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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.

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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 Vyasa; 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.

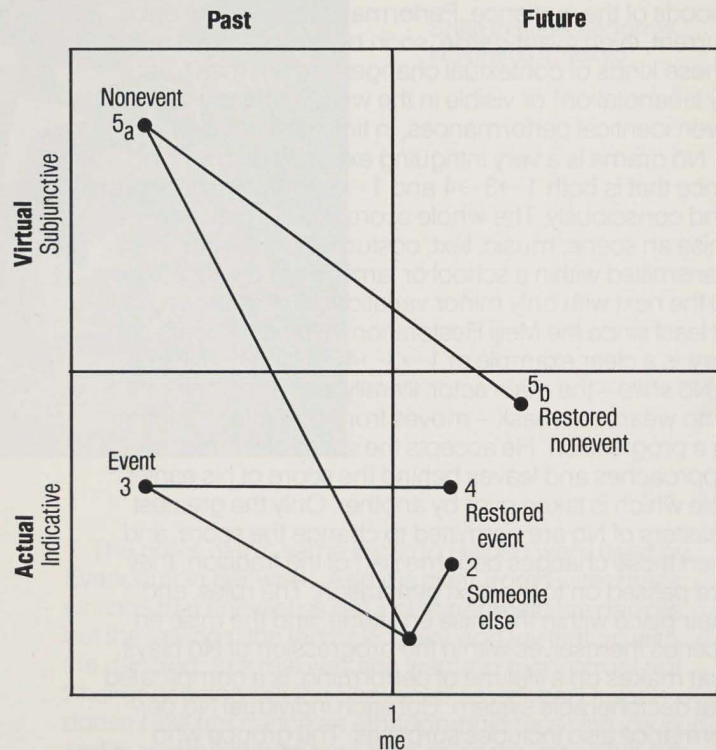


Figure 1 Restored events are placed in the future because rehearsals are a means of collecting behavior and "keeping" it for the performance-to-be. Once performances begin these are, of course, in the present.

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 $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$ and $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ 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 $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$. 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 $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$ and $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$.

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 $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$; Humphrey's dance is $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. 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→3→4 type but soon became a 1→5_a→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→5_a→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→5_a→5_b type.

1→5_a→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→3→4. But in practice they are all 1→5_a→5_b. Other examples of 1→5_a→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→5_a→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 undocumented 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			
2			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

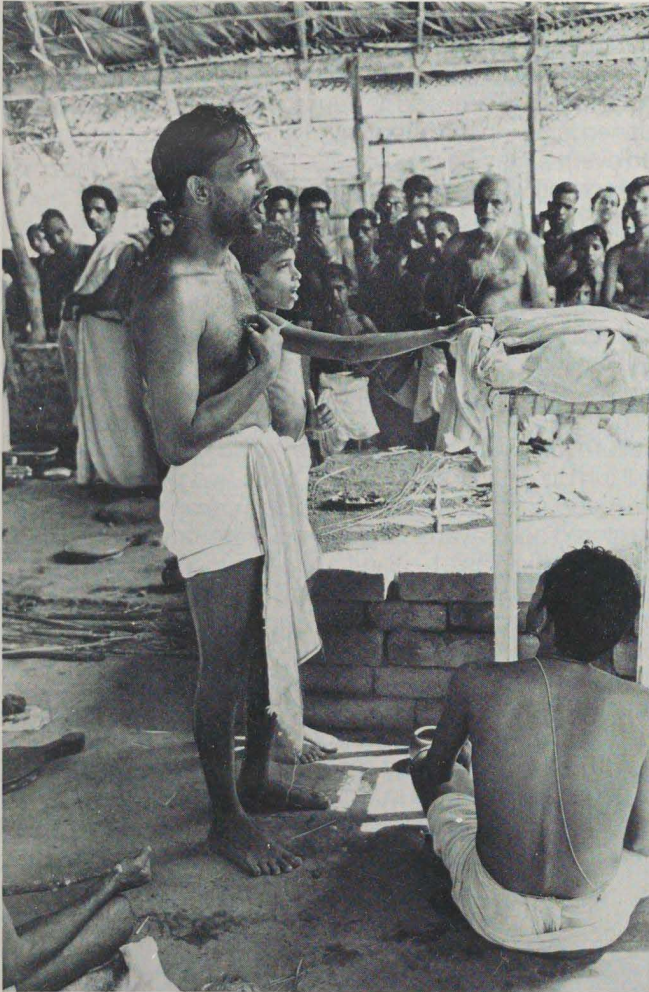
In this figure time is relative to events. The film of the 1975 agnicayana becomes the "now" for all future persons who experience the ritual performance through this medium. And, as Staal says, it is likely that most people will experience agnicayana this way. Even if a living tradition continues, it 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.

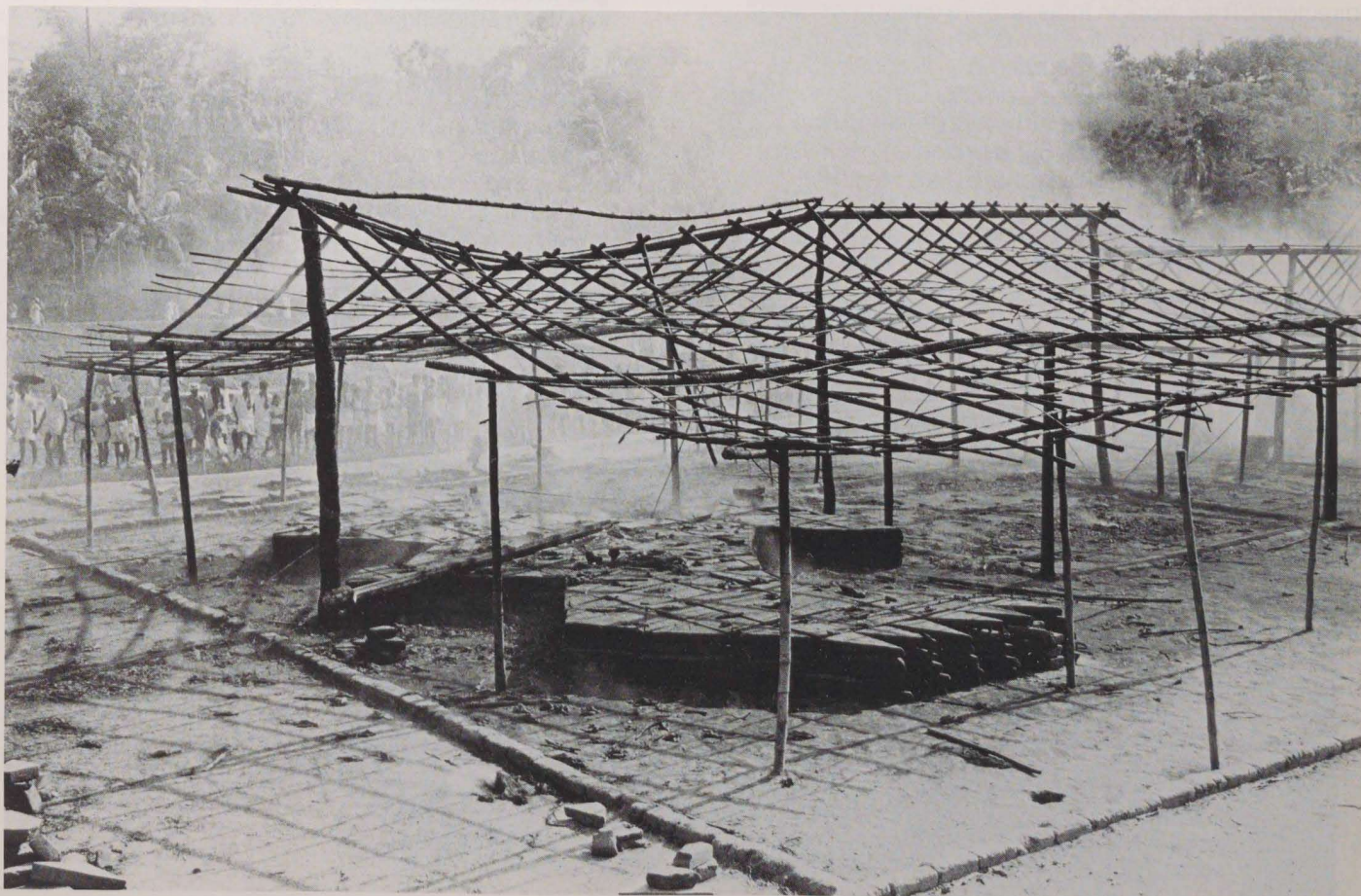
Sometimes restorations clash with the very agencies that promote them:

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 semi-arid 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. Regretfully 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

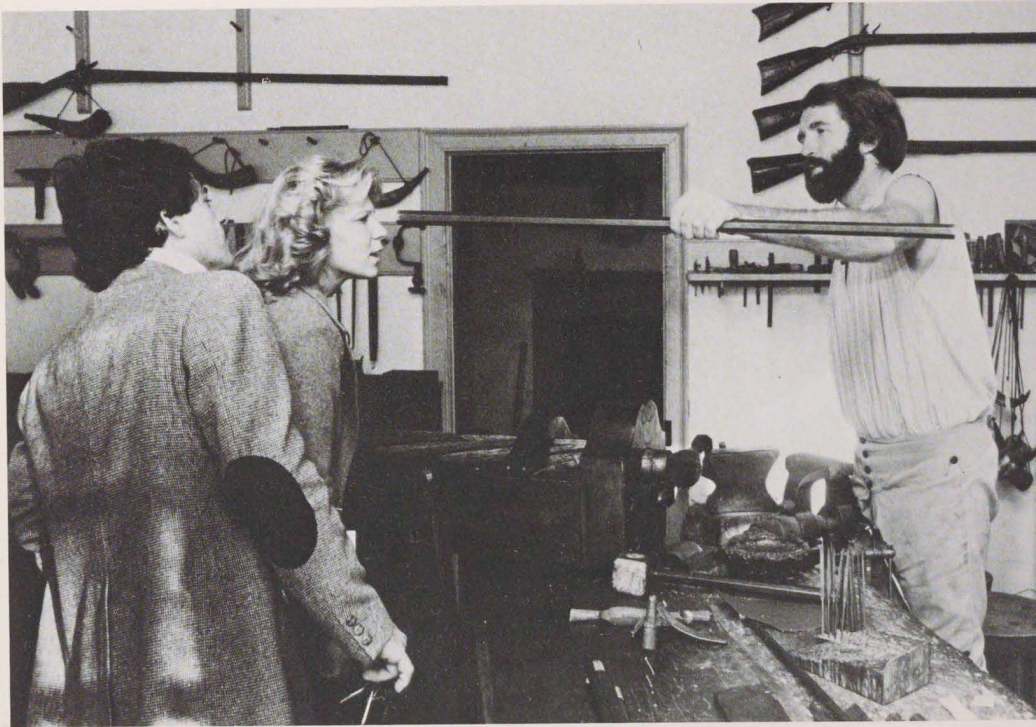
Kenetasarobe masked dancers, 1972. Photo by Joan MacIntosh



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, sculptings, 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 gun-
smith. *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, Cowntown, 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.

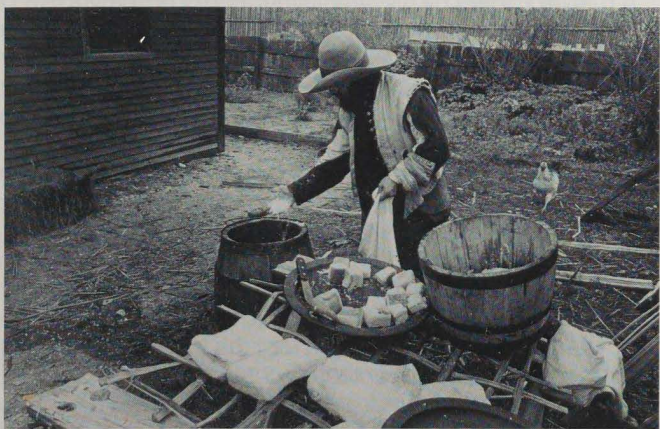
According to Bob Marten, cohead of the Plantation's Interpretation Department, ads are placed each January to fill about 30 roles to represent the actual 200 persons who lived in the colony in 1627. That is, 30 out of 200 villagers are actually represented by what Marten calls "cultural informants":

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 heathen 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 Disneyland, and other theme parks, where a radical separation is attempted between the ordinary world and the world of the park. At Disneyland 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 Disneyland 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 $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$ and $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$.

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.

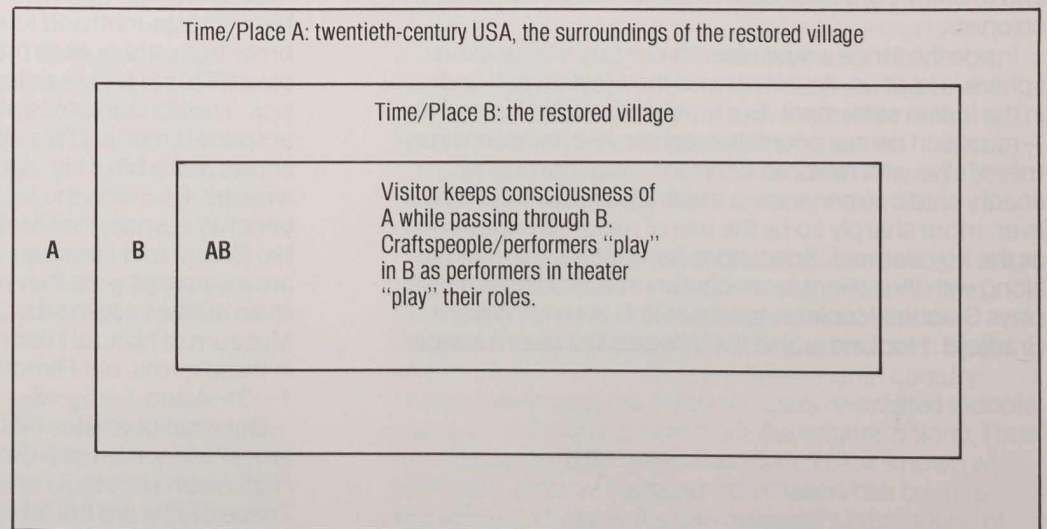
Considered theoretically, restored villages, even those built on fantasies and/or movies, raise hard questions. How are they different from the Staal-Gardner agnicayana? Staal-Gardner based their Vedic ritual on a reconstruction of an "old India" as distorted, and as true, as the Old West of America 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.

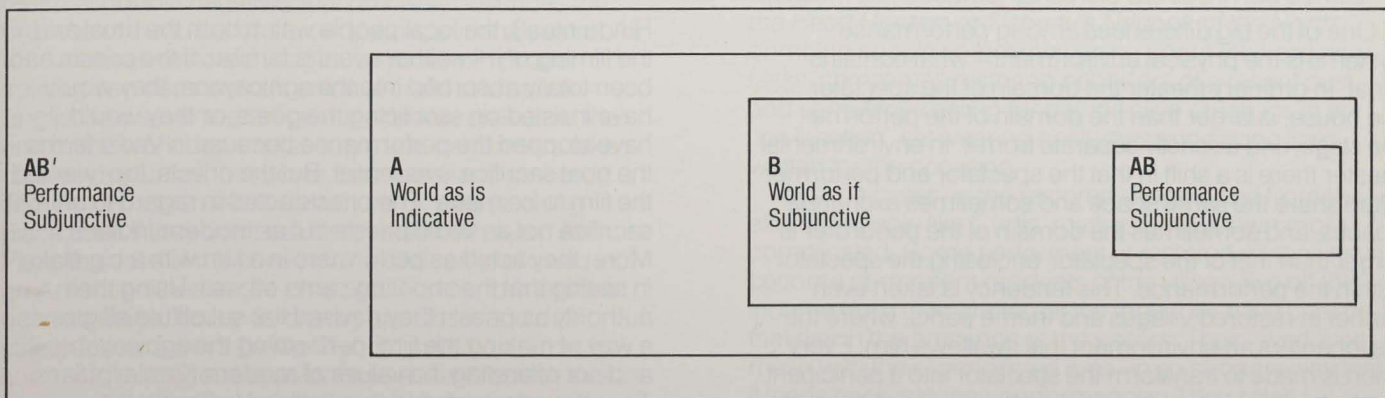


Figure 5 Performance systems: a comparative chart.

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 multiphase 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."

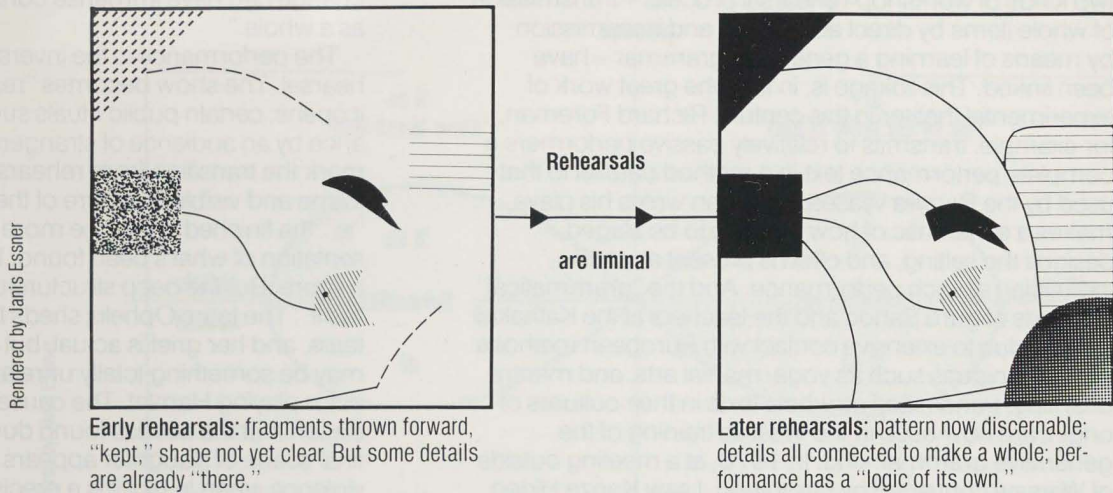
In the method of direct acquisition there is no reference during training to any generative grammar of performance. Nor do training or exercises stimulate "creativity" or encourage experimentation or the discovery of new material or patterns. I've watched the *vyas* (director) of the Ramnagar Ramlila employ direct acquisition in teaching the texts and gestures to the teen-age boys who perform the *swarupas* (the gods Rama, Bharat, Lakshmana, and Satrugna). 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.

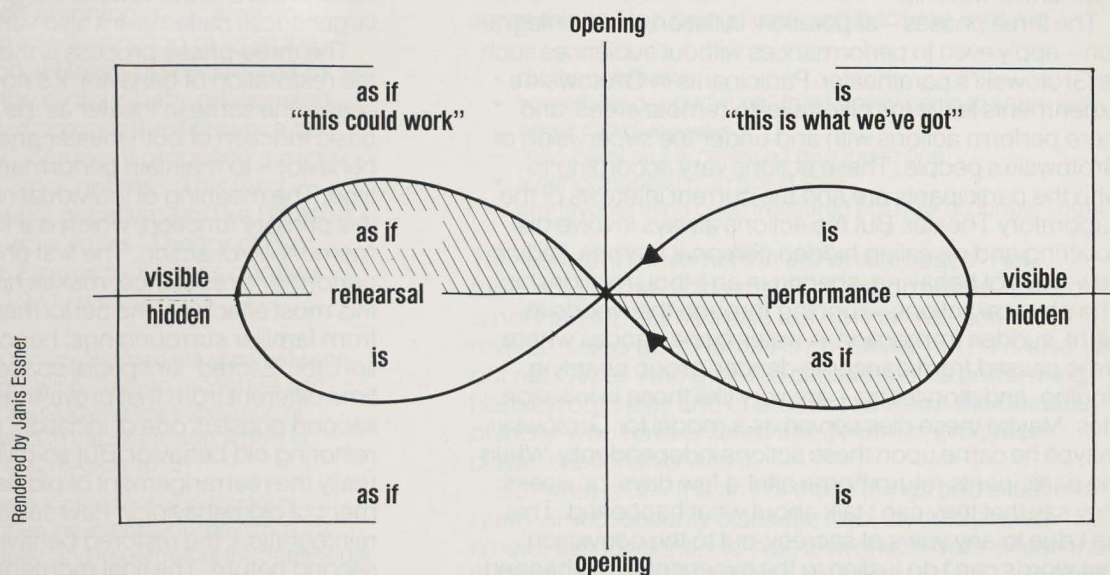
During the past 50 years, since Artaud at least, the two kinds of workshop-rehearsal process — transmission of whole items by direct acquisition and transmission by means of learning a generative grammar — have been linked. This linkage is, in fact, the great work of experimental theater in this century. 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 subjunction/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"

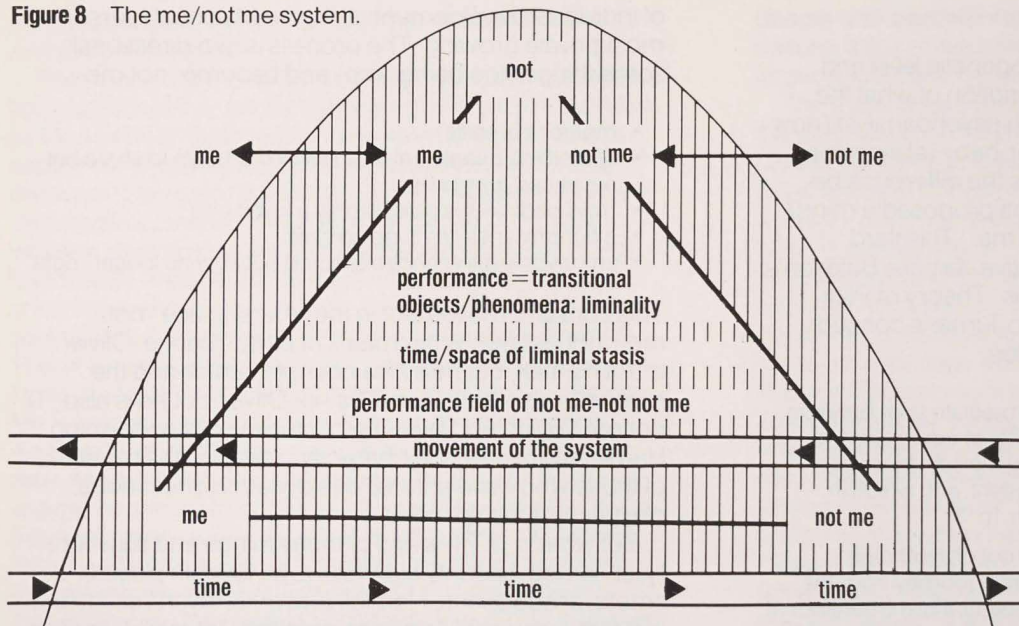
This constant movement in the liminal space "not me...not not me" is the matrix of performance. Olivier is not Hamlet, but he's also not not Hamlet; and the reverse is also true: Hamlet is not Olivier but he is also not not Olivier. And over the centuries of its performing Hamlet (both play and character) 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

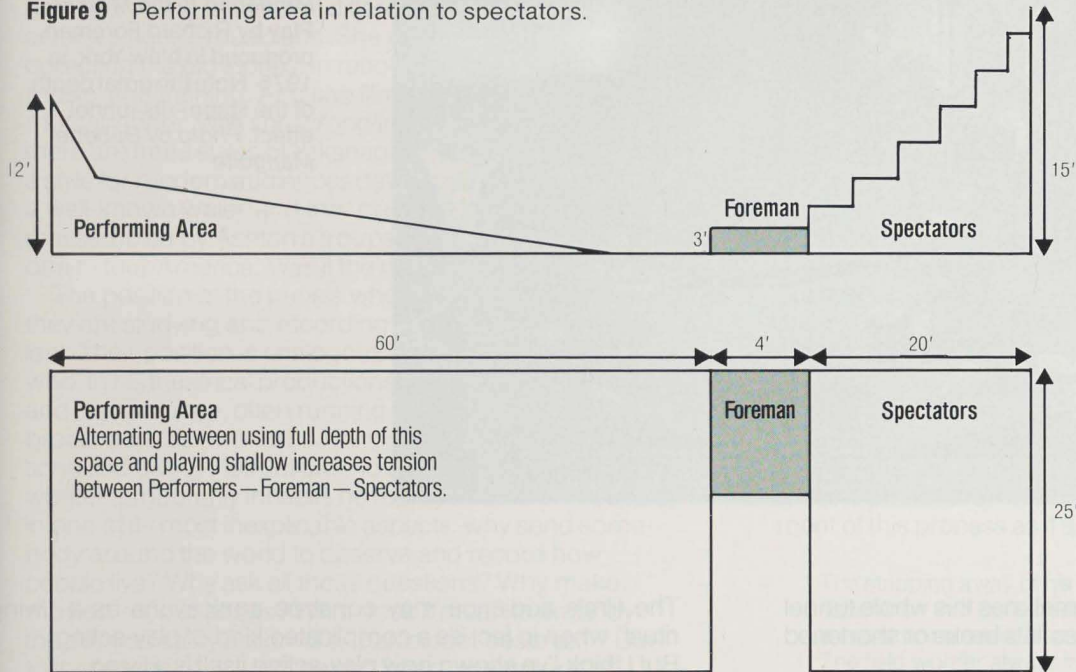
Restored behavior of all kinds—rituals, theatrical performances, restored villages, agnicayana—is “transitional behavior.” Elements that are “not me” move toward becoming “me,” and parts of “me” move toward becoming “not me.” The whole process is framed in the negative, the subjunctive, the “as if.” 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.



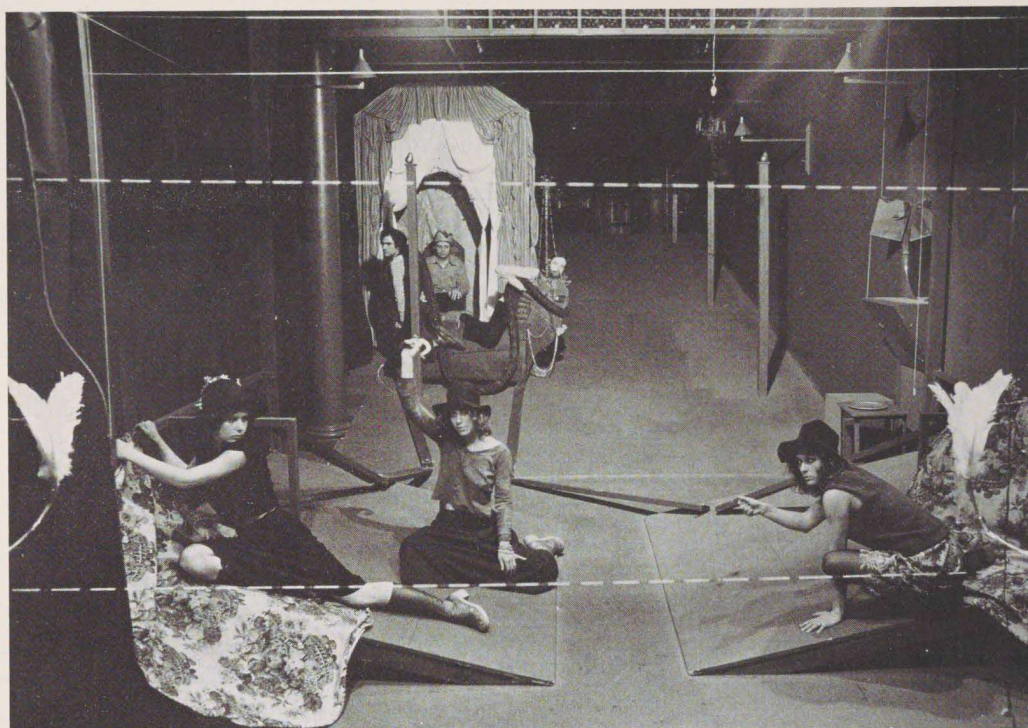
achieve levels of skills, pull off tricks. But no matter how phony the show, an audience responds to sincerity, and there is as much sincerity involved in tricking as there is in so-called truth-telling. To perform excellently is to master whatever the craft is: telling the truth, telling lies. This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

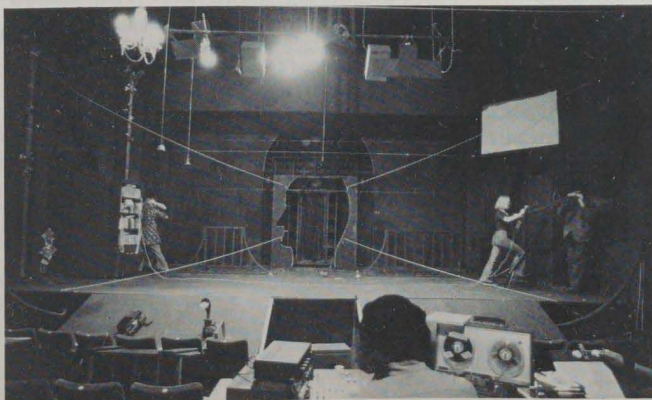
The field worker, like the theater director, like performers in workshop-rehearsals, goes through the three-phase process Van Gennep mapped out as the pre-liminal rites of separation, the liminal rites of transition, and the postliminal rites of incorporation.²⁸ My restatement of this process as it applies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

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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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