He is always working the $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$, the "not me...not not me." Field workers and theater directors are restorers of behavior. The time is on us when field workers, like directors, produce for us not only versions of faraway cultures but performative works of our own multiple actualities. In an epoch of hyperconsciousness we are concerned with knowing how we know what we know: restoration of behavior is the industry of the future. Theater workers, field workers: we are one with the clowns and jugglers, the double agents and dissimulators, the con men and shamans.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

Earlier versions of some parts of this article will appear in *A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology*, Jay Ruby, ed. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

- 1 Labanotation, roughly analogous to musical notation, was developed by Rudolf von Laban in 1928. According to an article in the *New York Times* (May 6, 1979, "Arts and Leisure," p. 19) by Jack Anderson: "The system records dance movement by means of symbols on a page that is read from the bottom up. Three basic vertical lines represent the body's center, right, and left sides. Where the symbols are placed on the lines indicates what parts of the body are moving. The shape of the symbols indicates the direction of the movement, and their length indicates the movement's duration."
- 2 Andrews has done more research than anyone on the Shakers' rituals. See References.
- 3 For my ideas about performances that "actualize"—and therefore a sense of what I felt 11 years ago about this whole problem—see Schechner (1977: 3-35).

- 4 All Emigh citations from a letter he distributed to a few persons concerning his 1975 work in West Irian. Emigh was trying to establish connections relating Balinese performance to West Irian, and other Micronesian, performance styles. Most of Emigh's stuff has not yet been published, but I think he is onto establishing a stratum of performance including masks, dance styles, and relationship to sacred geography that was/is present across vast areas of the Pacific. W. H. Rassers (1959) has shown a definite relationship between Balinese shadow puppetry and Sepik River ceremonies. In performance people tend to be technologically conservative, always maintaining to a degree the ideas that Grotowski gathered under the banner of "poor theater." This keeping of old ideas of how to do things also preserves, almost in archeological layers, old belief systems and behaviors too. These are constantly being worn away and then restored.
- 5 Staal bases much of his argument on the 1975 agnicayana.
- 6 The shooting script I got when I was in Kerala in 1976. The script gives detailed instructions to camera people, technicians, etc. It also provides drawings of the site, altars, and background material.
- 7 Vatsayan's opinion is universally shared by other dance scholars in India.
- 8 1975 program used on February 22, University of Michigan, p. 3.
- 9 Until John Emigh told me about Mead's account I thought *Trance and Dance* wholly "authentic." It proves how easily I can fall into the very trap I'm warning others against. To many American students *Trance and Dance* is the most powerful example of what Balinese trance "really is."
- 10 From a three-page mimeograph information paper dated "2/80," sent to me by Ingram, pp. 1-2.
- 11 From a letter sent by Ingram to Jay Ruby, dated April 30, 1981.
- 12 From a newspaper article by Tim Miller describing how roles are cast and prepared. The Old Colony Memorial, Plymouth, Massachusetts, April 2, 1981.
- 13 The repartée between centuries is sometimes seasoned with nice ironies. A visitor at Plimoth apologized for interrupting a craftsperson with questions. "As many as you like, sir," the performer responded, "I have a few questions meself about your time period." For more on restored villages, theme parks, and related entertainment-performance environments see Haas (1974), Kriazi (1976), and MacKay (1977). And James H. Bierman, Department of Theatre Arts, University of California, Santa Cruz, has lots of stuff on the Disney enterprises.
- 14 Mimeo paper dated 2/80, p. 2.
- 15 Ingram letter, 1981.
- 16 See note 12 (Miller 1981).
- 17 Mimeo paper dated 2/80, p. 3.
- 18 From a newspaper article by Tom Reilly in the *Sippican Sentinel*, Marion, Massachusetts, April 29, 1981.
- 19 *New York Times*, Sunday, March 5, 1978.
- 20 I use this same figure in another essay where I consider the relationship between "social drama" and "aesthetic drama." There theatrical techniques are the hidden, implicit underbelly of social and political action—the dramatic ordering of events; and conversely, social and political action underly theatrical works. Thus it is not proper to speak as Aristotle did of "art imitating life." But neither is it true that "all the world's a stage." Together these statements make up the poles of a dialectical, dynamic process by which artistic action creates possibilities for living and events in ordinary life provide material and models for art. The whole bundle must be looked at as a single system. See my *Essays on Performance Theory* (1977: 140-144) for a discussion of the relationship between social and aesthetic drama. The visual pun with infinity was not at first intended when I drew the figure. Later, becoming aware of it, I was not displeased.
- 21 I thank Cynthia Mintz for pointing out to me the importance of this paradox and how it applies to performing.
- 22 In "Drama, Script, Theatre, and Performance" (see Schechner 1977a:36-62), I discuss in detail the relationship among these various magnitudes and dimensions of performance.
- 23 I discuss the rehearsal process—and compare it to the ritual process as described by Birdwhistell and Lorenz—in "Towards a Poetics of Performance" (see Schechner 1977b:132-137).

- 24 For a detailed discussion of flow, and reports on how it feels to experience flow, see Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1975). As he says: "Perhaps the clearest sign of flow is the merging of action and awareness. A person in flow has no dualistic perspective: he is aware of his actions but not of the awareness itself.... Typically, a person can maintain a merged awareness with his or her actions for only short periods" (p. 38).
- 25 I use the Latin in Mircea Eliade's sense: when the mythic or original time is "reactualized" and made present for the "time being" of the performance. Among Eliade's many books see especially *Rites and Symbols of Initiation* (1965) and *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1970).
- 26 Except for some. At Kumbh mela in Prayog I saw a man who claimed to have stood on one leg for 18 years. "The greatest mela of all is the Khumb mela at Prayog," writes Ved Mehta. This is so because at Prayog (modern Allahabad) the mela takes place at the *sangam* (Sanskrit, "joining"), the place where the sacred river Jamuna meets the sacred river Ganga. There these rivers are joined by the mythical underground river Saraswathi. Kumbh mela at Prayog happens during the dry season, in January, and the rivers are low. A vast city of tents is pitched on the dry river bed. And in 1977, when I was there, between dawn and noon on the most sacred day, some 3 million people bathed from a triangle of sand no larger than a New York City block like the triangle formed at Broadway and 42d Street, Times Square. Assembled that January, as for every Kumbh mela, were mystics, fakirs, avatars, sadhus, pilgrims, tourists, scholars, performers, merchants, beggars—seekers of every kind. The man standing on one leg was a big draw. Crowds pressed in to see him, his face painted in white and red, his right eye bulging, his whole upper torso twisted to the right, his head askew and looking up over his right shoulder. He supported himself with a staff and leaned against a board. His left leg was tucked up behind him, bound to his thigh with cloth. His right leg, from the knee down, and right foot were swollen enormously, the blood and other fluids having drained down to there. The admiring crowd pressed in on him with gazes, small change, and many advanced to offer sweets at his elephant's leg or fed some directly to him as the Hindu gods are offered *prasad*. He talked in a rough voice, coarse and loud, laughed, and enjoyed himself. Also he seemed to be in pain. I asked one of his companions-guardians-keepers how he slept, defecated, did the ordinary things of life. "This way, the way you see him, always, day and night, for so many years, the same."
- 27 But now, more than a quarter of a century later, and deep into the practice of what he calls the "anthropology of experience," Turner himself is helping American students stage some of the rituals he and his wife, Edith Turner, observed among the Ndembu. See Turner (1979).
- 28 Van Gennep originally published his ideas about liminality in 1908. Particularly through the work of Turner these ideas are still very alive and developing. See Van Gennep (1960). Also Turner, *The Ritual Process, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (1974), *Dramatic Ritual/Ritual Drama: Performative and Reflexive Anthropology* (1979), and his forthcoming *From Ritual to Theatre*.
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V. b. b.
Auswanderer

VI. JAHRGANG NR. 44

A-I-Z

DIE ARBEITER-ILLUSTRIERTE ZEITUNG ALLER LÄNDER



**BERICHT
der A. I. Z.
über den mittel-
deutschen
BRAUN-
KOHLEN-
STREIK**

The Eyes of the Proletariat: The Worker-Photography Movement in Weimar Germany

Hanno Hardt and Karin B. Ohrn

You must all come before my camera:
Honourable gentlemen with close-cropped hair,
Veterans of student duels,
You must all come before my camera:
Ladies in automobiles,
I want to take aim at your high breasts,
You must all come before my camera:
I capture you with my flashlight,
All you champagne-drinking parasites,
And I want the rest before my camera too:
The hospital with its suffering and distress,
The screams of women in childbirth,
And then the final picture in my camera:
Flags of victory all over the world,
And human beings holding one another's hand.

(Max Dortu, *Come before My Camera*, ca. 1930)

Weimar Germany was born in a climate of politics, art, literature and science that introduced new forms of expression as artists and writers responded to the excitement and turmoil of the young republic. Their creative efforts were an expression, too, of a political *engagement* shared by many. As George Grosz recalls: "If the times are uneasy, if the foundation of society is under attack, then the artist cannot merely stand aside; especially not the talented artist with his finer sense of history. Therefore he becomes, whether he wants to or not, political" (Von Eckardt and Gilman 1975:76).

Popular magazines became an important vehicle for artistic and intellectual expression, in particular for new combinations of words and pictures dealing with contemporary events. The stimulus of political journalism, as exemplified by Carl von Ossietzky and his *Weltbühne*, thus found commercial application in newspapers and magazines appealing to mass audiences. And, as photographs began to appear regularly on magazine covers and with greater frequency inside, they took precedence for the first time over text as the primary journalistic medium.

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Old magazines from well-established publishing houses such as Ullstein's *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (founded in 1890) were gradually redesigned to take advantage of this trend toward journalistic photography. New independent magazines, such as the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* and the *Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung* (founded in 1923 and 1926), overcame their provincialism in part by using photography to establish a cosmopolitan content and appeal. Nor was there any question that photographs could be directed toward political goals, for picture magazines covered the range of the political spectrum: from the National Socialist's *Der Illustrierte Beobachter* (1926) to the Communist party's principal organ, *Die Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung* (1921). By 1926, there were over 30 picture magazines being published in Germany.

This appetite for photographs created new problems for magazines. The task of getting a volume of pictures of visually interesting subjects, then displaying it effectively, demanded new creative talents. Those with interest and ability quickly gained the power to shape the character of publications, in particular to express their political convictions through the coverage of events in their magazines.

Many of Germany's leading journalists during the prewar period were opposed to Hitler, and the picture editors of the three largest magazines were among them: Kurt Korff, editor of the *Berliner Illustrierte*; Paul Feinhals, who in 1930 moved from the *Münchener Illustrierte* to the *Kölnische Illustrierte*; and Stefan Lorant, who became editor of the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* in 1928, and carried the magazine's cosmopolitan policy into its use of photographs. In various ways these men insured that the photographic content of their magazines avoided any allegiance with the National Socialist party. Lorant, for example, refused to publish any photographs of Adolf Hitler, and used humorously juxtaposed photographs to comment on liberal politicians who appeared naive about the Nazi threat. Each of these magazines published photo essays on different aspects of the lives of common people, but carefully omitted the glorification of Aryan traits that dominated the Nazi portrayal of the German people in *Der Illustrierte Beobachter*.

The photographers and newly formed picture agencies supplying work to these magazines appear to have supported these editors' views. Many photographers had forbidden the agencies to submit their work to *Der Illustrierte Beobachter* (Gidal 1973:26), and in 1933, most of the prominent ones—including many non-Jews—left Germany rather than submit to Nazi control of the press.



Figure 2 The end of the economic crisis: an optimistic account of rising employment, improved sales, and productivity. *Münchener Illustrierte Presse*, Volume 11, Number 46 (1932), pp. 1282-1283.

From the perspective of the radical left, however, the new German photojournalism was offering a weak and limited critique of the forces that were reshaping German society. The *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung* (*AIZ*) was founded specifically to correct and extend the liberal critique of Nazism offered by the bourgeois press. In order to carry out this goal, it was necessary to establish an organizational network independent of those that fed into Germany's emerging picture press. Unlike its bourgeois counterparts, the network that provided work for the *AIZ* was based on a view of both the medium and the practice of photography as explicitly political in content and consequences. Over the next decade, the *AIZ* became the most concrete vehicle in a leftist photography movement that treated each act involved in making, presenting, and looking at photographs as inherently political. The perspective that emerged from the resulting photographs deserves examination, not only because of the time and place in which this movement arose, or for its significance in the rise of the picture press, but also because of the beliefs about photography that shaped the practice and appearance of the work itself.

Rise of the Picture Press

When Willi Münzenberg needed a forum for the Internationale Arbeiterhilfe (Workers' International Relief, or IAH), he established *Sowjet-Russland im Bild* (1921), whose title was changed after 12 issues to *Sichel und Hammer*. In 1924, it became the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*.¹ The *AIZ* remained the principal organ of the IAH, which Münzenberg used as an umbrella organization to bring together a broad spectrum of leftists and liberals in support of humanitarian causes. His eclectic interests, engaging manner, and broad vision helped him build a broad but loosely structured coalition.

Many of the writers, artists, and intellectuals Münzenberg attracted to IAH were willing to lend support to other causes and provided much of the material used in the growing number of publications the Communist party was distributing. In addition to the *AIZ*, with a circulation approaching 500,000, these included the humor magazine *Der Eulenspiegel* and the daily newspapers *Berlin am Morgen* and *Welt am Abend*, for a combined circulation of over 400,000 (Gruber 1966:288). Münzenberg rejected the narrow definition of a party press: these publications were all intended to stimulate a general feeling of solidarity among workers, not only in Germany, but around the world. The *AIZ*, as a picture magazine, was seen as having powerful potential in this regard.



Figure 3 Photographic evidence of misleading pictures used by the MIP to create the impression of an economic upswing. *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*, Volume 11, Number 50 (1932), pp. 1164-1165.

The magazine was assembled by a small staff. Even during its most successful period, from 1927 to 1933, there were only five staff members. Lilly Becher, the editor, had begun her journalistic career with the Ullstein publishing house, then worked from 1921 to 1926 on the editorial staffs of several Communist publications. She became editor in chief of the *AIZ* in 1927. Her chief assistant was Hermann Leupold, formerly a toolmaker, who was responsible for the layout of the magazine.² In addition, there was a picture editor who also acted as archivist, an artist responsible for drawings, and a stenographer. According to Becher, different names were often used to give the impression that a large staff contributed to the making of each issue. She also acknowledged that the staff kept close contacts with the Communist party and the revolutionary part of the working class (Willmann 1975:7).³

The *AIZ*'s broad range of content—from sports, puzzles, and columns for children to topics of international labor and politics—was liberally illustrated with photographs. While subscribing to the condescending notion of the viewer as easily seduced by photographs, Münzenberg also recognized the competition the *AIZ* offered to other illustrated magazines:



The picture has an effect particularly on children and young people, on those with simple thoughts and feelings, on not yet organized, indifferent masses of workers, farm laborers, tenant farmers and other classes. ... Even considering just the distribution, it is easier to sell an illustrated magazine to an indifferent worker than a theoretical brochure. It must be possible to successfully counteract *Verdummung* through bourgeois illustrated magazines which are circulated in the millions in Germany with an illustrated workers' magazine. [Münzenberg 1925:57]

Thus he saw the *AIZ* as part of a counter movement to the bourgeois media awakening people from the stupefying effect of the established press and the photography that dominated it.⁴

The media's increased use of photographs in both advertising and journalism was linked to the authority of photographs as documents. At a time when a concern for realism had inspired a new movement in German art and expression, photographs had great appeal. The insistent belief in photography's power to document "things as they are" gave the medium a natural place within "Neue Sachlichkeit," and was a major reason for its expanded role in the mass media. Münzenberg saw the *AIZ* as an opportunity to apply this belief in the authenticity of the photographic record to conditions of proletarian life.

The *AIZ* was able to take advantage of other conditions that were paving the way for photographs' widespread entry into the press: the low cost and accessibility of photographic equipment, relative ease of reproduction, and the growing number of people interested in making photographs for a living. And since the broad scope of the *AIZ*'s coverage overlapped with other picture magazines, those photographs might have been considered appropriate for the *AIZ*'s pages. However, some professional photographers objected to the ways their photographs were "made less credible or falsified through political slogans in captions" in the *AIZ* (Gidal 1973:26).

More important than the question of the availability of photographs was the identity and perspective of the photographers who made them. Münzenberg had been attempting to remove the distinction journalism has traditionally drawn between producer and consumer by encouraging readers to contribute to the magazine. This practice was more than an attempt to get material to print: Münzenberg was consciously confronting the premise of objectivity that dominated professional journalism. When the journalist is a member of the audience that is being addressed, self-interest can become one with the interest of that audience. This perception of photographers constitutes a further departure from the premise of objectivity by Münzenberg, for it acknowledges that photographs are not determined by technology or chemistry, but are shaped by the interests of the people who make them.

From the perspective of the *AIZ*, the camera was a means of expressing a partisan, ideologically charged point of view. Lilly Becher suggests that the worker-photographer movement was consciously guided by the small team of *AIZ* editors who recognized their own revolutionary task and who instilled in their contributors a strong sense of class consciousness that led to the kind of social reportage that drew widespread attention and offered "something qualitatively new" (Willmann 1975:8). Thus, amateur photographers began to document the living and working conditions of their own environments. By photographing the day-to-day routines of their coworkers, friends, and families, they were also gathering evidence of the oppression of the working class under the capitalist system.

The workers who engaged in this photographic documentation were doing more than producing illustrations for a magazine; photography was a vehicle for their active participation in the class struggle. In pointing to differences between social criticism among bourgeois and worker photographers, it has been suggested that the work of Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine, for example, was aimed at showing isolated events and always remained a bourgeois interpretation of the working class. Worker-photographers, on the other hand, recognized social criticism as the basis for their involvement, and it served as a guide toward a new vision of their class (Beiler 1977:85). Their individual and coordinated efforts served

a broad educative function by confronting the effects of those images that dominated the mass media. The act of creating such photographs was to affect the worker-photographers themselves, mobilizing them as active and insistent voices for their class and for the German left. To be a worker-photographer thus meant to admit the subjectivity of one's approach, to overcome the bourgeois influence upon the activities of viewing and taking pictures, and to use the camera quite consciously as a weapon.

AIZ and Worker-Photographers

The *AIZ* relied heavily on photographs by amateurs and remained the major outlet for the worker-photographers. At first, photographers were identified by name in the magazine, but later, to protect their safety and to signify the unity of their photographic efforts, their work was often labeled only "Arbeiterfotograf" (Rinka 1967:30). In 1926 the *AIZ* organized a photography contest, and soon afterward a national organization of worker-photographers was formed, the Vereinigung der Arbeiter-Fotografen Deutschland (VdAFD). In August 1926 the first issue of *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf* was published, a magazine specifically for worker-photographers. The *AIZ*, VdAFD, and *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf* served as the major means for building workers' interest in photography into a movement, encouraging a variety of public outlets and stimulating organized activities on the local, national, and even international levels.

The first national conference of the VdAFD in Erfurt (April 17, 1927) was attended by representatives of 25 groups in Germany and five representatives from foreign countries (U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, and Belgium) (Beiler 1967:48). Two years later, at the second national conference in Dresden, 24 organizations with 1,480 members were represented (Danner 1967:21). The German worker-photographers cooperated closely with their Soviet counterparts. In 1930, this resulted in Unionfoto G.m.b.H. (later called Union-Bild), a picture service combining German and Soviet interests that included Russ-Foto, the largest picture agency in the U.S.S.R., the secretariat of the Allrussian Workers' Photography Clubs, and several Soviet publishing houses. Workers' photography groups were also formed in several European countries and the United States (Danner 1967:22), and photography courses were offered at the Marxist workers' schools in Berlin and Leipzig.

As new groups were formed (16 between October and December 1927), exhibitions were organized and pictures were contributed to newspapers and magazines published by labor unions, the Communist party, and the Social Democratic party. Within these clubs or collectives, the photographers discussed their work, carried out joint projects, and maintained public bulletin boards of their recent photographic activities. Many clubs extensively

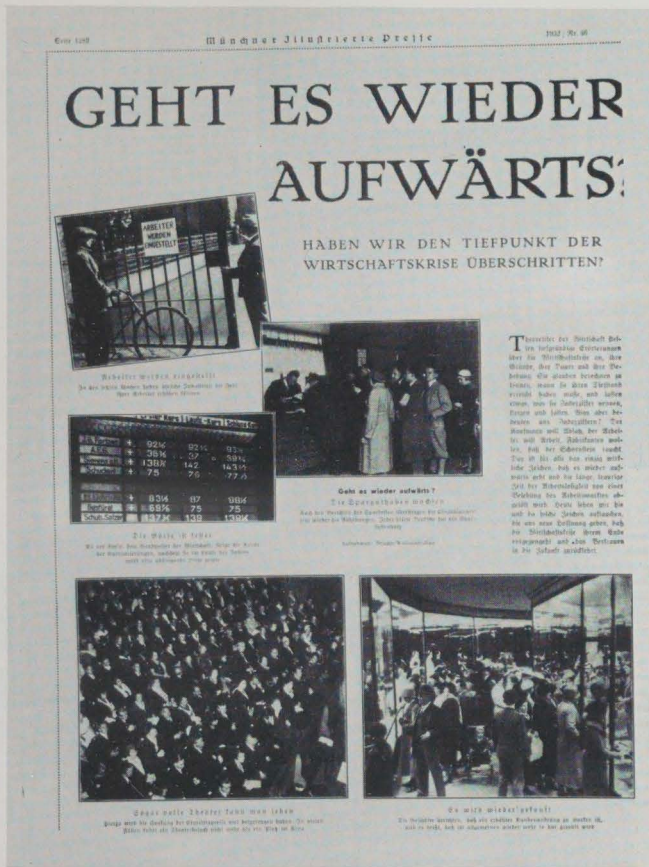


Figure 4 Cover features the prize-winning photograph (by Willi Zimmermann of Dresden) used as a postcard to recruit worker-photographers. *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf*, Volume 2, Number 11 (1928), p. 3. (From Joachim Büthe et al., *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf-Dokumente und Beiträge zur Arbeiterfotografie, 1926-1932*. Köln: Prometh Verlag GmbH, 1977, p. 53.)

documented a single "typical" worker's family. They also carefully coordinated their coverage of political demonstrations to insure that the film (if not the photographer) would stay out of police hands. Many groups were highly productive: one of the largest, in Leipzig, reported sending about 150 photo series to various publications over a 2-year period (*Der Arbeiter-Fotograf* 1928:11, 15).

The clubs also had access to *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf*, where they found information and analysis addressing many facets of their work. In articles about the art of photography they could read about and see examples of how others approached their work. A sensitivity to patterns of light and shade in everyday objects, for example, as seen in the photography of those working at the center of the Neue Sachlichkeit movement, was discussed. Examples of Soviet photography were frequently published, introducing German photographers to the perspectives of other socialists. Other articles focused on philosophical discussions of the relationship between art and labor, and the problem of integrating artistic expression with political struggle, stimulating workers to develop new concepts of the subjects they photographed.

Articles on technical subjects in *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf* introduced specific techniques, stressing inexpensive alternatives to photographic problems. Readers could learn how to make certain items, such as a flash unit, that might not otherwise be available to them. Each issue



Figure 5 "Bilderkritik," in *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf*, Volume 4, Number 7 (1930), p. 166. (From Joachim Büthe et al., *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf-Dokumente und Beiträge zur Arbeiterfotografie, 1926-1932*. Köln: Prometh Verlag GmbH, 1977, p. 114.)

also included a feature titled "Bilderkritik," offering specific criticism of work that individual photographers had submitted to the publication. By 1929 *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf* reported a circulation of 7000 (Danner 1967:21) and was a major outlet for photographs by workers. Certainly its availability was contributing significantly to the style and approach its readers were developing.

The impact of these sources of inspiration and support can be seen primarily in the pages of the *AIZ*, which remains the most accessible source for examining the work of these photographers. The general subject matter of the *AIZ*'s photographs continued to overlap considerably with the topics covered by other picture magazines. The daily life of common people, the institutions that shaped those lives, the prevalence of sport, and the turmoil of political struggle and change dominate the photography published in the German press during this period, and the *AIZ* was no exception. The worker-photographers could be expected to approach these prominent themes from a different perspective, however, given the social and political environments in which they were working.

German workers were not the only photographers supplying material to the *AIZ*. The worker-photographers' perspective, while well represented in the magazine, did not constitute the *AIZ*'s only window on the world. Regular features included pages of photographs from a variety

Der Arbeiter-Fotograf

Offizielles Organ der Vereinigung der Arbeiter-Fotografen Deutschlands

UNSERE WERBEPOSTKARTE

Nun liegt das Ergebnis des von Redaktion und Verlag veranstalteten Preisausschreibens vor. Die technische Kommission der Vereinigung der Arbeiter-Fotografen brauchte mehrere Stunden, um die vielen eingegangenen Arbeiten zu prüfen, und es war ihr nicht gerade leicht, von den in die engere Auswahl genommenen Arbeiten diejenige zu bestimmen, die den ersten Preis davontragen sollte.

Wenn wir ein Gesamteitel abgeben sollen, so müssen wir sagen, daß alle Prüfer von den oft vorzüglichen und originellen Ideen, die den Arbeiten zugrunde lagen, überrascht waren. Aber wir haben auch die Besätigung dafür erhalten, daß unsere Warnung vor komplizierten Fotomontagen angebracht war, denn so manche gute Idee wurde durch Zusammenstellung zu vieler Bilder unübersichtlich, ging also in ihrer Wirksamkeit verloren (Nicht das Plakat wirkt, auf dem möglichst viel — wenn auch nur Richtiges — geschrieben steht, sondern dasjenige, welches in wenigen klaren Worten Aufgaben und Ziel hin ausdri.)

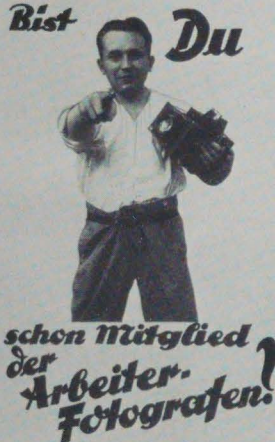
Wenn der Leser den hier wiedergegebenen Entwurf der Werbe-postkarte betrachtet, für den sich die Preisrichter entschieden haben, so wird er mit uns

übereinstimmen, daß gerade durch die Anwendung einfacher Mittel — ein zielbewußter Arbeiter, der seine Wille zu gebrauchen versteht — die wirkungsvollste Propaganda entfaltet werden kann.

Der Preisträger, der Gewinner des Fotoapparates, ist Genosse Willi Zimmermann aus Dresden, der außer dieser Arbeit noch drei weitere geliefert hat, die alle ziemlich gut gelungen sind.

Aber es gab auch noch einen Entwurf des Genossen Max Wolff aus Leipzig, den wir gern bevorzugt hätten, wenn die technische Ausführung besser gewesen wäre. Wir haben diese Arbeit angekauft und werden sie in der nächsten Nummer veröffentlichen.

So wird also die erste Werbe-postkarte aussehen, die die Vereinigung herausgibt. Sie wird sich zum Versand an bekannte Fotofreunde und zum Verkauf auf Ausstellungen vorzüglich eignen, denn ohne Herstellung in Lichtdruck oder als Fotokopie garantiert überall den Erfolg. Der Verkaufspreis wird voraussichtlich 15 Pf. pro Karte betragen. Wir ersuchen alle Interessenten, vor allem die Ortsgruppen, uns schnellstens ihren vorläufigen Bedarf aufzugeben, damit mit der Herstellung begonnen werden kann.



BILDERKRITIK

Alle Bilder müssen auf der Rückseite sämtliche Berechtigungen der Aufnahme, Zeit, Objekt, Stunde und Belichtungszeit sowie alle Hilfsmittel enthalten. Ebenso ist Name und Adresse des Arbeiter-Fotografen anzugeben.



Fotomontage B. D. Lipp

Fotomontage. Mit diesem Schulbeispiel, wie es der Einsender selber nennt, wollte er uns zeigen, wie man auch verkehrte Bilder noch verwenden kann. Weil nämlich das Fotoobjekt jedesmal mit darauf kam, „konnte er die Abzüge nicht anders als zu einer Fotomontage verwenden.“ Gewiß kann unter Umständen bei Montagen auch das eine oder andere, weniger gelungene Bild, mit Verwendung finden, aber ganz so einfach darf man sich die Sache, denn doch nicht machen. Tatsächlich ist keines der Bilder einwandfrei. Die Belichtungszeit war wohl durchweg zu lange gewählt. Unseres Erachtens sollte eine solche Zusammenstellung getragen sein von einem alles beherrschenden Motiv, welches am besten wirken dürfte, wenn es technisch einwandfrei ist. Die Vorlage ist ein interessanter Versuch, aber noch nicht mehr.



Erwerbslosentzug März 19 Uhr 7. Schinde, Imperial, Michel Heilmann

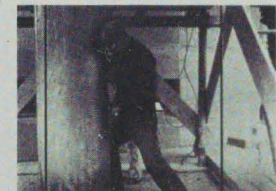
Erwerbslosentzug. Die Aufnahme ist untrübselig und etwas zu lang entwickelt worden. In einem abstimmbaren Entwickler, etwa Ulcin oder Rodinal, wäre das Negativ klarer geblieben. Eine Aufnahme vom Standpunkt des Redners hätte vielleicht dankbarer sein können.

Erholung. Luft und Sonne sind so recht geeignet, unsere müden Körper wieder zu kräftigen und es ist eine wichtige Aufgabe der Arbeiter-Fotografen in Büromittiger Weise sich erholt. Unser Beispiel zeigt aber davon zu wenig. Man weiß nicht recht, wofür es auf die Figur. Unseres Erachtens hätte er dem Freischicht, in diesem Falle, das Liebergewicht geben müssen. Die Aufnahme ist übrigens untrübselig und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach wurde die Platte nicht ausentwickelt.



Erholung 4 Uhr, B. 6. 6. Schinde

Abschleifen der Niete. An einer mit Blech verkleideten Betonsäule werden die Niete abgeschmitzt. Das ist ein singuläres Arbeitsmotiv. Die Handlung geschieht fast im Freien, auf einem Neubau. Die Bewegung des Arbeiters ist gut, nur schade, daß die Platte nicht mit drauf sind. Eine Hochaufnahme wäre hier angebracht gewesen. Der Maler, welcher unbedingt mit drauf sein wollte, stört natürlich sehr. Die Platte wurde zu hart entwickelt. Der vorliegende Gradlichtabzug ist jedenfalls viel zu kräftig. Auch dieses Bild kann man durch Bescheidenen verbessern.



Abschleifen der Niete Januar 12 Uhr, 1/2, Schinde, B. 6. 3. 179 246

W. B. Erbst

Figure 8 A picture story of a young proletarian, his life at home and at work. *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf*, Volume 1, Number 12 (1927), pp. 7-8. (From Joachim Büthe, *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf-Dokumente und Beiträge zur Arbeiter-fotografie*, 1926-1932. Köln: Prometh Verlag GmbH, 1977, pp. 182-183.)

nizing workers as photographers. Although the number of workers who made and published these photographs and the size of their audience cannot be estimated with any accuracy, from the content and form of their published photographs one can see to what extent the network of support resulted in a coherent and consistent political style of photography, a pattern of expression that distinguished worker-photographers from other press photographers of their time.

Worker-Photographer Style

Workers' photographs published in the *AIZ* and *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf* show that a style emerged within this group. Repetitions evident in the subject matter of the photographs and in the camera techniques used, particularly in framing and composition, suggest that worker-photographers developed a coordinated pattern of expression suited to the political aims of their movement; their work incorporated aspects of several different approaches to photography.

First, they worked as many amateurs do; their photography is similar to folk or family photography. The frequency of group photographs, usually arranged in a symmetrical composition, has a corollary in the many photographs of groups seen in family collections since

the turn of the century (Chalfen 1975, Ohrn 1977). The effect of overt posing is seen, as people stare stiffly at the camera or smile with raised fists in apparent response to the photographer's request. The photographs tend to define the scene broadly; the loose framing and placement of the primary subject or group at its center conforms to the amateur's definition of subject and background. The common-sense assumption that showing "the whole scene" means framing the principal subject with even amounts of space top and bottom, left and right, is evident.

The way these formal stylistic features present the subjects of the worker-photographers differs from those photographs anchored in the "home mode" tradition, however. The wide view, symmetrically composed, is well suited to showing large crowds in the streets and rows of workers taking a break to pose for a photograph. It emphasizes repetition of the human form and the settings in which the subjects are found, thus suggesting a political and social interpretation by the photographer. In contrast to the "personalization" of events in the bourgeois press (Hall 1973:183), the theme is not one of individuals, but of a mass—even "the masses"—of people engaged in a coordinated activity. The context of that activity, whether in the streets or in the work place, defines their role, while the size of the group suggests their power to define the setting as their own, one in which they, as a group, assert control.



Figure 9 Photographing the work-place: the demolition of a building. *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*, Volume 7, Number 40 (1928), pp. 8-9.

The evident posing of photographs in which people are gazing at the camera expresses a theme central to the amateur family photograph collection — that of agreement between the subject and the photographer. Agreeing to stand and be photographed is an admission of the power of the photographer over the subject. When the quality of the photographer's authority is coercive, the result may be extreme, as, for example, identification photographs in police files. However, when the photographer's authority stems from his or her role as an accepted member of a group, the sense in which the individual or group agrees to be photographed, if not strictly egalitarian, is certainly cooperative. The resulting photograph, as in the case of many of the worker-photographer group shots, expresses the photographer/subject relationship as one of shared, positive understandings of the purpose for which the photograph is being made.

In other respects, the style of the worker-photographers more closely paralleled another approach, seen most clearly in photographs made as part of extended documentary projects. Working environments and working conditions were approached as integral parts of a person's life and not as behind-the-scenes activities often ignored by the media. A worker photographing his wife, for example, did not employ the conventions used by the family photographer, but recorded her daily routine. The theme

Wir nehmen als Beispiel ein Objektiv von 10 cm Brennweite. Bei f 6,8 und Einstellung auf 2 Meter hat die Schärfe eine Ausdehnung von 50 cm, bei f 2 nur von 20 cm. Der Nachteil der hohen Lichtstärke wird noch ungenügender für die Einstellentfernung 15 Meter. Hier beginnt bei f 6,8 die Schärfe bei 1,5 Meter und reicht bis Unendlich, bei f 2 erstreckt sie sich nur von 11 bis 22 Meter!

Diese geringe Tiefenschärfe ist das ernsteste Bedenken bei den lichtstärksten Objektiven. Sie scheinen auf den ersten Blick zwei Aufgaben zu lösen, die dem Amateur bisher immer Schwierigkeiten machten, nämlich kürzeste Momentaufnahmen schnellbewegter Objekte (Sportaufnahmen) und Aufnahmen bei ungünstigen Licht. Wie aber soll man bei einer Sportaufnahme, bei der es doch die größte Freizügigkeit ankommt, im richtigen Augenblick die Einstellung so treffen, daß das Aufnahmeobjekt sich gerade in dem engen Bereich der Schärfe befindet. Mit der Blende darf man ja nichts machen, weil dann die Lichtstärke leidet. Und wie ist es mit dem zweiten oben angeführten Fall, etwa bei Tieraufnahmen im Walde bei schlechtem Licht? Ist es da überhaupt möglich, eine haarscharfe Einstellung auf der Mattscheibe zu machen? Man sieht ja nicht genug! Man wird sich also auf die Finstelskala und auf das Schätzen von Entfernungen verlassen müssen, und wie sicher das letztere ist, das weiß jeder, der es mal versucht hat.

Als Beispiel für die Leistungsfähigkeit lichtstärkster Optik werden gewöhnlich die Aufnahmen im Theater angeführt. Aber ich glaube, es weiß niemand den kleinen Trick, auf den es dabei ankommt, wer frohlich mit seinem Apparat in die Revue eilen würde, um etwas Nettes einzulangen, würde schwere Enttäuschung erleben. Es sind immer Belichtungszeiten von etwa einer

halben Sekunde erforderlich, und der kleine Trick, auf den es ankommt, besteht darin, daß der Herr Operateur sich erst das Stück ein paar mal ansieht, um zu wissen, wann ein stilles Moment zum Loschießen eintreten wird. Und auch dann noch nicht so frohlich, ob er die Tierlein richtig auf die Platte bekommt!

Und nun zu guter Letzt noch eine kleine Überlegung über das Gewicht des Apparats. Ein Objektiv von 10 cm Brennweite hat bei f 2 den Durchmesser von 5 cm. Das ist ein netter Glasklotz, den man in der Tasche auch richtig spürt.

Nach all dem Gesagten ergibt sich der Schluß, daß Apparate mit lichtstärkster Optik Spezialinstrumente für einige wenige Aufgaben sind, mit denen der Amateur in den seltensten Fällen etwas zu tun haben wird. Der Vorteil der hohen Lichtstärke läßt sich nur mit dem Nachteil der äußerst geringen Tiefenschärfe erkufen. Daran können alle Erfindungen niemals etwas ändern, denn hier handelt es sich um ein physikalisches Gesetz, nicht um eine technische Schwierigkeit. So hohen Wert lichtstärker Optik für wissenschaftliche Aufnahmen haben wir, ebenso wertlos ist sie für die allgemeinen Aufgaben des Amateurs. Darin mögen alle diejenigen einen Trost schöpfen, die sich aus Mangel an Mitteln solche Apparate nicht leisten können. Wenn sie aber doch meinen Worten nicht glauben wollen und durch einiges Sparen den Besitz eines lichtstärksten Goliaths anstreben, so prophezeie ich ihnen schon jetzt, daß sie zweimal eine ungetriebene Freude an ihrem Schatz haben werden. Das erstmal, wenn sie ihn vom Fotoständer nach Hause tragen, das zweite mal, wenn sie ihn glücklich einem anderen angedreht haben.



Polenarbeiterkinder

H. J. Lange

of "a day in the life of a worker" showed up frequently in the pages of the AIZ, indicating a more analytical vision than that of the characteristic amateur. Photographing the step-by-step process of a particular job was another common topic. The camera work in most cases was straightforward — camera angle rarely deviated from normal eye level, and the distance between photographer and subject tended to be held constant.

This recognition of the activities of the poor and working class was admittedly propagandistic, an intention common in documentary movements. As Dorothea Lange later said about her work for the Farm Security Administration (FSA) in the United States during the 1930s, "Everything is propaganda for what you believe in, actually, isn't it?... The harder and more deeply you believe in anything, the more in a sense you're a propagandist" (Lange 1968:181). The German worker-photographer would have agreed. A correspondence between the FSA photography in particular and the worker-photographer in Germany is freely acknowledged (Hiepe 1978:18-19). The importance of selecting and photographing previously undocumented groups and individuals was an explicit purpose of the FSA project, and several of the photographers, most notably Russell Lee, chose the analytical step-by-step approach to record their activities. Lewis Hine's documentation for the Pittsburgh Survey

DER ARBEITER-FOTOGRAF

Leben eines Jungproletariats

Chronik in 15 Bildern



Bild 2: So sah die „geräumige“ Jugend des Arbeiterkindes aus. Das magere und wenige Essen, das er mit den Geschwistern teilt, reichte nicht für einen Magen...



Bild 1: In dieser elenden, lauffähigen Baracke, einer Bruttobühne aller möglichen Krankheiten, wurde der Knabe geboren, dessen Leben hier in Bildern gezeigt wird. In Schmerz und Not erblühte er das Licht einer Welt, die so schön sein könnte für alle Menschen.



Bild 4: Aber schon nach wenigen Wochen ist er arbeitslos. Seine Arbeitskraft war dem Großgrundbesitzer zu teuer.

Bild 3: Aus der Schule entlassen, hatte der Junge keine Zeit und Gelegenheit zu lernen, er mußte sofort schlafen, um sein Brot zu verdienen, und fand für ein paar Pfennige Tageslohn Arbeit als Hirtenjunge.

Figure 10 “Bilderkritik,” in *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf*, Volume 4, Number 7 (1930), p. 167. (From Joachim Büthe et al., *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf-Dokumente und Beiträge zur Arbeiterfotografie, 1926-1932*. Köln: Prometh Verlag GmbH, 1977, p. 115.)

and the National Child Labor Committee in the early twentieth century also parallels the approach used by the German photographers. Each of these projects departed from the common tendency to select better-known leaders of society and usually avoided artful camera technique. The political implications of this approach are clear: they show in a direct manner the living and working conditions of the lower ranks of society and at the same time draw attention to that society's dependence on the activities of the working class. However, the overt political style of the German worker-photographers was further heightened by their identification with their subjects. Their firsthand experience with the people and activities they photographed gave them more intimate access to these subjects. The authority of their photographs thus conveyed the authenticity of a participant's perspective.

In other respects the worker-photographers were working as photojournalists, and their work shared components of a style that was becoming evident in the German picture magazines of the period. Although their photography was not always tied to an event considered newsworthy in the conventional sense, they were avid in their coverage of street demonstrations. They appear to have considered themselves watchdogs in the frequent confrontations between workers and the police: their photographs focus on police treatment of workers. When

DER ARBEITER-FOTOGRAF



Bild 5: Er kehrt in die Großstadt zurück und sucht sich nun Tag für Tag mit hungrigem Magen von den Arbeitnehmern anstellen.

Bild 6: Nach Wochen furchtbaren Darbens, in denen er oft dem Scheitern nahe war, findet er endlich wieder als Landarbeiter Beschäftigung und ist trotz kargen Lohnes froh.



Bild 8: Dann kam der junge Arbeiter nach Hamburg. Als „Lagerboote“ findet er in einer Werft Beschäftigung. Ein neues, großes, unbekanntes Leben erfüllt ihn. Er kommt mit kämpfenden, Klassenbewußten Arbeitern zusammen und wird mit ihnen beim nächsten Lohnkampf ausgespiert.



Bild 7: Doch im Herbst flieht er auf die Landstraße. Nach neuer wochenlanger Arbeitlosigkeit gelangt er dem Arbeiterjungen Beschäftigung zu finden. Notstandarbeit, bei sehr geringem Verdienst. Aber auch das ist nur Arbeit auf kurze Zeit.

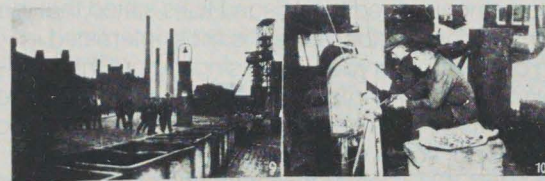


Bild 9 und 10: Nach Beendigung des Streikes beginnt die Arbeit in der Schleiferei der Werft wieder von neuem.

Figure 11 The arrest of workers; the large photograph (by Wide World) is used as a good example of an action picture. *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf*, Volume 1, Number 11 (1927), p. 5. (From Joachim Büthe et al., *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf-Dokumente und Beiträge zur Arbeiterfotografie, 1926-1932*. Köln: Prometh Verlag GmbH, 1977, p. 243.)

documenting the ongoing activities of workers, they often used the journalistic approach of selecting an angle, usually a particular worker or family, and tried to photograph as if through the eyes of their subject. By selecting a single individual as a protagonist, they could “tell a story” that represented the experiences of a broad segment of society, using an approach closely parallel to the photojournalists'. Particularly when making a series of photographs, they began to employ a variety of camera angles and distances from their subjects, looking for details, action, close-ups of faces, and overviews of the scene.

The “Bilderkritik” feature in *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf* encouraged this approach. Photographs submitted by workers were cropped to show a tighter focus on one figure, and new frames were drawn on overview photographs to demonstrate other parts of the scene deserving closer attention. By explicating these rules of composition, “Bilderkritik” was helping photographers shape their work to the photo essay form. Ways of improving their work in this regard were also a common topic of discussion within the worker-photographer groups.

A parallel kind of instruction was used in at least one group of American photographers. The head of *Life* magazine's Detroit bureau helped a group of factory workers develop an ability to locate stories and taught

them the "formula for shooting photo essays, bringing about a significant increase in the coverage from Detroit appearing in *Life* in the early 1950s" (Dykhouse 1979). The photo essays by German worker-photographers that were published in the *AIZ* look very different from *Life*'s photo essays, however. The protagonist of a story was often worked into a photomontage. A cutout photograph of this person might be displayed over other photographs of the work place. In a photo essay on child labor in a yo-yo factory, for example, the largest photograph on the page is of a single unidentified child (*AIZ* 1932:1,075). This technique did not individualize the worker, as seen in *Life* a decade later, but established the person as a symbol of the workers who shared his or her experience. *Life* editor Wilson Hicks stated that the good magazine photographer "is most interested in finding drama in everyday life, in singling out the commonplace, in delving into human problems; unlike the documentarian, he is not interested in doing so only for the purpose of social criticism or to plead a cause" (Hicks 1952:88). Clearly, the intentions of the German worker-photographers contrasted sharply with Hicks's ideal. Despite the photojournalistic conventions they used to document workers' lives, the worker-photographers' goal was to level a radical critique against capitalist repression, a goal achieved in part through the way their work was displayed in the *AIZ*.

The expressions of the worker-photographers can thus be seen as fusing aspects of three styles—that of the amateur family photographer, the documentarian, and the magazine photojournalist. It was the worker-photographers' identification with their subjects that linked components of these separate styles and at the same time distinguished their work from that of others during that period. Unlike the photographs appearing in other German picture magazines, their work grew out of an active participation in the events they photographed, and this perspective created reciprocal identification with their intended audience.

The perspective was underscored in the pages of *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf*: "We take pictures where proletarian life is the toughest, where the bourgeoisie is rotten to the core.... The picture is a weapon, technique is a weapon, art is a weapon.... We are the eyes of the proletariat. We teach our brothers to use their eyes" (Hoernle 1930:154). The class-conscious readers could thus see events as if through their own eyes, with the added political inflection intended to enhance their awareness of the oppression they experienced in common with the people in the photographs and the men and women who created them. Through its photography, the *AIZ* became *their* publication, truly a "medium of the masses," providing visual proof that the bourgeois press was misrepresenting the events they were experiencing firsthand.

The Consequences of the Movement

The destruction of the German worker-photography movement was one of the immediate effects of the Nazi takeover in 1933. The *AIZ* was moved to Prague, *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf* ceased publication altogether, and the worker-photography clubs disbanded. As an instrument of opposition to Nazi power and oppression, the movement must be judged a failure. Despite apparent threads of continuity, as seen for example in the lively tradition of political photomontage carried on in other European countries, worker-photographers in Germany had no means of sustaining their particular political critique.

Yet the mere existence of such a critique suggests the significance of the movement that produced this body of work. Examined in the context of beliefs about the role photography could play in politicizing the working class, the movement's success becomes apparent: through social and political involvement, large numbers of workers learned to communicate using a medium they previously had understood only as members of the mass media's audience. Through active participation in making photographs of their own environments, they overcame any barriers presented by lack of formal education or the cost of photographic equipment and production. By consciously assuming a political perspective, they learned that photography could be used to express a point of view and, by extension, that all photographs do so.

A heightened consciousness of the political content inherent in symbolic forms pervaded German art and expression during the years of the Weimar Republic. At the time the worker-photography movement was at its peak, Kurt Tucholsky wrote, "As there is nothing that is not political in this world, there cannot be any non-political photography" (Tucholsky 1930). Among those workers who had learned to use photography as a political weapon, there developed a pattern of work and a visual style that reveal a radical perspective and critique of prewar Germany available nowhere else.

Notes

- 1 The *AIZ* was moved to Prague in 1933, and in 1936 the title was changed again, to *Volks-Illustrierte*. The magazine ceased publication in 1938.
- 2 Becher went into exile, first in France (1933-1935), then in the Soviet Union (1935-1945), where she continued her journalistic career. She returned to the German Democratic Republic and became editor of the *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* until 1951. Hermann Leupold became copublisher of the *AIZ* with F. C. Weiskopf when it moved to Prague. He emigrated to England in 1938. After his return to East Berlin he became director of the Berliner Verlag.
- 3 Translation from the German of this and the following citations by the authors.
- 4 The most recent account of Münzenberg's contribution to the German illustrated press is in an article by Ute Eskildsen, "The A-I-Z and the *Arbeiter Fotograf*: Working Class Photographers in Weimar," published in *Image* 23:2 (1981):1-8.

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East Baltimore: Tradition and Transition. A Documentary Photography Project.*

Linda G. Rich, Joan Clark Netherwood, and Elinor B. Cahn

Introduction

In 1975 I moved to Maryland to accept a teaching position at the Maryland Institute, College of Art, in Baltimore. On one of my first excursions in Baltimore I was taken to view the "I Am an American Day" parade, East Baltimore's annual tribute to patriotism and politics. As I chased marching band after marching band through many of East Baltimore's neighborhoods, I passed long blocks of pristinely maintained row houses. I was fascinated by the white marble steps that adorn the front entrances, the scenic, painted window screens, and the lace-curtained front windows, which are individualized by the presence of religious icons, American flags, greeting cards, and flower arrangements—clues to the lives of the people who live inside. Never before had I encountered an urban community so densely built upon. Yet it appeared so livable, so inviting. The valued traditions of its people were evident everywhere: pride in homeownership, close family ties, hard work, and religious devotion. These people and their neighborhoods continued to be a part of my thoughts long after the day of the parade.

It wasn't until I was teaching a course in social documentary photography a year later that these impressions began to be molded into what became the East Baltimore Documentary Photography Project. Joan C. Netherwood and Elinor B. Cahn were students in that class. As a class project, the three of us decided to make a portrait of the neighborhoods of East Baltimore. Our intent was to photograph the people, to enter their lives, and to see them as they see themselves.

We began by contacting the clergy at a few of the nearly 100 churches in East Baltimore. In a community with such a strong religious identity, an introduction by a neighborhood religious leader meant easier acceptance of us by the parishioners. Gradually we began to be invited to bingo luncheons, exercise classes, holiday parties, graduation ceremonies, first communions, sauerbraten suppers, and neighborhood tours. We attended as many meetings of community associations and met as many community leaders as possible. We patronized local shops and markets, describing our project and asking to make photographs. During the semester we realized that we had discovered a very special quality of life in East Baltimore. When the course ended we chose to continue the project independent of the classroom. Our lives and the project merged.

Through months of observing, talking, interviewing, and photographing, our concept of the project broadened into an exploration of what constitutes a neighborhood, not as a geographical but as a moral and social concept. There would be images of buildings and places, but our emphasis would be on the people: at home, on the street, at work, in the bars, celebrating holidays, in church, at play, getting married, christening their newborn, and burying their dead.

Linda G. Rich received an M.F.A. in art from the University of Wisconsin, in 1975. She taught photography at The Maryland Institute, College of Art, in Baltimore, where she conceived the East Baltimore Documentary Photography Project. Her work is in the permanent collections of The Center for Creative Photography, in Tucson; the Art Institute of Chicago; and the Corcoran Gallery of Art, in Washington, D.C. At present she is working as a photographer in southern California.

Joan Clark Netherwood received a B.F.A. degree from The Maryland Institute, College of Art, in 1977. Her photographs have been published and exhibited nationally and are held in the permanent collections of the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Library of Congress, and many private collections. She was one of twenty-two photographers selected to work on a photographic survey of the State of Maryland during 1980. She is currently a freelance photographer working in Maryland.

Elinor B. Cahn is a native of Baltimore and attended The Maryland Institute, College of Art, to study photography, at age 50, after raising a family. Her photographs are part of the permanent collection at the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Library of Congress, and numerous other museums and private collections. She is currently studying with the noted photographer/teacher Lisette Model in New York and continues independent work as a documentary photographer.

*The text of this photo essay is from *Neighborhood: A State of Mind* and is reprinted by permission of The Johns Hopkins University Press.

To keep our East Baltimore neighbors abreast of our progress, we gave photographs to our subjects and mounted many "in progress" exhibitions. We arranged to show a selection of our photographs at seven East Baltimore churches, keying the exhibitions to church events and the pictures to the people of the particular parish. These church exhibits were so warmly received that neighbors "borrowed" photographs, returning them after proudly showing them to friends and family.

We also sponsored four formal exhibitions and concurrent lecture programs. The exhibits included historic photographs of East Baltimore, excerpts from the taped interviews, and our own photographs. Many of our finest historic photographs came from the family archives of the people we were photographing. The lecture programs provided an overview of the scope of documentary photography. The purpose of the exhibitions and lectures was to relate our photographs to the history, culture, and social concerns of East Baltimore and to create for the residents a clearer sense of the richness of their lives.

We were most gratified when hundreds of East Baltimoreans, photography enthusiasts, and members of the greater community came to see each exhibit and hear the lecture programs. East Baltimoreans further participated in these events by preparing home-baked ethnic specialties for the opening receptions. Neighbors stood by photographs of themselves, proudly bringing them to life—a clear sign that our project had become a meaningful one in the community.

We owe the success of this project to good fortune, good timing, hard work, many volunteers, and generous financial support. Its completion is a testimonial to the power of positive thinking. We are honored that the residents of East Baltimore so openly and warmly have shared their lives with us.

*Linda G. Rich
Project Director*

The following quotations have been taken from individually taped interviews with both past and present residents of East Baltimore.

Lives of Work

In the old standards of America, plumes over smokestacks meant jobs for people. **James Bready**

The packing houses was where all the people who didn't understand English worked. They knew what a penny was and what a nickel was, and that's what they got paid—a few pennies for a bucket of tomatoes. And in the late evening my mother used to come home, put her pennies and nickels on the table and count 'em. A lot of those pennies and nickels had tomato seeds on them and they smelled so good, like Little Italy. **Frank Krajewski**

They used to have canneries (in Canton) that worked all year round. They packed pineapples and they packed peaches. They packed spinach, beans, sweet potatoes, and in the middle of winter, they even packed oysters—steam 'em—and that's where most of our work came from. I shucked many an oyster myself, to help my sister out. Older sister, she used to be capable of steaming a hundred, a hundred twenty-five buckets—a good-size bucket, probably at least a three gallon bucket—in a day's time. "Day" meant to us, well, we never counted the hours. We used to start at 7:00 a.m., then you would have a little break for lunch, and then you'd work until that day's crop was harvested and packed. Never left anything go overnight. **Casimir Pelczynski**

Summers, when we were small kids, my father used to take the whole family down to Anne Arundel County, where we lived in a shanty and we'd sleep on straw with heavy canvas covers. We worked on a farm. We kids were the pickers and our father was the row boss. It was a hard job, but I tell ya, everybody was happy.

Well my mother would get up about 4:00 in the morning and she would have hot coffee for us. We would just wipe our eyes off with water and we would drink hot coffee and then we would go to the fields. By that time it was a little lighter that you could see strawberries, but oh, was it cold. It was, you know, that dew, and it was so cold, it was wet, and when you were hungry you were eating strawberries for breakfast. **Estelle Figinski**

We used to work in the canneries for about six weeks in the summer after we came back from the farms and after school hours. Why, we didn't go around and go to any drugstore or anything. We came home and took our one shirt off and hung it up nice. Took our one pair of shoes off and then we went to the cannery.

Casimir Pelczynski

As children Rob and I, we loved to go camping. When we were eight years old, we bought our own tent. Now we didn't have any three dollars and our people were very poor, our father worked in the shipyard, so we decided that we would raise enough money ourself to buy this tent. A secondhand army tent, three dollars. We decided to make greeting cards, but we had no paper and no cardboard. (As I was handicapped) Rob pushed me up to the print shop up on Patterson Park Avenue in a baby carriage... I can remember this as if it were last week... I only weighed twenty-five pounds when I was eight years old.... (At the print shop) the man looked over the top (of the counter) and said, "What can I do for you fellas?" I said, "Please, sir, do you have any scrap cardboard?" At first he said no but another man was looking over the desk and said not to turn us away. He asked "Boys, what are you going to do with it?" I said, "Sir, I'm going to make Christmas cards." He brought us a box of cutoffs.... Oh, it was paradise, we thought we were in heaven! All colors under the sun, all sizes, little ones, big ones. We went home and began right away to make Christmas cards, valentines, you name it. And we sold them for two cents apiece. We made the envelopes too. That was two cents. We had them on display in the window. It wasn't but two or three weeks we had enough money to get our tent. I still make cards today, but only for myself or on order.... So that is the way we made our pin up money. **Johnny Eck**

In the back of my house here, about three blocks down is Eskay plant... which is a German meat-packing plant. My grandfather worked there. My grandfather lived in this house. He was a meat wrapper there. My mother worked there. When she first started working, she was a sausage stuffer there and linker and worked herself up to being one of the fastest linkers in the plant.

My grandmother was a barmaid at Schenning's Bar. But a barmaid in those days was different than what a barmaid is now. Schenning's Bar, that's where you stoped to cash your paycheck. So my grandmother was in charge of making sure that men got out as soon as possible and home with their paycheck. **Betty Deacon**

When I started working (arabing), I was too poor to have a horse and wagon. I had what you call a "Hoover Cart." It was a baby carriage. You would put a fish box on a baby carriage, lay it on there, and you were in business. I am making one now and I'm going to put a big sign up on it "Hoover Cart in Carter Time." Did you get that? Ain't Carter the President? Hoover was the President then. **Paul W. Watkins**

There were eight children in our family. My father was a tailor and every one of us was weaned on a sewing machine. **Sophie Nardone**

I was sixteen when I went to work in a cigar factory.... My first job was learning how to roll cigars, and I was paid five dollars a week for learning. I was a very fast roller; I could roll about 750 cigars a day. **Sophie Rominski**

I graduated from Sacred Heart when I was fourteen years old. One of my friends got me a job at an umbrella place, making umbrellas. I stayed there a year. Then I went to work at the broom factory, and I've been there ever since. **Eugene Nardone**

I was trained by one of my uncles to do shoe repairs. I started when I was about six years old. I started by picking up nails on the floor. **Paul Musotto**

I had two uncles who were barbers, so my brother and I got into barbering — they put us into it. I was a lather boy... and I learned how to shine cuspidors — them days they used to chew tobacco and spit in the cuspidors. So we had to learn from there on, keep the floors and shop clean.

Then we would start lathering beards, then we would start shaving, then necks, and then we'd start on cutting hair. So that went on, and later on, I became a barber. My mother has a shop near Fells Point and my brother and I used to run it, and we used to work belated hours, especially Saturday night. We'd be between one and two o'clock Saturday night... that's our business. **Adam Glowacki**

And the hours (in the store) were terrible, I mean, you'd get up to open six o'clock in the morning, stay till 10:00 at night, seven days a week. And, well, people didn't want to be on relief. It wasn't the idea of making a lot of money. But it was just the idea that you wouldn't have to depend on anybody, depend on charity. That was the worst thing for people in those days. They'd do anything just as long as they didn't have to ask for charity. **Isaac Highstein**

Everyone that counted for something in this city of Baltimore started at that broom factory. You'd be surprised. Not the ones that stayed there now like we did, mind you.... Lots of them stayed there long enough to get a start in life. They left there and became something.

Eugene Nardone

But that was like going to school for me. I only went to the fifth grade in school but the dime store taught me a lot. I met all kind of people. I had to make sure that I could spell the things that I had to order, and if I couldn't, I looked at the box and made sure that I spelled the words right, and it helped me with a little arithmetic because I had to know. **Martha Lane**

At the time we started the union down there I was president of the union. We wanted to buy Mr. Wey out. Just the employees pitch in enough money to buy him. You know we stuck together that much. It was such a family affair that all these people working all those years at such a small wage in comparison to the other industries around that we were pretty well off as far as feeding ourselves and families and whatnot. It was a steady group. All good workers too. **Eugene Nardone**

The labor union maybe does, to an extent, during working hours what the church does on Sunday hours. And what your patriotic society does also. But, everything is against individualism. It's tribal. You do what everybody before you and after you is supposed to be doing.

James Bready

And I had Kevin.... From the time he was two weeks old he used to be brought up to the shop everyday, and he was raised here and he knew the business. When he was nine years old he started getting paid for working — like sweeping the floor and such. He was very interested in the business, and when he graduated from college, we felt maybe he wanted to go out on his own, do something else, but he still wanted to stay here, and he took over, and now he's considered one of the master craftsmen in the granite business as well as marble.

Veronica Conley

If I could get someone who would be more reliable, I would let him take over the business and eventually sell it to him. I'd like to see a young person get ahead and keep on. A bakery is really needed here, and we are one of the dying trades. We are really one of the dying trades. **Frank Krajewski**

We are ship chandlers. In the olden days a ship chandler was a person that supplied everything that a ship needed from the captain's wife's dress to anchors and all kinds of ropes and paints and everything. But today it has changed and the captain doesn't have the authority to buy any more. It's all bought by the owners and that has changed the ship chandlery business considerably, with steam ships. But with small tug boats, which we now have more interest than anything else, the captain has full authority to buy.

I have been with the company (Vane Brothers) for sixty years and I come to the office everyday. I have turned the business over to my son as manager and owner. I have been asked when I am retiring, I do not want to retire. This spring my grandson is coming into the business with me. That makes three generations of the Hughes family in the ship chandlery business.

Charles Hughes, Sr.



Chris Martin has been making brooms for 50 years at the Atlantic Southwestern Broom Company. *Elinor Cahn*



Paul Watkins has been the stable boss for over 30 years at a Fells Point livery stable. The building has changed very little since it was built in 1833. At one time over 45 horses and wagons were kept here. They were rented to Arabs (fruit and vegetable vendors) and junkies (junkmen). The last 6 horses were sold in January, and the stable is now closed. *Linda Rich*



Rosemary and Raul Marconi in their Italian import shop, Italian Canta, on Lombard Street in Highlandtown. Joan Netherwood



Retirement sale at the Highland Candy and Tobacco Co., owned and operated by Oscar and Fannie Feldstein for over 50 years. *Linda Rich*



Adam Glowacki in the barber shop which he has operated for more than 50 years. The shop occupies the former living room of his in-laws' home on "The Avenue." *Elinor Cahn*



Charles Hughes, Sr., and Charles Hughes, Jr., owners of Vane Brothers, the only remaining waterfront ship chandlery.
Linda Rich



Doc Price has owned and operated this drugstore on O'Donnell Street in Canton for 45 years. *Elinor Cahn*



Stella Foods, owned and operated by the Kostis family for 21 years, features the best-quality imported foods, wines, homemade Italian breads, and Greek pastries in Highlandtown. *Linda Rich*



Tommy's fish stand at the Northeast Market. *Elinor Cahn*



Nan Cotrelle Coiffeurs, a few days before Easter, in Canton.
 Joan Netherwood

First Baptist, pastor of a modest Russian Orthodox church
 which was formerly an Orthodox synagogue. Buckle Hill
 Clinic Care



Father Nicholai, pastor of a modest Russian Orthodox church which was formerly an Orthodox synagogue in Butcher's Hill.
Elinor Cahn



Edith Massey, South Broadway. Elinor Cahn

Edith Massey, South Broadway. Elinor Cahn



Bernie Zill, in his antique shop with no name, in the 1700 block of Eastern Avenue. *Joan Netherwood*

Joe Poodles in the pool hall which he has operated for more than 50 years. He is active in the boxers' Hall of Fame. He is a former boxer and the father of a nationally ranked boxer, and he has been given much recognition for his contribution to the boxing profession. *Elinor Cahn*



Joe Poodles in the pool hall which he has operated for more than 50 years. He is active in the boxers' Hall of Fame. He is a former boxer and the father of a nationally ranked boxer, and he has been given much recognition for his contribution to the boxing profession. *Elinor Cahn*

Pose Preference in Social and Business Photographs

Janet Mills Ragan and Albert D. Smouse

Goffman (1976:78) has suggested that photographs can make available to the eye some aspects of the structure of social life that otherwise might remain implicit and unnoticed. Portrait photographs, according to Goffman, may be understood as decorative representations of the self that serve to present one's social identity (ibid.:85). This study analyzes subjects' evaluations of various poses of male and female models in portrait photographs in order to explicate some implicit aspects of social cognition. Specifically, we undertook this analysis to determine which poses most effectively "decorate" men and women in portrait photographs to be used for either social or business purposes.

Goffman has elaborated the theoretical context for this article in "Gender Advertisements." He organized nearly 500 advertising photographs to delineate major themes that describe the hierarchical structure of male-female relations and coined the term *gender displays* to describe the formalized, ritualized behaviors males and females characteristically perform to announce their alignment and intent in a social situation (ibid.:69-77). From an ethological point of view, gender displays are emotionally motivated behaviors that have become stereotypic, either by simplification or by exaggeration, so that brief expressions substitute for entire acts. Gender displays, Goffman notes, are typically dialogical, in that a gender statement by one person in the presence of an opposite-sex person tends to elicit a reply, and political, in that gender statement-response pairs tend to occur in patterns characterized by masculine dominance and feminine subordination. In the advertising photographs Goffman analyzed, males displayed gender and dominance through their larger size, higher function ranking, positions of protectiveness or distance from their (supposed) families, higher physical elevation, and monitoring of females. By contrast, females displayed gender and submissiveness through their smaller size, lesser rank, lower physical positions, head and body canting, smiling, aversion of heads and/or eyes from the scene, touching themselves gingerly, clowning, and so on.

The scenes in the photographs Goffman assembled were clearly contrived: professional models were posed in actions representing whatever advertisers wanted to create to sell their product, service, or idea. Goffman stressed that these scenes provide viewers with glimpses of the preferred social order, affirm what the basic social

arrangements should be, and present ultimate doctrines about people and the world. The photographs Goffman used in his essay were public pictures in that they were intended to be reproduced and disseminated by the media to a very large audience of anonymous consumers (ibid.:78).

Although he did not include private pictures in his study, Goffman defined them as a class of photographs designed for display within an intimate social circle or a relatively finite organizational structure (ibid.:78). Private pictures may be taken by professional or amateur photographers and may range from action scenes to formally posed portraits. Private pictures frequently commemorate occasions, relationships, achievements, or life-turning points, and thus may also provide viewers with glimpses of social order.

Based on this line of reasoning, several assumptions about the behavior of people in portrait photographs may be made. First, when people pose for their portrait photographs or are posed by a photographer, they are likely guided by an implicit notion of how the self should appear to represent most vividly the ideal self-image. Second, the particular photograph that each individual chooses from an array of proofs is likely the one that most closely approximates his or her ideal social self. Third, gender identity and implicit sex role behaviors are likely to influence posing behaviors and photograph selection. And fourth, the ways in which people choose to "decorate" themselves (e.g., with gender displays) can depend upon the audience to be impressed and the context in which the photograph is to be used. More specifically, gender displays may be more or less appropriate in portrait photographs to be used for social as opposed to business purposes.

In an empirical study of private pictures, Bentz (in press) analyzed for gender displays 1296 portrait photographs from high school and college yearbooks and from the media files of a university. Results showed that females smiled with significantly greater frequency and expansiveness than males, head-canted significantly more than males, and wore glasses with significantly less frequency than males. Contrary to prediction, females did not avert their heads from the camera significantly more than males. It was evident that overall, however, gender displays differentiated males and females in these portrait photographs.

Bentz and Smouse (in review) approached the study of gender displays in portrait photographs in another way, using portrait photographs as stimulus material to assess the effects of gender displays on the subjects who judged the photographs from both business and social perspectives. Since our analysis of portrait photographs in this article derives from the data of that study, we are reporting in detail here.

Janet Mills Ragan is an Assistant Professor of Human Relations at the University of Oklahoma in Norman and teaches courses in nonverbal behavior and interpersonal relations.

Albert D. Smouse, Professor of Education at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, is Chair of the Human Development area and teaches courses in counseling theory and measurement.

Two male and two female models were photographed professionally in twelve poses displaying all combinations of head cant, head bow, and smile. Head cant was posed as *no cant* (a line bisecting the face from mid-chin to mid-forehead was parallel to the sides of the photograph) or *cant* (the bisecting line was not parallel); bow was posed as *no bow* (a line connecting each earlobe to the tip of the nose was straight) or *bow* (a similar pair of lines formed a "v"); and smile was posed as *none*, *simple* (no teeth showing), or *broad* (teeth showing). Twenty-two male and twenty-two female graduate students in business administration classes performed Q-sorts of the photographs and their mirror images for each of the four models (96 photographs in all) into categories ranging either from most to least attractive or from most to least competent. *Attractive* photographs were "the ones that would be appropriate to give to friends, romantic partners, or family," whereas *competent* photographs were "the ones that would be appropriate to use in a managerial job for news releases, résumés, or company files."

Separate preference scores for cant, bow, and smile were calculated by (a) summing separately the cant, bow, and smile values of each photograph in each Q-sort category; (b) multiplying these sums by the value of the Q-sort category; and (c) summing the products across categories. In addition, pose preference scores were calculated for each photograph by totaling the Q-sort values across subjects.

We hypothesized (a) that raters would prefer greater cant, bow, and smile behaviors of female models than of male models since these are stereotypically feminine gender displays (Goffman 1976:108-126; Henley 1977: 128, 136-139, 168-178) and (b) that raters would prefer these behaviors more in social photographs than in business photographs (e.g., under conditions of attractiveness rather than competence) since these are also signals of ingratiation and appeasement (Goffman 1976:116; Henley: *ibid.*). We also asked if male and female raters might prefer different nonverbal behaviors of male vs. female models under either of the two conditions.

Table 1
Frequency of Pose Choices for Most Competent and Most Attractive Categories Shown by Model Sex

Pose Composition	Condition			
	Most Attractive		Most Competent	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
No cant, no bow, no smile	0	0	0	1
No cant, no bow, simple smile	4	6	12	6
No cant, no bow, broad smile	18	11	10	9
No cant, bow, no smile	0	2	1	0
No cant, bow, simple smile	0	1	1	0
No cant, bow, broad smile	4	0	0	0
Cant, no bow, no smile	0	6	11	23
Cant, no bow, simple smile	3	5	4	2
Cant, no bow, broad smile	5	8	4	2
Cant, bow, no smile	3	0	0	1
Cant, bow, simple smile	4	2	0	0
Cant, bow, broad smile	3	3	1	0
Chi square values*	$\chi^2 = 56.11$ $p < .001$	$\chi^2 = 26.36$ $p < .01$	$\chi^2 = 47.69$ $p < .001$	$\chi^2 = 109.03$ $p < .001$

Bold figures:
Modal choice.

*Chi square tests for divergence from equal cell distributions, expected by chance, d.f. = 11.

The cant, bow, and smile preference data were analyzed separately in 2 x 2 x 2 repeated measures analysis of variance designs with model sex repeated under rater sex and condition. As predicted, raters preferred females to cant and bow significantly more than males; however, raters did not prefer female models to smile significantly more than male models. Raters preferred models to cant and smile significantly more in the attractive (social) condition than in the competent (business) condition; however, they showed no preference for greater or lesser bow by condition.

With respect to rater sex by condition interaction effects, male and female raters showed differences in their preference for gender displays in models across the two conditions. Although male and female raters alike preferred male canting and smiling in the attractive condition, male raters preferred significantly less canting and smiling than did female raters in the competent condition.

Pose preference scores for given poses were correlated across all possible groupings. All correlations were significant at the .05 level or better, indicating that no patterns of pose preference were completely independent across rater groups, models, or condition. Comparing the relative size of correlations, we found that male raters

rated models quite differently, depending on condition, but that female raters did not differentiate nearly as much. The greatest similarity in judgments was between male and female raters judging females for attractiveness, and the greatest divergence in judgments was among males judging males for attractiveness vs. competence.

While analysis of the data in this study has yielded some interesting theoretical results largely supporting Goffman's work and other research, some practical knowledge may also be derived. By considering which poses were most frequently chosen as the single most attractive or most competent, and by identifying which poses received the highest total pose preference scores, we can identify the poses that characteristically enhance men and women in their social and business photographs. Table 1 summarizes the frequency with which each pose was chosen as the single most attractive or competent. Although one of the assumptions necessary for chi square analysis was not met (expected values were 3.7 instead of 5.0 or more), we proceeded with analysis to measure departure from the cell frequencies expected by chance and lowered the acceptable alpha level from .05 to .01. As seen in Table 1, the results are highly significant. Table 2 provides a summary of pose preference scores.

Table 2
Summary of Pose Preference Scores Shown for Condition and Model Sex

Pose Composition	Condition			
	Most Attractive		Most Competent	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
No cant, no bow, no smile	192	293	228	393
No cant, no bow, simple smile	337	397	390	389
No cant, no bow, broad smile	548	489	445	423
No cant, bow, no smile	170	103	253	178
No cant, bow, simple smile	284	243	298	199
No cant, bow, broad smile	426	332	353	254
Cant, no bow, no smile	233	376	371	536
Cant, no bow, simple smile	423	449	462	387
Cant, no bow, broad smile	487	506	426	373
Cant, bow, no smile	253	191	255	243
Cant, bow, simple smile	435	332	265	246
Cant, bow, broad smile	413	398	290	306

Bold figures: Most frequently chosen as most attractive or most competent.



First choice pose for social photograph.



First choice pose for business photograph.



Second choice pose for social photograph.



Second choice pose for business photograph.

Figure 1 First and second choice poses for females in social and business photographs.

Social Portraits of Females

When raters' preferences for female poses in social portraits (the attractive condition) were examined, the no cant, no bow, broad smile pose (see Figure 1) clearly emerged as the favorite on both measures. Table 1 shows that this pose was most frequently chosen as the most attractive pose, and Table 2 shows that this pose had the highest pose preference score as well. The cant, no bow, broad smile pose (see Figure 1) was the second choice on both measures.

Social Portraits of Males

The data indicating preferences for male poses in social portraits (the attractive condition) are less clear than the data for females. Table 1 shows that the no cant, no bow, broad smile pose (see Figure 2) was most frequently chosen as the most attractive pose, but Table 2 indicates that the cant, no bow, broad smile pose (see Figure 2) received the highest pose preference score. In resolving the discrepancy between these two indices, one should note that, since the pose preference score is summed across raters, a given pose may receive few "most attractive" nominations and yet be rated consistently as second or third most attractive, thus yielding a high total score. The pose receiving the greatest number of "most attractive" nominations might be simultaneously receiving a large number of moderate ratings or even some very low ratings. Therefore, to select the pose most preferred overall by raters as a group, one would consult the pose preference scores.

Business Portraits of Females

When the preferences for business portraits of females (the competent condition) are considered, the data fail to converge clearly; in fact, they are quite divergent. The frequency data in Table 1 indicate a trimodal distribution with 27.3 percent of the subjects preferring the no cant, no bow, simple smile pose, 25 percent preferring the cant, no bow, no smile pose, and 22.7 percent preferring the no cant, no bow, broad smile pose (the most highly rated social pose for female models). The highest pose preference score is another pose entirely—the cant, no bow, simple smile pose. Given these confusing indicators, it is reasonable to ask whether or not any differences in preference are accountable by raters' sex. Table 3 summarizes the frequency of pose choices for the single most competent poses by rater sex. Obviously, male-female choices are similar; a trimodal distribution prevails for both sexes. Table 4 summarizes the pose preference scores by subject sex, revealing no subject sex differences in the overall popularity of poses. Both sexes preferred the cant, no bow, simple smile pose. Based on pose preference

indices, the second choice for the most competent female pose is the no cant, no bow, broad smile pose. As a matter of strategy, however, one might consider eliminating this pose as a second choice inasmuch as it has been reported previously by Bentz and Smouse that males prefer models to smile less under conditions of competence vs. attractiveness (Ragan and Smouse in review). Since males dominate the managerial world at the present time, it seems most efficacious for women to project the most credible image of themselves, in light of how men perceive them (Harragan 1977:320–336). The same strategy would dictate skipping the third-ranked pose (cant, no bow, broad smile) and choosing the pose ranked fourth (no cant, no bow, simple smile), which was also the pose most frequently nominated as “most competent” for the female (see Figure 1).

Business Portraits of Males

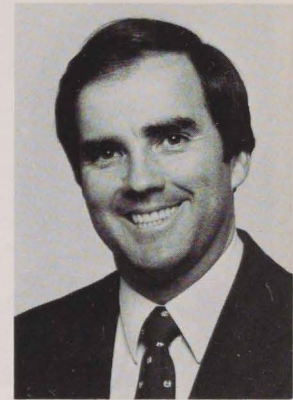
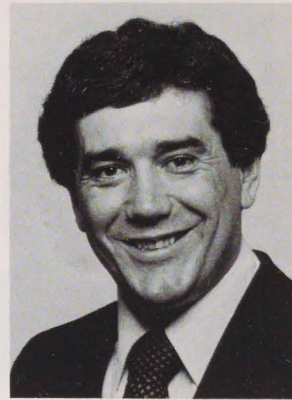
Finally, the data indicating preference for male poses in business portraits (the competent condition) are clear and unambiguous: the cant, no bow, no smile pose was chosen by a majority of the subjects (52 percent) as the most competent (see Table 1) and obtained the highest pose preference score (see Table 2). No alternative choice is indicated by these data (see Figure 2).

Conclusions

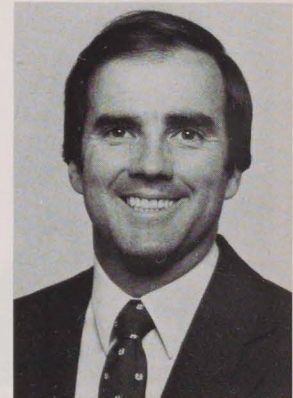
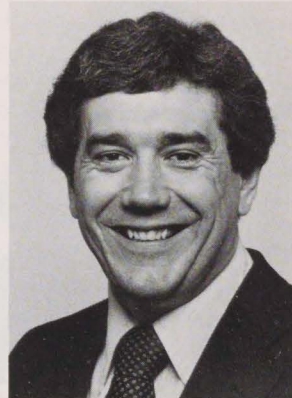
Several conclusions and practical inferences may be drawn from this study.

First, the data provide us with some clear stereotypes for portrait poses, namely, *the attractive woman* and *the competent man*. Chances are very good that the no cant, no bow, broad smile pose will enhance the social image of almost any woman and that the cant, no bow, no smile pose will sharpen the managerial image of almost any man. It is also fairly clear how men are best posed in social portraits: they smile broadly, do not bow, and may or may not cant.

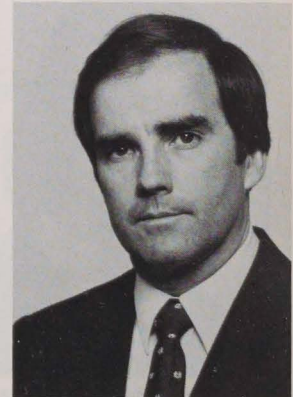
Second, the lack of clear-cut, convergent data pointing to a pose reflecting competence in a female can be interpreted variously. On the one hand, we may conclude that there is no stereotypic pose for the competent female because females are not stereotypically seen as competent. On the other, we can conclude that the divergence of indicators is a reflection of social changes currently in progress; that is, there is no agreement on what a competent managerial woman looks like. This diversity of style may be a detriment to women in management since social conformity has been and still is an important issue in organizations (Kanter 1977: 47-55). Perhaps the purposeful development of some stereotypic indicators of feminine competence in the business world is desirable, as several writers on women in management suggest (Harragan 1977:320-336). To



First choice pose for social photograph.



Second choice pose for social photograph.



First choice pose for business photograph. No second choice is indicated by the data.

Figure 2 First and second choice poses for males in social and business photographs.

Reviews and Discussion

Table 3
Summary of Frequency of Choices for Most Competent
Female Pose by Male, Female, and Total Raters

Pose Composition	Female	Male	Total
No cant, no bow, no smile	0	0	0
No cant, no bow, simple smile	7	5	12
No cant, no bow, broad smile	5	5	10
No cant, bow, no smile	0	1	1
No cant, bow, simple smile	0	1	1
No cant, bow, broad smile	0	0	0
Cant, no bow, no smile	6	5	11
Cant, no bow, simple smile	1	3	4
Cant, no bow, broad smile	2	2	4
Cant, bow, no smile	0	0	0
Cant, bow, simple smile	0	0	0
Cant, bow, broad smile	1	0	1

Table 4
Summary of Pose Preference Scores for Competent Female
Models Shown by Male, Female, and Total Raters

Pose Composition	Female	Male	Total
No cant, no bow, no smile	100	128	228
No cant, no bow, simple smile	226***	164	390
No cant, no bow, broad smile	234**	211**	445
No cant, bow, no smile	122	131	253
No cant, bow, simple smile	162	136	298
No cant, bow, broad smile	191	162	353
Cant, no bow, no smile	191	180	353
Cant, no bow, simple smile	250*	212*	462
Cant, no bow, broad smile	225	201	426
Cant, bow, no smile	123	132	255
Cant, bow, simple smile	145	120	265
Cant, bow, broad smile	150	140	290

*Most frequently
 chosen as most
 competent.

**Second most
 frequently chosen as
 most competent.

***Third most frequently
 chosen as most
 competent.

this end, managerial women might adopt a prototypical pose for their business portraits; if widely used, the pose could assume social significance. The results of our analysis suggest that the most widely preferred pose for the competent female contains a cant, no bow, and a simple smile. This pose as well as its alternate (no cant, no bow, simple smile) minimizes the gender displays of low status and high affiliation commonly observed in women in their social photographs.

A third inference is that men and women in management would best serve their own interests by having a portrait photograph posed specifically for business purposes. Portraits taken for social purposes may create an unintended or unwanted impression when used in the business context.

Fourth, a word to personnel administrators: the Bentz and Smouse data indicate that men and women probably hold different notions about what a business portrait should look like. Male raters preferred models to smile and cant significantly less in business than in social portraits, but female raters made no such distinction. Men and women in personnel work should be alert to this bias as they consider résumé photographs.

Many other questions could be raised in future studies about the composition of an appropriate business portrait. Only a few of the many possible variables were systematically varied in the Bentz and Smouse study. The variables we tried to hold constant included positioning variables: for example, body orientation to the camera was $\frac{3}{4}$; head orientation was $\frac{7}{8}$; eye focus was directly on the camera; and shoulders were straight vs. canted. All these positions except straight shoulders are conventions photographers use widely for business photographs. Clothing variables were also held constant in this study: clothing chosen for models included dark jackets, light shirts, and club ties for men, and dark jackets and light blouses with small self-ties for women. Other attire might be more appropriate for social portraits.

In this study we identified the poses most appropriate for social and business portraits, focusing specifically on the managerial role. It is entirely possible that different poses would be preferred for men and women working in sales or advertising. Furthermore, the "decorations" that lend credibility to different professionals (e.g., doctors, lawyers, politicians, engineers, therapists) may vary. These are questions for further research.

A final point relates to a discrepancy between the perception and practice of photographers, on the one hand, and Goffman's sense of gender display on the other. Many photographers view shoulder and head canting in the same direction as showing action and drive, and frequently pose men with shoulder cant and head cant "for an aggressive look."¹ Goffman characterizes canting as more feminine than masculine and describes it as a display of subordination, submissiveness, ingratiation, and appeasement.

We speculate, along with Goffman, that portrait photographs provide not only glimpses of social reality but also distortions which are introduced by photographers (Goffman 1976:84). It is plausible that the public is accustomed to being posed in, and will thus view, portrait poses on the basis of a certain amount of photographic convention. For example, a number of years ago, it was fashionable for men to pose with one arm inserted into their suits or uniforms at the waist. Given the fact that social conditions change and conventions along with them, we agree with other researchers (especially Henley) who suggest that women might modify current perceptions of them and their influence in social situations by modifying their nonverbal behaviors to include more signals of high status, dominance, and power (Henley 1977:202-204). Specifically, we suggest that women develop a photographic business image of themselves separate and distinct from their social image, and we suggest that this business portrait avoid or minimize low-status and submissive gender displays. For now, however, the choice of the single most efficacious business portrait remains hampered by changing social conditions and unresearched variables.

Acknowledgment

The authors gratefully acknowledge the photographic contributions of Richard Faust.

Reviews and Discussion

Charles Keil. *Tiv Song.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979. xiii + 301 pp.

Reviewed by Paul Bohannon
University of California, Santa Barbara

It is often said that an ethnographer, like everybody else, is a prisoner of his own culture; still, the fact of doing ethnography is an active attempt to break out even when we know we can't succeed totally. It is less often noted, I think, that social scientists are prisoners of their teachers' culture and that it is even more difficult to break out of that mold. Yet, one has to supersede one's teachers if the discipline is to make any progress—and that means that one has to be superseded by the next generation. In the course of studying this book that truism was brought home to me, together with another: the climacteric of intellectual life comes when one realizes one must keep up with one's juniors rather than with one's peers and elders.

I am grateful that Charles Keil chose to do his field work among "my people," the Tiv of Nigeria, and that he has written this magnificent book about *Tiv Song*, aesthetics, and the many ways human life can be perceived. I have learned an immense amount about the Tiv from it, and even more about song and aesthetics. And perhaps still more about myself, the prison my culture shuts me in, the teachers I am still trying to come to terms with, and the things I missed because I am me, in the specific time and place where I was. This learning peaked in a simple statement, which is certainly not the high point of the book, although I think it is both true and significant: "Tiv dances are usually very well organized. In fact, as far as I can determine, dance groups represent the highest degree of organizational complexity to be found in Tiv society" (p. 247). Just so. I was struck at heart, as the Tiv would say, that I had never paid any attention (for all that it was going on all around me) to that organization. Because I had been taught what is true: that political and economic structures are what are significant. But I had not yet proceeded all the way beyond it: there are many other significant structures too. Indeed, I thought when I was in the field that seeing the organization of market cycles was daring. Being of the middle generation is an interesting experience: Janus was obviously middle-aged.

This book should be studied by every social scientist. I fear it may not be because its subject is ethnomusicology, which is unfortunately considered *outré* by most social scientists. Yet, the book contains more about the nature of living than most treatises on politics or economics could ever manage.

The book is organized around an introduction and five long chapters. Keil states his major problems in the first part of the Introduction: "The why questions...refuse to go away. Why do Tiv make songs? And why do they come out sounding so very Tiv?" (pp. 6-7). The second half of the Introduction is an apt summary of Tiv ethnography.

Keil's first chapter is "Tiv Music Terminology." There is no word in Tiv that corresponds to music in English (p. 27)—neither indeed is there such a word in other West African languages that the author checked: "It is easy to talk about song and dance, singers and drummers, blowing a flute, beating a bell, but the general terms 'music' and 'musician' require long and awkward circumlocutions" (p. 27). Translations, in short, become difficult; one does not go with an English framework to fit Tiv ideas into, but rather one has to learn the Tiv system and then describe it in English. And that is precisely what Keil has done. He runs a gloss on a number of words that emerge when Tiv discuss their music; he then examines the further meanings of those words in order to get at something that approaches Tiv ideas about the ways songs are composed and sung. Tiv do not, in fact, "compose" (that is, put together the component parts of a song); rather they "pull out" a song (p. 33). As Keil says, they "manifest it." They do not "sing" it; they "incise" it. There is no generic word for "rhythm" in Tiv, or "scale" or "mode" (p. 47). These are only a few examples of many. The scrupulousness with which his analysis proceeds should be studied carefully by anyone interested in translating subtle ideas from one culture to another.

It seems to me that there is something basic in Tiv culture that forces ethnographers to respond in this way. I spent long hours trying to explain in English the Tiv concepts of land, of law, of economic production and distribution. Keil has done the same sort of thing with song. This makes the ethnographic record of the Tiv unusual in that its ethnographers have been all but obsessed with translation. Yet, when one has expounded the Tiv view of their own ethnography, or as close to it as one can come, one is acutely aware that the comparative studies have not yet created categories (and even to think that possible may be wrongheaded) to bring the English categories and the Tiv categories into a single frame of reference. Thus, one is likely to be told (as I have been) that one's books on Tiv ethnography are "solipsistic," because they do not fit into the "main stream," and hence give trouble to conscientious comparativists. Well, Keil gives me the courage of my convictions—the Tiv do not fit into the "main stream," and to force them into it would be to lose the immense lessons we have to learn from them.

Keil notes (p. 38) that the two most common words for song are *icam*, a call and response song, and *imo*, which literally means "voice." He notes something that I find sad—that the *mliam* is no longer in common

usage. *Mliam* means "crying" but it also means "tears." When I worked among the Tiv in 1949-1952, it was still commonly found. Certain kinsmen of every deceased person were expected to do formal mourning over a corpse. Some of them made up dirges, or "crying tears." These songs were short, usually only no more than 8 or 10 notes. Invariably they started very high and fell downward, ending on a low note. Invariably they asked why the deceased had left his people. The most moving singing I have ever heard—anywhere—came during the funeral of Gesa, which I have described elsewhere (Bohannan 1957:196-203). The senior of his three widows created an *mliam* for him. The song itself was not unusual, as she repeated it over and over, but the voice was almost unbelievable. Her full, deep contralto had a timbre and security that ranked with Kathleen Ferrier, whose every concert within miles I attended during the years I lived in England. It was a totally startling experience to hear such a voice in these circumstances and to realize how Westerners would have talked of her "gift" and her "talent." One is used to Tiv being fine singers—but a concertgoer would have difficulty recognizing in an ordinary Tiv woman mourning her husband what in another culture might have been one of the great voices of an age.

Chapter 2 is called "Song in the Tiv Imagination." By analyzing the meanings in songs, and the social context in which they are presented, Keil makes some interesting observations—the Tiv "concern with fragmentation and dismemberment of the body" (p. 66), "no sex without song" (p. 81), and "song is used by one character to point out the guilt of or pin the blame on another" (p. 82).

This chapter also contains a good preliminary analysis of what are usually called "folk tales" but which among Tiv are the story frameworks of "theater pieces" containing songs with audience responses, and sometimes several actors. À la Vladimir Propp, he does a preliminary analysis of "deeper" ideas and categories reflected in the tales and songs. Tiv "song" is very complex because it contains so many aspects of theater and because it uses a complex oral literature as its base. It is, astonishingly, a *visual* art when it is raised to its highest peak. Tiv song, indeed, is the point at which—like Wagner's perception of opera—myth, music, painting, literature, and drama all meet. Also like Wagner, without the song the whole thing would be absurd (maybe Wagnerian opera is absurd even with the song, for all that it is magnificent music). Without the song, the whole ethos of the Tiv people cannot be summarized and encapsulated. The major difference, of course, is that the Tiv are simple and straightforward and carry none of the artistic overburden that Wagner foisted on himself and on whatever parts of the musical world would listen and take it seriously.

Keil reckons, in Chapter 3 dealing with Tiv composers, that there are at least 1000 composers among the 1 million Tiv. He estimates that 5 percent are women. He names over 450 Tiv composers and talked with many. His chapter focuses specifically on 8 of them.

Most composers claim that they compose indoors and that the best position in which to do it is lying flat on your back. He notes that what they see are the intricate "circles and angles" of the Tiv roof. All workers among the Tiv know that the inner roof epitomizes some sort of mystique. Like Keil, I too learned the word almost my first day of learning the language from them, as it is a special mark of "Tivness." I have lived in several Tiv huts for months on end; I have often lain flat on my back in them. But I slept covered by a mosquito net. That imported mosquito net may have protected my health (a moot point), but it certainly put a gauze curtain between me and the arch-symbol of the Tiv, as much as did my teachers' training about social structure or my own personality. Like all of us, I had imported my screens, my biases. Sometimes it is only years later, through someone else's eyes, that one sees what one might have seen without the blinders. Yet Keil's explanations about that symbol leave me a little uneasy. I do not doubt a word of it; at the same time Tiv cannot say it the way Keil does. It is the same difficulty I find with the anthropologist Keil refers to as "le grand Claude." I remain ambivalent about the interpretation at the same time that I find it "right."

I cannot go past this chapter without telling still another story on myself. After about 4 months of field work, I thought I was able to begin seriously to do research among the Tiv. My language was shaky, and some of the early material (of course) proved later to be wrong. But I nevertheless did get a lot of stuff right. There were, however, errors—indeed a couple of the boo-boos turned out to be hilarious. But none as hilarious as the one I wrote down about Tiv singing at the end of my second month. The Tiv, I wrote in





my notes, have trained voices, they take lessons. I knew that the singing was of extremely high quality, and that it was practiced, and that (for all the differences in style) it had what Keil calls a "Tiv sound." Only 10 months later did I discover how seriously I had misinterpreted what I had been told. A Tiv composer—I called him a songmaker in my book (Bohannan 1957:142 ff.)—who had been hired to compose scurrilous songs about the adversary of his patron set me right. What indeed happens is that the prospective singer-composer goes to a man who controls the medicine of the proper "fetish" (Tiv, *akombo*) and pays to be given the medicine for singing. According to my information (and Keil says the same on p. 164), the medicine is composed of the brain and the tongue of the *icharegh* (weaver-bird), whose song is admired, and of several well-known plants that have to do with masculinity and femininity and several virtues (I learn from Keil that *nomhur*, which I know only as a standard "masculine" herb, also clears the throat). Once one is fortified with the proper ritual and the right medicine, then one is able to compose better songs. Since I had been told that the neophyte composer goes to a master of singing (when they meant the *akombo* of singing), I in my ethnocentrism assumed that he went for voice lessons. Just so are ethnographic "errors" made.

Keil's detail about Tiv composers is absolutely delightful at the same time that it gives a clear view of the way music and composition fit into an African culture. Chapter 4 is called "Technique and Style." Songs accommodate the tones of the language: "Phonemic tone establishes an important and complex parameter for the construction of Tiv songs" (p. 172). "Every Tiv song has its foundation in a particular sense of motion.... Roughly 90 per cent of the songs in folk tales correspond with motion of some kind—dancing, beating a drum, love-making, hoeing, weaving, pounding grain, grinding, scooping water, traveling along the path" (p. 172).

"All composers work with a dance meter or meters in mind" (p. 172).

By now, he has also been able to get at some of the characteristics of Tiv songs that make them "sound so very Tiv": "wide range, wide intervals, angular phrases, repetitive monotones, open-ended responses, 'twin tonics,' minimum improvisation."

In Chapter 5, "Circles and Angles," Keil is eloquent and convincing about the culture-bound dimensions of most of the "theories" of art and aesthetics (his discussion could be applied except for details to anything else): "The very inapplicability of Tiv culture to most of their [the theorists'] hypotheses... seems instructive" (p. 187). Keil has it right—it is *not* the inapplicability of such hypotheses to Tiv culture, for to say it that way gives the hypotheses a sort of stability and honorable existence that they do not deserve in any ethnography, no matter what their usefulness in comparative studies.

Here is a good example of the way ethnographers learn about their own culture:

With our pressing need to rid ourselves of rulers, religion, myths and art, the Tiv have much to teach us. They have no rulers; the influence of elders rises and falls, depending on how wisely they exercise it, and prominent men today can be ostracized tomorrow. They have no religion; in its place is an abiding and profound awareness that the survival of some is predicated on the death of others. They have no mythology, but tales are acted out with great energy and with relevance to everyday life. They have no art, though there are more song makers and expert dancers per capita than in any society known to me. [p. 186]

Once in a while we are fortunate enough to have a first-class piece of ethnography, one that illuminates not only the people that it concerns, but one that throws gleaming shafts of illumination onto our own way of being human. *Tiv Song* is such a book.

Girnya

Keil notes (p. 130) that the war dance known as *girnya* is still occasionally performed as entertainment, but without the heads of slain enemies which was one of its traditional markers. They were hafted on poles and lifted high and shaken by the dancers. In 1949 I saw and photographed (Figures 1-6) a "new-style" *girnya* in MbaDuku in southern Tivland. The heads of enemies were replaced by the heads of sacrificed goats. (The goats' heads were indeed hoisted, but my photographs of the rest of this event were with many others in a box that was lost in my move from Northwestern to Santa Barbara.)

Figure 1 Kyagba, the eldest member and acknowledged leader of all MbaDuku and even of larger lineage areas, begins the dance. He carries a matchet to signify weapons; his beginning the dance means that everyone in the lineage is involved.



Figure 2 Individual combat is reenacted by older dancers.



Figure 3 Goats are staked in the middle of the ground. Kyagba and his eldest son, Chenge, tie and check the position of one of the four goats.



Figure 4 The music begins.

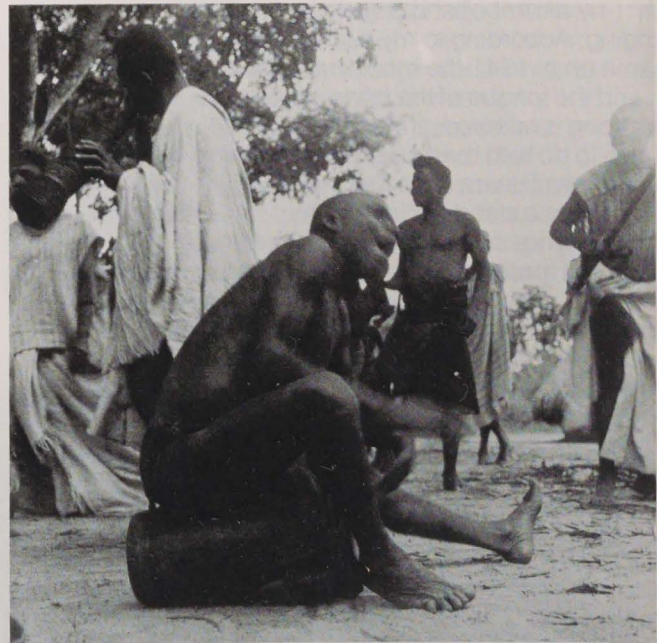


Figure 5 Dancers hold spears, on the end of which the goats' heads will be hoisted, representing the heads of enemies. The goats are then beheaded in the course of the dance.



Figure 6 Kyagba eats the first bit of cooked meat, from the tip of the war spear. After this, the general dancing and feasting goes on for the rest of the day.



Jurij Lotman. *Semiotics of the Cinema.* Mark E. Suino, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1976. \$3.00 (paper).

Review essay by Jerry L. Salvaggio
Louisiana State University

While American scholars continue to attend primarily to the semiotic and structuralist writings emanating from Western Europe, an equally large body of semiotic work is simultaneously being produced in Eastern Europe. In addition to Vladimir Propp's (1968) structuralist study of folklore, V. V. Ivanov (1976) has written on cinema and the history of semiotics, and Boris Uspensky (1975, 1976) has written on visual iconography. Other significant semioticians currently writing in Eastern Europe include A. M. Pjatigorsky (1974) and Peter Bogatyrev (1976).¹

Jurij Mikhaylovich Lotman is perhaps the most prolific representative of the Moscow-Tartu semiotic group.² As a professor of Russian Literature at Tartu State University, Lotman has already written well over one hundred articles, most of which have not been translated into English.³

If Christian Metz's goal in *Film Language* (1974) was to develop a structural-semiotic methodology for textual analysis of the narrative film, Lotman's objective is to advance a theory of how film functions as a language. Unfortunately, the same rigorous analysis and use of cybernetics and information theory which characterized Lotman's *The Structure of the Artistic Text* (1977) is not found in *Semiotics of the Cinema*. Rather than developing a theory of cinema comparable to his complex study of poetry and literature, Lotman has simply elevated Eisenstein's ideas into a semiotic system which does little to explain the process of film communication.

Lotman's failure to clarify the major problems of film-communication casts an unwarranted doubt on semiotic methodology in general. This is unfortunate, since semioticians were the first to seriously raise fundamental questions concerning film syntax and semantics. Though Lotman has covered many of these questions in this small monograph, I shall limit this review to an examination of his shortcomings in four areas: In what sense is film a language? What is the relationship between film and reality? Does film have a syntax? And finally, how does film achieve meaning?

I believe it can safely be said that the first question which arises for the film semiotician is whether the film narrative qualifies as a true language. Soviet semioticians take a characteristically diverse approach and begin merely with a broad definition of language. Lotman, for example, defines *language* as "an ordered communicative [serving to transmit information] sign system" (p. 1) and then notes that "language ensures the exchange, preservation and accumulation of information in the society which employs it" (ibid.). In addition to natural languages (Estonian, Russian, Czech, French, etc.), there are such languages as tomtoms, traffic lights, painting, and cinema. Unfortunately, Lotman does not elaborate on his definition of language as he did in *The Structure of the Artistic Text*, where he distinguished among natural languages, artificial languages (languages of science), the languages of conventional signals (road signs), and secondary languages. Since all the arts including the cinema are, for Lotman, secondary languages or secondary modeling systems, it will be helpful to draw from his earlier work. According to Lotman, natural language, because of its structure, "exerts a powerful influence over the human psyche and over many aspects of social life" (1977:9). While secondary modeling systems do not reproduce all aspects of natural languages, they are constructed "on the model of language." Cinema is, therefore, a secondary modeling system which can be examined as though it were a language. Lotman's definition of film language is considerably different from that of Metz, who considered film to be "a sort of language" which could not qualify as a true language (1974). This view also differs considerably from that of Sol Worth, who held the view that, based on Chomsky's criteria, film is not a language (1969). Though Metz and Worth agree that film is not a true language, they both use the "language analogy" as a heuristic device for semiotic analysis.

It should be pointed out that Lotman's theory of cinema does not stand or fall on his argument that film is a language in the sense that Metz's theory does. Rather, Lotman seems only to be using the analogy in order to convince the reader that cinema has all the complex characteristics of natural languages. Thus, in the Introduction, Lotman admits that his broad definition "embraces the entire area of communicative systems in human society" (p. 3). He then notes that a different question is whether cinema constitutes a unique language of its own. Clearly, Lotman sidesteps the difficult problem of demonstrating that film is a language in the way that Russian is a language. Nor does he conclude, as Metz did, that cinema is a kind of language (one lacking a *langue*). Instead, Lotman only attempts to show that cinema is a language in the sense that tomtoms and street signals are languages.

From the above view of film language one is led to a theory of the cinematic sign. Lotman is either unaware of Peirce's sign trichotomy (iconic, indexical, and symbolic)

or simply prefers to divide signs into only two categories: conventional and pictorial (iconic). Lotman notes that while iconic signs are more comprehensible, conventional signs require knowledge of a code (p. 6) and easily acquire a syntax (p. 7). "Conventional signs are capable of *telling*, of creating narrative texts, while iconic signs are restricted to the function of *naming*" (p. 7). With Umberto Eco (1976a) and Nelson Goodman (1968), Lotman agrees that within cinema the two signs coexist. Lotman, like most semioticians of visual communication, finds it necessary to show that photographs and paintings are conventional since only conventional signs require the reader to know a code (a fundamental characteristic of any language). Goodman refers to conventional signs as symbols and to pictorial signs as iconic. He then goes to great lengths to point out that iconic signs (e.g., pictures and photographs) are also symbols: "Realism is relative, determined by the system of representation standard for a given culture or person at a given time" (1968:38). Eco has likewise shown that iconic images are similar to the objects they represent only by virtue of convention (1976a:204-208). Lotman has thus used a different set of terms to convince the reader that pictures are coded, and that therefore cinema must be learned, but the observation was made by Goodman as early as 1968.

Lotman's next target is an old and elusive problem which has never failed to attract the attention of film scholars—the continuing debate over the relationship between film and reality. Krakauer (1965) and Bazin (1958) argued that film was based on photography; thus, a realistic presentation was essential for cinematic art. On the other side, Arnheim (1969; orig. ed. 1928) and Eisenstein (1949) held the view that reality must be transformed into artistic signs if cinema was to be an art form.

Lotman follows the formalistic tradition with a slight twist. He is less convinced that a realistic film is not art than he is concerned that cinema's ability to provide the illusion of reality is a deterrent to viewing the medium as a language. According to Lotman, photography and film reduce the text to the automatism of the laws of technical representation and had to be rescued from this tendency. Thus, each technical advancement from sound to color was necessarily freed from these technical laws prior to being subjected to the laws of creation. For Lotman, film's ability to create the illusion of reality provides the viewer with a dual paradox in relation to the text. While shedding tears over the genuineness of the text, the viewer also realizes that it is an "imaginary event." There is little doubt that Lotman is correct on this point, though Edward Bullough (1970) said approximately the same thing in his classic article on aesthetic distance.

What Lotman does add to the ongoing debate concerning cinema and realism is a unique answer to why Italian neorealism (a realistic movement) is considered an artistic achievement. Formalists have never satisfac-

torily accounted for neorealism. Eisenstein died before the neorealistic period, and Arnheim has chosen not to defend his earlier position.

Lotman argues that neorealism was a movement characterized by "refusals" (refusals to use stereotypes, professional actors, etc.). He then notes that the movement could not have been effective without a "remembered background of cinema art of the opposite type" (p. 21). Put in another way, neorealism was artistic because the realism was perceived as artistic (different) when compared with the conventions of the previous period. "Without cinematography of historical epics, film operas, westerns or Hollywood 'stars' it [neorealism] loses a good deal of its artistic meaning" (ibid.).

As a "formalist," Lotman is overly influenced by Eisenstein and dialectics. Later we shall see that the antecedents to this approach can probably be taken back to Jakobsen (1978), who was the first in the Soviet Union to utilize Saussure's notion of similarities and differences to explain the poetic process. This line of thinking has been pervasive since the Formalist period in the U.S.S.R., no doubt because of its similarity to Marxist dialectics.

There is certainly some truth in the theory that our acceptance of certain movements as artistically significant is mostly a matter of institutionalization. In this case, society has acknowledged neorealism to be different from previous film movements. By drawing attention to the dialectic nature of film movements, Lotman reminds us of the role which the history of cinema plays in determining what is aesthetic. His theory, however, is problematic in two ways. First, if this line of thinking were carried to the extreme one could argue that the disaster genre must be artistic since it was preceded by a period of realistic American cinema. Second, Lotman's theory cannot account for the success or failure of an *individual film* within the movement.

Lotman's theory of cinematic syntax is equally weak. Following Kuleshov and Eisenstein, he argues that cinema does not record the world but, through the "shot," records only a discrete segment (temporal and spatial) in the shape of the screen. The rectangular shot, then, is the significant unit which constitutes the vocabulary of cinema. Furthermore, because the viewer understands that shots are being presented as an "ordered text" consisting of "prearranged" shots, cinema has a syntax. "Knowing that we are watching an artistic story, i.e., a string of signs, we necessarily disassemble the flow of visual impressions into meaningful elements" (p. 25). Lotman's notion of syntax is simply that the "shot," when ordered and understood to be ordered by the viewer, is a meaningful sequence. While one would not disagree about the meaningfulness of an ordered sequence of shots, this does not constitute a syntax. Lotman fails to indicate what a nonsyntactical sequence would look like or what the rules of its grammar might be. When compared with Worth's seminal study (1968) of sequencing and cultural constructs that determine the manner in which a film

is structured and understood or John Carroll's study (1977) of the cognitive/perceptual processes involved in film sequences achieving synonymy, Lotman's work on syntax seems especially superficial.

Having presented a quasi-case for a cinematic syntax, Lotman turns to the problem of semantics. The shot achieves meaning of two kinds: the first based on its relationship with the real world and the second based on manipulation of the image (lighting, change of speed, etc.) through a series of shots. While the first type of meaning presents the viewer with a semantic bundle based on repetition and a system of expectation (due to our perception of the real world), the second violates the anticipation by singling out a new semantic bundle in the next shot. "The mechanism of similarities and differences determines the inner structure of film language" (p. 31). Basically, Lotman's notion of similarities and differences is a semiotic elaboration of Eisenstein's theory of montage. According to Eisenstein, in dialectical montage both shots and discrete elements of a shot (e.g., tones, movements, lines) are set in conflict in order to operate as minimal units of signification which could generate an infinite number of higher conceptual units.⁴

Shots, however, are unlike the so-called discrete units within a shot. Eco (1976b) and Pasolini (1975) have both discussed the notion of discrete units which might be minimal units of signification, but both have concluded that semiotics is yet too young a science to discover how these units might be identified. There is a clear sense in which a shot is a semantic bundle similar to a cluster of morphemes or even words, while a line or color is closer to a phoneme—with the exception that shots are analogic rather than digital. Lotman perhaps recognizes this as he insists that "only in a series of shots appearing one after the other can we discover the mechanisms of differences and similarities, thanks to which some secondary sign units emerge" (p. 31). What Lotman refers to as the first sign unit emerges with the shot while the second sign unit emerges with the clash of two shots. The first achieves meaning by virtue of what it represents and the second by virtue of film language (montage). Whereas Eisenstein failed to distinguish between shots as semantic units and discrete elements of a shot as nonsemantic units, Lotman recognizes that an expression requires a signifier to function as a sign.

Having established two types of signs, Lotman notes that there are two tendencies in cinema. The first is the tendency to utilize similar elements of film language based on the repetition of everyday experience. The second, "violating (but not destroying!) this system of anticipations, singles out semantic bundles in the text" (ibid.). These two tendencies, then, parallel Saussure's notion of differences and groupings, according to Lotman. The viewer recognizes these differences due to the two types of "elements" in film language: those which are "marked" and those which are "unmarked." Examples of marked elements include the extreme close shot, slow motion,

and negative shots. Unmarked elements are those "cleansed of associations," that is, those which are recognized by virtue of our experience of reality. For an element to become meaningful it must violate expectations, a technique the Formalists referred to as *ostranenie* (make strange).

Expectations can be violated either by utilizing a marked element or by the spectator recognizing that an element is not used (is absent). A viewer familiar with the entire history of cinema will find both marked and unmarked elements meaningful, as the elements will be seen as binary oppositions. On the other hand, if the viewer is new to film language, only marked elements will be meaningful, since meaning only comes through violation of an expectation.

In saying that film semantics is dependent on a system of differences, Lotman is applying the Saussurian concept of oppositions to a form of communication which is antithetical to verbal communication. Bill Nichols (1975) has already shown that Saussure's notion of oppositions is problematic when applied to analogic forms of communication. While the majority of Saussure's concepts, e.g., the paradigmatic versus the syntagmatic and the diachronic versus the synchronic, are applicable to film communication, the notion of oppositions applies only to discrete forms of communication.

By attempting to apply Saussure's theory of oppositions to film, Lotman is forced to relate film semantics only to marked and unmarked elements, a very small aspect of film communication. If Lotman were only saying that a stationary shot (unmarked element) would not *stand out* to viewers unfamiliar with film history, I might agree. But one would not want to say that unmarked shots are "not meaningful," and this is what Lotman is led to argue. According to Lotman's own system, the first type of meaning is achieved by virtue of the relationship between the image and the object it depicts. Would not this type of meaning also contribute to the aesthetics of the film?

In answer to this line of inquiry, I suspect that Lotman would counter that this type of meaning does come into play, but is not cinematic. This takes us back to Eisenstein and the notion that a film must utilize montage (that which is specific to the art form) in order to be cinematography (1949:28). For Eisenstein, montage enables cinema to set up a system of similarities and differences which in turn makes film poetic. As Shukman pointed out, Lotman has adopted much from the Formalist doctrine of differences; "nothing can have specificity except when contrasted with, or opposed to, something else: the sign has meaning against its background, culture is defined in opposition to non-culture..." (Shukman 1977:5).

Clearly, the aesthetic premise behind Lotman's study of cinema is tied to this principle. While the notion of similarities and, especially, differences has had adequate success in the semiotics of literature and poetry, it runs into considerable trouble when applied to analogic forms of communication.

While these are not all the ideas on which Lotman expounds in *Semiotics of the Cinema*, they are the ones which form the basis for his theory. Basically, Lotman's intention is to build a theory of film language. This is considerably different from the goals of Metz and especially Worth, who attempted to examine film as a linguist would examine a new language. Lotman constantly refers to film as a language, but the term is only used metaphorically. Unlike Worth or Metz, Lotman is attempting to explain film aesthetics and film semantics simultaneously, but one must distinguish rigorously between the two concepts. Though Lotman hopes to explain how film movements, film actors, and film plots achieve aesthetic meaning, it becomes obvious from the results that an understanding of film *semantics* must precede an understanding of film *aesthetics*.

A basic difficulty with Lotman's approach is that the cognitive, perceptual, and emotive aspects of the film communication process must be integrated into any theory of film language. Had Lotman applied his knowledge of information theory, subtextual systems, and intertextual analysis to his study of cinema, he might have offered a model which would have incorporated the cognitive/perceptual/emotional process. Indeed, were it not for *The Structure of the Artistic Text* there would be no reason to believe that Lotman might be able to develop a heuristic model of the film communication process. Lotman and others in the U.S.S.R., however, have led a semiotic movement which has made considerable progress by utilizing aspects of cybernetics and information theory for the purpose of textual analysis. Though Lotman has not contributed significantly to visual communication in *Semiotics of the Cinema*, there is clearly reason to believe that further semiotic studies from Eastern Europe are worth examining.

Notes

- 1 For original essays in English see Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska, eds., *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views* (Michigan Slavic Contributions No. 9, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1978).
- 2 The Moscow-Tartu semiotic group had its beginning in the summer of 1964 when a group of scholars met in Estonia to work on the problem of secondary modeling systems.
- 3 For an excellent study of Lotman's semiotic theories and an extensive bibliography see Shukman (1977).
- 4 For a more detailed examination of Eisenstein's application of Formalistic theories see Jerry L. Salvaggio (1980) and "Between Formalism and Semiotics: Eisenstein's Film Language," *Dispositio* 4(11-12):289-297.

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In The Rise and Fall of British Documentary: The Story of the Film Movement Founded by John Grierson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), Elizabeth Sussex writes: "Probably nothing that might be described as a movement in the arts has produced less major art than the British documentary movement." And in this valuable composite history, based on interviews with principal figures of that movement, including Grierson, she provides evidence from Grierson's talented protégés and colleagues that the reason for this "rise and fall" of British documentary was simply John Grierson himself. Of all the pioneers in cinema history, John Grierson is the one most likely to cause problems for the biographer, historian, and critic. He taught us to use the motion picture camera to record the world honestly—all visual communication is in his debt—and yet he imposed such a didactic overlay on his films that he frequently deprived them of the honesty on which he insisted.

John Grierson was the father of the documentary film as we know it in the English-speaking world, and when he was active in England, between 1928 and 1939, as head of the film units of the Empire Marketing Board and later the General Post Office, the movement did indeed rise and flourish. When he left in 1939 to pursue other callings, it faltered and fell. Grierson was a man with the right idea, at the right time, in the right place, a man of intellect, industry, and influence. Under his stewardship the British documentary filmmakers produced about 300 films, and even if Elizabeth Sussex is correct in asserting that this is not major art, we must remember that the outstanding films from this vast output are milestones in the history of nonfiction film. Grierson's ideas have influenced virtually every nonfiction filmmaker, but he is not responsible for those films that make the documentary film synonymous with dullness. That is the fault only of those filmmakers who lack the imagination to make what he called a "creative treatment of actuality."

Ordinarily, John Grierson's writing is not pithy, so this definition of the documentary film is all the more incisive for its brief and balanced emphasis on imagination and reality. He believed that film had the power to clarify, synthesize, simplify, popularize, and even to evangelize. He saw it as an extension of the educational process, but not as an art. And that limited view, it seems to me, is where he made the crucial error that, more than any other, led to the decline of the movement he founded.

The basic force behind the documentary film was

social, not aesthetic, but Grierson did not overlook cinematography, editing, or sound. He simply believed that ideas came first and that cinematic form would follow naturally, perhaps even mystically, since in all his writings on the genre (most of which are collected in Forsyth Hardy's *Grierson on Documentary*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947), there is virtually no comment at all on formal elements. Convinced that film was a medium of education and persuasion, Grierson devoted his exasperating, restless persistence—a missionary zeal that fit naturally a man who preached in Scottish churches as a student—to the task of convincing others that film could and should be used to awaken people around the world to the necessity of social progress. A vision of such social emphasis and international implication was bound to get him into trouble, and it did.

Grierson was also a rebel, not just against the entertainment film (which, in fact, he enjoyed personally and even produced later in life) but, more important, against the insularity of British life. Elizabeth Sussex asked him: "How important was the British Documentary Movement?" and he replied:

If I were going to talk about the thing that gives me the biggest kick, looking back on documentary, it was the absolute discipline of the documentary people in the thirties. Nobody stepped out of line, because they knew that divided we would perish but together we could stand. And we were disciplined, of course, for a purpose. We were *engagé*, and the first thing about being *engagé*, is discipline. [p. 193]

Such enthusiasm seemed to him hardly British, yet Grierson was committed to what he called "life on the doorstep," with the belief that the more we all understand that life, whether it be on the doorsteps of Glasgow or Calcutta or San Francisco, the better this world would be. Later such idealism would unjustly have him branded a communist, but it was that sort of thinking, and the discipline to put it into practice, that led him to conceive the British documentary film movement.

There is now no better place to examine the sources of this commitment than in Forsyth Hardy's latest book. The ambiguity in the subtitle is deliberate, for Hardy's is not a critical biography. A lifelong colleague of Grierson's ("a strong positive influence in my life"), he believes in the Grierson myth, which in part he helped to create with *Grierson on Documentary*. He clearly documents the facts of Grierson's life, but I wish that he might have been more creative and critical in this treatment of actuality, even perhaps more *engagé*. Unfortunately, we must be content with Hardy's hagiography, for the full-scale biography expected from Jack C. Ellis will, Ellis reports, appear later this year in the "references and resources" series published by G. K. Hall & Company. Grierson was not a saint, as a critical biography would in all likelihood have shown, but Hardy's book is useful for establishing the outline of his life.

John Grierson was born on April 26, 1898, in the Scottish village of Deanston, the son of a stern but likable schoolmaster father and a radical feminist mother. His early education was based on what he called the "false dream" of the nineteenth century—"that if only everyone had the individualist ideals that education taught, free men in a free society, each in independent and educated judgment, would create a civilization such as the world had never seen before." He skeptically rejected this idyllic vision, and by the time he was 16, which also marked the outbreak of the First World War, he volunteered for the Navy rather than accepting a scholarship at the University of Glasgow. So eager was he to enlist that he lied about his age by one year, and in joining he affirmed the Grierson family's long link with the sea and its living influence on him. (His final wish, in fact, was that the urn of his ashes be placed in the sea off the Old Head of Kinsale, beyond the outer turbot mark, so that the fishermen would not bring it up in their nets and curse him for his thoughtlessness.)

Grierson served as a telegrapher on a minesweeper, living in a somewhat isolated and unseen world of sound. This was dangerous service, but he managed to study 4 hours each day and in 4 years completed the equivalent of the university's first-year reading list. In 1919 he entered the University of Glasgow and, along with many other veterans, was impatient with his professors' lack "of any understanding whatever of the psychological gulf a life on active service can create between a service and civilian life." He was the star performer of the University Fabian Society and led the New University Labour Club. It was inevitable that a man of his family background, values, and education—as well as his own humanist inclination—would take up the cause of the Clydeside dock workers, a sympathy recalled later in his films in the memorable images of hard-working people. At the university, he read widely and wrote avidly. Many of Grierson's later essays are tedious in their crusty egocentrism, but they are also enthusiastically utilitarian and aggressively humanist. His philosophy was, thus, purposive: he had been taught at home to go out and help his fellow man, and he believed in pragmatic approaches to improving man's existence. He wrote: "Life is in the beginning and in the end cruel, a struggle for existence at all costs." In retrospect, it seems natural that Grierson would devote his life to preaching, of one kind or another, for the three virtues that he expounded in sermons during his summer holidays in Scottish churches were faith, hard thinking, and activity. This belief in self-discipline was balanced by a compelling sense of humor and love of the good life, so while Grierson may appear to epitomize the Scottish Presbyterian fundamentalist, he was also and always a man of the world. He was fond of whiskey, food, the company of lively men and women, ribald stories, and late nights, and his one personal passion was his collection of Krazy Kat cartoon films. For Grierson, it was Chaplin who first sparked his interest in films, an interest that was characteristically less cinematic than political,

for he found Chaplin's tramp an irresistible metaphor for the struggling lower classes.

Grierson graduated with honors and was awarded a Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial fellowship which enabled him to travel through the United States and study what he considered to be the related subjects of public opinion and social psychology. By studying immigrants, he quickly came to the conclusion that the dramatic form of yellow-journalism papers such as Hearst's was the most important factor in converting newly arrived Europeans to the American way of life. While living in Chicago he met Carl Sandburg, one of his idols; he then moved to New York, in 1925, where he met another, Walter Lippmann, then editor of the *New York World* and already well known for his book *Public Opinion* (1922). Lippman argued that the facts of daily life had to be dramatized in terms of their human consequences if they were to have an impact on public consciousness; moreover, he saw the potential to fulfill this concept in film. (This notion might have been one of the influences on the "poster films" that Grierson later produced in England.) Although Grierson's father had actually introduced him to film many years before, Grierson credits Lippmann with turning him in the direction of film as a career. What really impressed him was the potential in the deliberate use of film for social change.

Cinema now became his dominant interest, and in addition to the report on cinema that he prepared for the Rockefeller Foundation (he always prepared "reports" after trips), he wrote film criticism for the *New York Sun*. He closely analyzed *Potemkin* and introduced the American and British public to it through his writing and speaking engagements. He met Robert Flaherty, and in the legendary review of *Moana*, Flaherty's second film, he first used the term *documentary*. Later he had misgivings about its value to the movement that went forward under its name: "Documentary is a clumsy description but let it stand." For those of us who regard the documentary as one approach to the larger genre of the nonfiction film, it is indeed a clumsy description.

After two-and-a-half years in the United States, Grierson returned to Great Britain, undecided about choosing a career in journalism or cinema. But when he met Stephen Tallents, head of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB), his direction was set for life. Tallents commissioned him to prepare a series of reports on the uses of film in other countries, primarily France and Germany. Later Grierson showed films to the EMB bureaucrats concerned with improving the quality and marketing of British products. From the earliest days of his career he enthusiastically promoted motion pictures, and on May 15, 1928, Grierson was appointed assistant film officer of the EMB and went to work on the film project that eventually became *Drifters* (1929). He supervised the production and the cinematography on location in the North Sea, and returned to London to edit the film himself. He had only a theoretical experience of film

editing, but a thorough knowledge of Russian formalist aesthetics (after all, he boasted, he had taken *Potemkin* apart and put it back together again—figuratively speaking, of course), and he knew what he wanted. Margaret Taylor, a young film editor who later became his wife, helped him realize his vision, although he took full credit for the film. To the student of film editing, *Drifters* shows Grierson's fine understanding of Eisenstein. He must have been very proud when it was shown publicly for the first time in London on a program with *Potemkin*, with Eisenstein himself in the audience. *Drifters*, an unpretentious film about the herring fishing industry, was a success with audiences and critics, and it impressed Stephen Tallents and his associates at the Empire Marketing Board. Grierson convinced Tallents that the EMB film unit should be expanded, and with this move the British documentary movement entered its infancy.

Now Grierson made the decision that was to influence the nature, scope, and achievement of that movement. He knew he was a producer, not a director (even though *Drifters* is a film of which any beginner would be proud), and he persuaded Tallents to establish at the EMB a small school of filmmakers that would pursue his theories. Grierson was soon joined by Basil Wright, Arthur Elton, Paul Rotha, Edgar Anstey, and many others whose names later became well known in the movement. (Grierson's eye for young talent was not infallible, however, for he could never understand or be comfortable with the work of Humphrey Jennings.) But this group of enthusiastic young filmmakers was hardly yet a movement. Money and facilities were scarce, but Grierson had a clear conception of the social uses of film and where he wanted to go; with Tallent's support, a program of films began to emerge in the early 1930s.

Grierson traveled throughout Great Britain, talking to audiences everywhere about the work of the EMB and showing films from many countries. He commissioned Robert Flaherty to make *Industrial Britain* (1933), an uneven accomplishment that provides a rare opportunity to study the work of the two nonfiction film pioneers on a single project. Closer to the Grierson ideal were such films as *Granton Trawler* (1934), *Coal Face* (1936), and *Aero-Engine* (1933). Although he was fulfilling his desire to make films of ordinary people, to bring the British Empire alive to its subjects and to the rest of the world, he was frustrated in his quest for cinematic social realism. His attempts to deal fully with certain subjects were constrained by the needs of the government that sponsored the films, and Grierson realized that the documentary film, as he envisioned it, could not really be "an instrument of the working class." Concurrent with this insight—and Grierson was not a Marxist—the economic situation worsened, and the life of the EMB was ended officially on September 30, 1933. But Sir Stephen Tallents (he had been knighted in 1932) moved over to the General Post Office (GPO), taking Grierson with him, thus ensuring the continuation of government documentary filmmaking in Great Britain.

At the GPO film unit—in what might appear to have been an unlikely and unimaginative atmosphere for creative film production—the British movement continued and prospered. Grierson and his associates turned from economic concerns to subjects drawn from communications, industry, and technology. Along with their new support, they had the satisfaction of continuing their experiments with sound, the involvement of other artists such as W. H. Auden and Benjamin Britten, and the opportunity to develop techniques in color, graphics, and animation. Among the memorable films of those early years are Basil Wright's *Song of Ceylon* (1934), Stuart Legg's *B.B.C.: The Voice of Britain* (1935), and Basil Wright's and Harry Watt's *Night Mail* (1936). Of course, there was resistance if not opposition in the larger film community. The commercial film trade resented the economical production of films by a government agency; the newly formed British Film Institute had little influence, but it feared competition from the system of nontheatrical distribution that Grierson had organized; and the Conservative party was suspicious of the political orientation of the GPO films. Here, as throughout this biography, Hardy is particularly sensitive to this issue of opposition to the movement, but he accepts Grierson's position without much question. He further avoids the problem by not analyzing or evaluating the films that sparked the opposition in the first place. Grierson wisely countered these attempts to destroy his concept of the documentary film by continuing to produce exemplary films. His support, output, and facilities grew, and he was especially fortunate in having the imaginative sound-recording experiments under the guidance of Alberto Cavalcanti, the Brazilian-born director whose *Rien que les heures* and *En rade* were already famous in avant-garde European film circles.

By 1936, Grierson could be proud of his achievements. He had established, however modestly, the principle of responsible government support for imaginative documentary filmmaking. He had founded a school for the training of young filmmakers. He had worked energetically to build a responsive audience for British films at home, in the dominions, and elsewhere. At the same time, he had raised important questions about government sponsorship and about propaganda. The issue of propaganda is less explosive today than it was in the mid-1930s, when Goebbels was its master, but thinking people in Great Britain and elsewhere were concerned about it. All this was the work of a pioneer and if it had its virtues it also had its faults. Some new elements were no longer as good as they once appeared as was the case with other pioneering developments in film. Today we are also more demanding in what we expect a nonfiction film to tell us about a social situation, and it is in this area—content, not form—that the GPO films appear sometimes to be weak. Why, for one example, does *Night Mail*, the GPO masterpiece, fail to express what was then the well-known discontent among post-office workers? Why does it fail to criticize faults in the postal system? Why does it transform the Postal Special into a force of ethereal beauty

and forget the people who sweat at low wages and in poor working conditions to make it function so efficiently? (We know, of course, that Auden, Spender, and Lewis wrote poetry that exalted the beauty of machines, but why, in the creation of such work, did they forget the dignity of man?) The answers to these questions will not be found in Hardy but rather in Elizabeth Sussex's book and in other studies of the nonfiction film. Hardy is simply but genuinely too impressed with Grierson to imagine asking the questions.

Certainly, Grierson had to contend with the anomaly that state resources were being used to make films that sometimes indirectly criticized the manner in which the state dealt with social, industrial, and economic problems. He did not overlook the problems, but in regarding the survival of the documentary film movement as his first priority, he sometimes overlooked its critics. His emphasis on positive achievements and progress created a public relations atmosphere in which real social progress became secondary to a favorable representation of the institution or program being depicted. Ironically, Grierson was capable of sophisticated dialectic, but he eschewed it in these films, mindful of the political high-wire act he was masterminding and, indeed, of his own future. Hardy pays virtually no attention to Grierson's sense of self-preservation, but it is evident that it was among his strongest motivations.

The GPO film unit itself expanded, venturing into color and animation with Len Lye and Norman MacLaren, into international affairs (*The Defence of Madrid*), and into frequent meetings with European filmmakers and screenings of their films. In 1937, in the midst of this expansion and success, Grierson left the GPO and Alberto Cavalcanti became its supervising producer. Hardy does not discuss the sources of Grierson's restlessness and need to move on at this and later critical junctures in his career. But Grierson's social idealism, distrust of cinema as an art, and personal unhappiness (especially the heavy drinking) must have been among them.

The precise distinctions between the film production at the GPO film unit during and after Grierson's tenure are less apparent than three general changes. First, the technical experimentation increased; second, the films took a wider and livelier look at British society; and, third, the documentary film became more a form in itself, as the films became more surely grounded in cinematic properties as well as in ideological causes. For Grierson, too, a new phase was to begin, for he had been invited to make a survey of film developments in Canada, the country in which he would achieve his greatest accomplishments, and he seemed to like nothing more than to travel to a faraway place and tell people how to make films his way.

Grierson traveled throughout Canada, met most of the people prominent in the nation's affairs, and wrote a report critical of the Canadian government film effort. Eventually, this report resulted in the establishment of the National Film Board (NFB), to which Grierson was appointed temporary commissioner for 6 months beginning in October 1939. This was extended to August 1941,

but not without high-level government controversy over his policies and methods of operation; finally, he was confirmed as permanent commissioner. At the NFB, as at the EMB and GPO film units, he encouraged experimentation, young talent (including many women), widespread distribution of films, and the participation of famous filmmakers from around the world. Grierson resisted parochialism and provincialism, using the series *Canada Carries On* and *The World in Action* to emphasize Canadian achievements. He was unusually sensitive to the Anglo-Saxon sense of superiority in Canada and insisted that NFB films be provided with both French and English soundtracks, a decision that won him larger audiences as well as more critics in the government. He was in this, as in many of his day-to-day attitudes and policies, a man very much ahead of his time. And when one considers that he was a government official, his stature as a leader only increases.

During the Second World War, Grierson served for some time as general manager of the Canadian War-time Information Board while continuing his duties at the National Film Board. He lectured across the country, laying the foundations for the information service by awakening Canadians to the things that united their vast and lonely country. He was so successful that when the chairman of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation resigned, he proposed that Grierson succeed him. But Grierson declined in the belief that adding control of broadcasting to the control he already had of information and film would have been too much.

Grierson resigned his NFB post in November 1945, at which time it was an organization of over 800 people, announcing that he was going on to make films on international themes. His leadership of the NFB had been impressive both because of the size of the organization he had built and because of the quantity and quality of its films. He returned to England with the satisfaction of having inspired yet another group of filmmakers. Today the National Film Board of Canada continues as a successful production organization and the living embodiment, along with film units around the world, of Grierson's vision.

He had received several American offers of major posts but the international idea dominated his thinking and he envisioned a truly international exchange of filmmaking talent to support, among other things, the objectives and activities of the United Nations. But his internationalism and his work at the NFB came under the investigation of Canadian authorities who were looking into communist activities. The enemies that Grierson had made in Ottawa through his arrogant enthusiasm for film production now brought out their grievances. All this hurt his fundraising efforts for the International Film Associates and seriously diminished the morale of those who were to join the effort. But the cruelest blow to his pride and reputation was the United States government's refusal to renew his visa to reenter the country. Hardy treats this episode with respect for what must have been a painful and humiliating experience, but he does not really go

into it sufficiently, even in his epilogue ("The Right of the Prophet"), where he tries to come to some balanced assessment of Grierson's life and achievement. We never know if Grierson fought the State Department decision but his work then and later with UNESCO must have annoyed the vigilant bureaucrats in Washington who saw threats everywhere in those dark days before Senator Joseph McCarthy's investigations.

Nonetheless, Grierson moved ahead, first to Paris as UNESCO's Director of Mass Communications and Public Information, then back to London to the Crown Film Unit (CFI) where he would once again be in overall charge of the planning, production, and distribution of government films. In 1939, the GPO Film Unit went under the supervision of the Ministry of Information and in 1940 it was renamed the CFI. Grierson was called back, for his administrative skills more than for his experience as an imaginative producer. Even though this frustrated him (he left CFI within 2 years), he campaigned tirelessly within the unit and within the larger Central Office of Information for policies that would restore social purpose and imaginative craftsmanship to British documentary. But when the Conservative party won the 1951 election, it made a series of cuts in the government's information services, among them the Crown Film Unit. By then, Grierson had already quit, but this was yet another defeat for Grierson and for the documentary film, if, indeed, it is possible to separate them.

He accepted a position of executive producer for Group 3, one of the cooperative film production enterprises receiving loans of government money through the National Film Finance Corporation, and for the first time in his life was involved in the making of fiction films for paying audiences. Although this would appear to contradict much of what he had been saying and doing for 20 years, Hardy offers reasons that help to explain it, the most persuasive of which is that Grierson enjoyed being part of a nationwide effort to revitalize the film industry. The hard truth is that he also needed a job. Most of the Group 3 films were light comedies, designed not only to get the studio craftspersons back to work but also to get the audiences back into the theaters. Grierson liked the work because he liked comedy, but when he had the chance to make a serious film about life in a mining community, he was able to draw both on his own memories of growing up in a depression and on his lifelong commitment to films based on actuality. *The Brave Don't Cry* was praised around the world, and it was to become the most widely shown of all the Group 3 films with the exception of *The Conquest of Everest*. By 1954, the Group 3 experiment had not proven to be profitable and Grierson left. In the same year, he was honored at the Edinburgh Film Festival with a dinner to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the documentary film. He was at a critical juncture in his career, but instead of going forward, either into English film work or out into the dominions, he went home to Scotland, drawn no doubt by the thought of rest (he had been sick off and on for several years) and by the hope of some revitalization. Also, on the practical side, Scotland

was one of the few places in the United Kingdom where he had not helped to establish a native film service.

Since government-sponsored filmmaking was ended in Scotland, as well as in the rest of Great Britain, a group of industries that had something to gain from documentary films formed the awkwardly named, temporary Films of Scotland Committee and chose Grierson as its head. There was nothing nominal or temporary about Grierson's service, even though the financing was always minimal in comparison with that at his disposal in Canada and London. But he accepted the diminished scale of operations, brought to it all of his vast knowledge and experience, and within 5 years one of its films, *Seawards the Great Ships*, a study of the Scottish shipbuilding industry, had received an Oscar from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Grierson may have gone home to work, but he did not go home for good, and he continued to travel widely, especially to the major film festivals (Cannes, Venice, Cork, Oberhausen—the documentary festival—in addition to Edinburgh), where often as not he was either president of the entire festival or chairperson or member of the jury.

In Scotland Grierson became fascinated with television and produced *This Wonderful World*. He selected and edited the film excerpts, wrote the commentary, and introduced the program which ran for 10 years in Scotland; he seems to have been as successful with this enterprise as Alistair Cooke was in this country with *Omnibus*. With this program, Grierson was at his best, talking of things that interested him from around the world and showing parts of films that he had culled from his visits to the festivals. Although he said he was not impressed with the ratings (*This Wonderful World* was one of the top programs on Scottish television), the success must have given him some satisfaction. After all, it was in his native land, and it represented a fight back from the slump of the few preceding years. And now there was other recognition of his work. In 1961 he was appointed a Commander of the Order of the British Empire. In 1962 he was invited to visit the United States, and when his visa application was approved without incident, he went happily. His principal invitation was from the University of North Carolina, where, one morning during breakfast, he convinced Governor Terry Sanford to establish the North Carolina Film Board. He spoke at Columbia University and at the Museum of Modern Art. Later he returned to Canada where he was acclaimed on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the National Film Board. To honor his life's achievement, the Films of Scotland Committee produced *I Remember, I Remember*, a personal film in which Grierson told the story of his work.

In 1969, at the age of 70, Grierson was appointed professor at McGill University in Montreal. Arriving in the midst of the student revolution, he quickly became a campus hero for his outspoken views, and his class, planned for 200 students, actually enrolled 700 young men and women eager to hear his witty, iconoclastic views about the necessity of linking social protest with social progress. And, inevitably, he tangled with his col-

league, the late Marshall McLuhan, whom Grierson felt was adding students' minds. Grierson said: "Who gives a goddam for the 8mm revolution if it is going to let loose on us *the 8mm mind*." After McGill, Grierson maintained an active schedule of work, including a demanding trip to India to help assess its filmmaking programs, but his health had been declining and after a short illness, he died on February 19, 1972.

In their brief *Studies in Documentary*, Alan Lovell and Jim Hillier of the British Film Institute assess the British documentary film movement in a very limited way: "The importance of the documentary movement lies, not in the quality of individual films, but in the impact it had in general on the British cinema." That seems particularly shortsighted in view of the influence that John Grierson had around the world in establishing national film movements and in influencing individual directors as diverse as Joris Ivens and Pare Lorentz. But it is fashionable, especially in England, to dismiss the work of Grierson and his colleagues, as it seems equally prevalent in this country to overlook the work of Willard Van Dyke, Helen Grayson, and others. To be sure, Grierson's endless theories can be reduced to some salient principles, but his written work only suggests how compelling his personal presence must have been, how persuasive and protective he was with young filmmakers, and how tireless he was in the service of the documentary idea.

The problem with Mr. Hardy's excellent book is that he deals clearly and evenly with John Grierson's life without ever revealing that life. He believes in the Grierson myth. He avoids critical comment on the films that Grierson produced. He is sometimes careless about providing dates so it would be troublesome, for instance, to construct a chronology from the information that he provides, but he is an expert on the subject and writes with that assurance as well as with the chatty familiarity that we might expect from Grierson's old friend. This, then, is both a personal memoir and an official biography, useful for what it provides, tantalizing for what it suggests.

I do not agree with English critics such as Sussex, Lovell, and Hillier who all suggest that the British documentary movement is due for a complete reassessment. That begs the issue. The social issues are now largely outmoded, the films do not reveal a definite aesthetic impulse, and there is too much diversity in a movement that includes the work of Harry Watt, Humphrey Jennings, and Len Lye. The good films are still worth seeing, and the lesser ones, as always, demonstrate why they deserve to be shelved. But one thing remains constant in documentary film from 1927 to 1972: John Grierson. In his 1950 manifesto on Free Cinema, Lindsay Anderson wrote: "Documentary should not be—it certainly need not be—synonymous with dullness. It should be one of the most exciting and stimulating of contemporary forms. After all, the cinema started with it." John Grierson would in all likelihood have taken many pages to have said just that, but he couldn't have said it any better, and those filmmakers who are guilty of making the documentary synonymous with dullness are not in any way his heirs.

