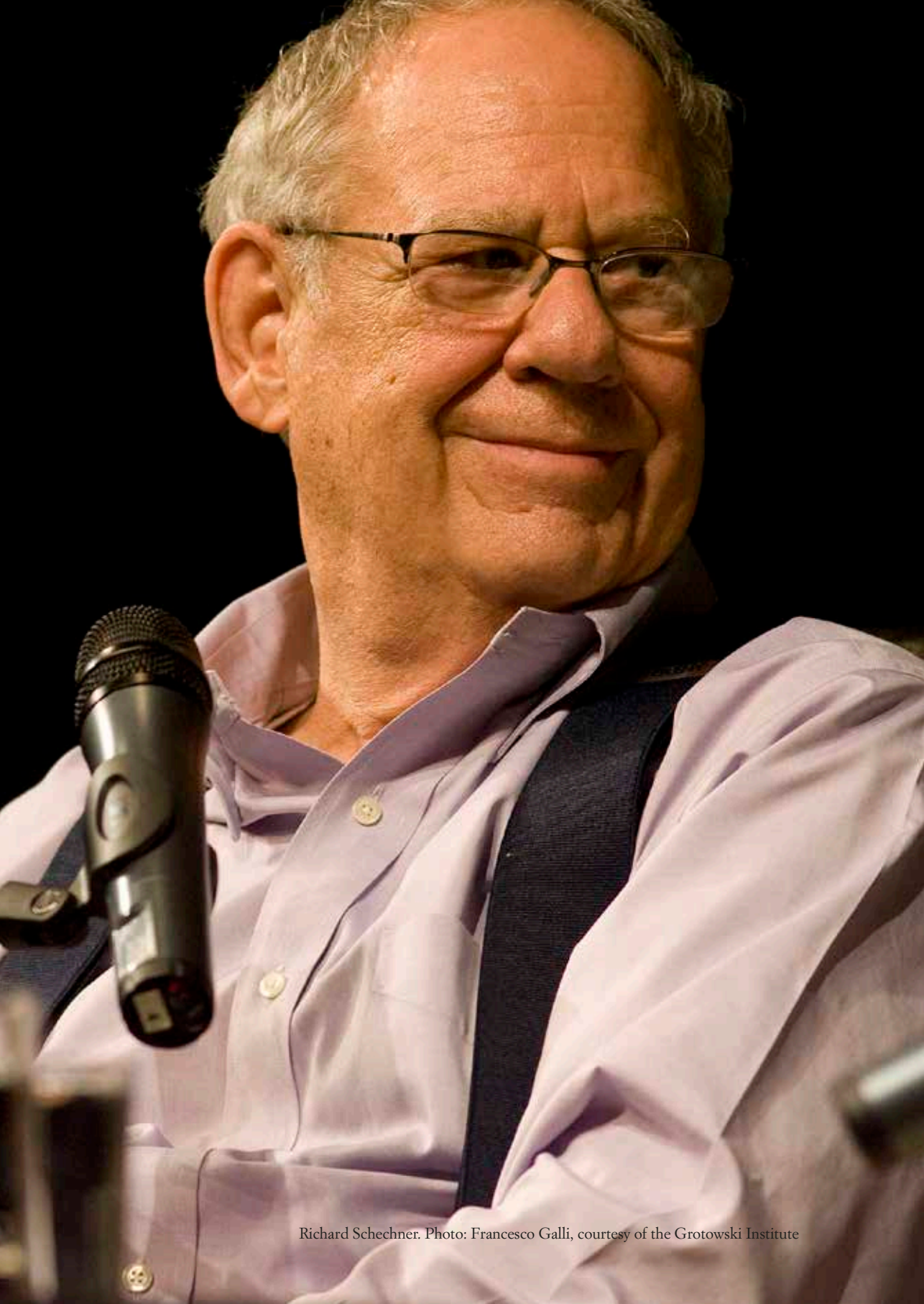

Richard Schechner. Photo: Francesco Galli, courtesy of the Grotowski Institute

Richard Schechner

Restoration of Behavior

Abstract: *Taking as reference the ethno-anthropological studies given by Erving Goffman and Victor Turner, Schechner analyzes the methods and dynamics of the transition from daily behavior to restored behavior and does so by examining both different ritual traditions and the workshop-rehearsals processes that are triggered in the field of dance and theater. This article, in its full version, appeared for the first time in 1981 in the journal* Studies in Visual Communication *7 (3), pp. 2-45.*

Keywords: *Performance, Ritual, Workshop, Rehearsals*

Restored behavior is living behavior treated as a film director treats a strip of film. These strips of behavior[1] can be rearranged or reconstructed; they are independent of the causal systems (social, psychological, technological) that brought them into existence. They have a life of their own. […] 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". Restored behavior can be of long duration as in some dramas and rituals or of short duration as in some gestures, dances, and mantras.

Restored behavior is used in all kinds of performances from shamanism and exorcism to trance, from ritual to aesthetic dance and theater, from initiation rites to social dramas, from psychoanalysis to psychodrama and transactional analysis. In fact, restored behavior is the main characteristic of performance. The practitioners of all these arts, rites, and healings assume that some behaviors – organized sequences of events, scripted actions, known texts, scored movements – exist separate 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 rebehave according to these strips, either by being absorbed into them (playing the role,

1. In *Frame Analysis* Goffman used the term "strip of activity": "The term "strip" will be used to refer to any arbitrary slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity, including here sequences of happenings, real or fictive, as seen from the perspective of those subjectively involved in sustaining an interest in them […]" (1974, 10). My "strip of behavior" is related to Goffman's term, but it is also, as will be seen, significantly different.

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going into trance) or by existing side by side with them (Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt*). The work of restoration is carried on in rehearsals and/or in the transmission of behavior from master to novice. Understanding what happens during training, rehearsals, and workshops – investigating the subjunctive mood that is the medium of these operations – is the surest way to link aesthetic and ritual performance.

[…] Restored behavior includes a vast range of actions. It can be "me" at another time/psychological state as in the psychoanalytic abreaction; or it can exist in a non-ordinary sphere of sociocultural reality as does the Passion of Christ or the reenactment in Bali of the struggle between Rangda and Barong; or it can be marked off by aesthetic convention as in drama and dance; or it can be the special kind of behavior "expected" of someone participating in a traditional ritual – the bravery, for example, of a Gahuku boy in Papua New Guinea during his initiation, shedding no tears when jagged leaves slice the inside of his nostrils; or the shyness of an American "blushing bride" at her wedding, even though she and her groom have lived together for two years.

Restored behavior is symbolic and reflexive […]. Symbolic and reflexive behavior is the hardening into theater of social, religious, aesthetic, medical, and educational process. Performance means: never for the first time. It means: for the second to the n^{th} time. Performance is "twice-behaved behavior."

[…]

Restored behavior can be put on the way a mask or costume is. 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 performance scores. A score can change because it is not a "natural event" but a model of individual and collective human choice. A score exists, as Turner says (1982, 82-84), in the subjunctive mood, in what Stanislavski called the "as if." Existing as "second nature," restored behavior is always subject to revision. This "secondness" combines negativity and subjunctivity.

*

Put in personal terms, restored behavior is "me behaving as if I am someone else" or "as if I am 'beside myself,' or 'not myself,'" as when in trance. But this "someone else" may also be "me in another state of feeling/being," as if there were multiple "me's" in each person. The difference between performing myself-acting out a dream, reexperiencing a childhood trauma, showing you what I did yesterday – and more formal "presentations of self" (see Goffman 1959) – is a difference of degree, not kind. There is also a continuum linking the ways of presenting the self to the ways of presenting others: acting in dramas, dances, and rituals. The same can be said for "social actions" and "cultural performances": events whose origins can't be located in individuals, if they can be located at all. These events when acted out are linked in a feedback loop with the actions of individuals. […] Sometimes collective events are attributed to "persons" whose existence is somewhere between history and fiction: the Books of Moses, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, the *Mahabharata* of Vyasa. Sometimes these actions and stories belong anonymously to folklore, legend, myth. And sometimes they are "original", or at least attributable to individuals: the *Hamlet* of Shakespeare, the *Ramcharitmanas* of Tulsidas,

the *Oedipus* of Sophocles. But what these authors really authored was not the tale itself but a version of something. It's hard to say exactly what qualifies a work to belong to, and come from, a collective. Restored behavior offers to both individuals and groups the chance to rebecome what they once were – or even, and most often, to rebecome what they never were but wish to have been or wish to become.

The restoration of behavior model (figures 1, 2, 3, 4) is processual, describing emergent performances from the point of view of rehearsal. Figure 1 shows restored behavior as either a projection of "my particular self" (1→ 2), or a restoration of a historically verifiable past (1 → 3 → 4), or – most often – a restoration of a past that never was (1 → 5_a → 5_b). […] In a very real way the future – the project coming into existence through the process of rehearsal – determines the past: what will be kept from earlier rehearsals or from the "source materials." This situation is as true for ritual performances as for aesthetic theater.

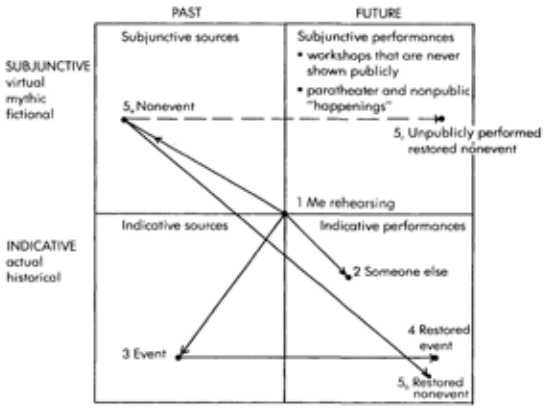

Figure 1

[…]

Figure 1 is drawn from the temporal perspective of rehearsal and from the psychological perspective of an individual performer. "Me" (1) is a person rehearsing for a performance to be: 2, 4, or 5_b. What precedes the performance – both temporally and conceptually – is either nothing that can be definitely identified, as when a person gets into a mood, or some definite antecedent event(s). This event will either be historically verifiable (3), or not (5_a). If it is not, it can be either a legendary event, a fiction (as in many plays), or […] the projection backward in time of the proposed event-to-be. Or, to put it another way, rehearsals make it necessary to think of the future in such a way as to create a past. Figure 1 is divided into quadrants in order to indicate mood as well as temporality. The upper left quadrant contains mythic, legendary, or fictional events. The mood is subjunctive. […] This past is one that is always in the process of transformation

[…].

The lower left quadrant – that of the actual/indicative past – is history understood as an arrangement of facts. Of course, any arrangement is conventionalized and conditioned by particular world and/or political views. Events are always rising from the lower left to the upper left: today's indicative becomes tomorrow's subjunctive. That's one of the ways human experience is recycled.

The lower right quadrant – the future/indicative – is the actual performance-to-be-enacted. It is indicative because it actually happens. It is in the future because the figure is conceived from the temporal perspective of a sequence of rehearsals in

progress: in figures 2 and 3, "me" is moving along with rehearsals from the left to the right.

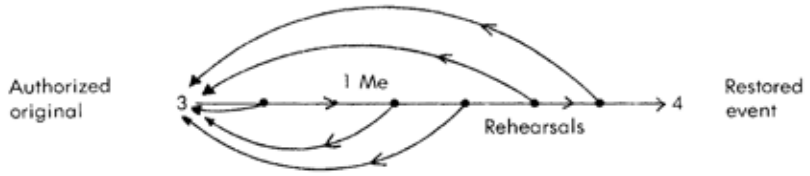

Figure 2

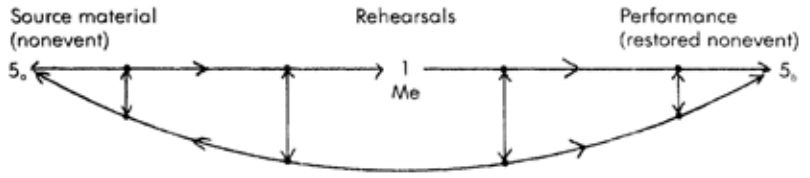

Figure 3

There is nothing in the upper right quadrant – the future/subjunctive – because performances are always actually performed. But one might place some workshops and Grotowski's paratheater there, as a sequence $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_c$. Paratheater and workshops are preparations and process implying performances that never-will-be. […]

In $1 \rightarrow 2$ I become someone else, or myself in another state of being, or mood, so "unlike me" that I appear to be "beside myself" or "possessed by another." […] The displacement of $1 \rightarrow 2$ may be slight, as in some mood changes, or very strong, as in some trances. […] "Something happens" and the person (performer) is no longer himself. This kind of performance […] can be very powerful. It can happen to anyone, suddenly, and such instant performative behavior is regarded as evidence of the strength of the force possessing the subject. The performer does not seem to be "acting." A genuine if temporary transformation (a transportation) takes place. Most $1 \rightarrow 2$ performances are solos […]. The astonishing thing about Balinese sanghyang trance dancing is that each dancer has by her/himself so incarnated the collective score that solo dances cohere into group performances. […] I've seen similar meshing of solo performing into an ensemble several times at the Institutional Church in Brooklyn. […] Each trance dancer was dancing in trance alone, but the whole group was dancing together, the whole church was rocking with collective performative energy. […]

Many traditional performances are $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$. So are performances that are kept in repertory according to a strict adherence to the original score. When the Moscow Art Theatre visited New York in the mid-sixties, it claimed to present Chekhov according to Stanislavski's original mise-en-scènes.

When I saw several plays of Brecht at the Berlin Ensemble in 1969 I was told that Brecht's *Modelbuchs* – his detailed photo accounts of his mise-enscènes – were followed. Classical ballets have been passed on through generations of dancers. 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 film or exact notation a performance always happens within several contexts, and these are not easily controllable. […] These kinds of contextual changes are not measurable by Labanotation.[2] The difference between 1 → 3 → 4 and 1 → $_a$ → 5_b is shown in figure 2. In 1 → 3 → 4 there is an event (3) that is always referred back to. This event serves as model and corrective. If during a rehearsal of one of Brecht's plays, according to his authorized mise-en-scène, it is suspected that some gesture is not being performed as Brecht intended it, the gesture is checked back against the *Modelbuch* […]. What the *Modelbuch* says goes. […] Many rituals follow this pattern. This is not to say that rituals – and Brecht's mise-en-scenès – do not change. They change in two ways: first, by a slow slippage made inevitable by changing historical circumstances; second, through "official revisions" made by the owners-heirs of the "authorized original." In either case, it is my view that 1 → 3 → 4 is very unstable: it is always becoming 1 → 5_a → 5_b.

Noh drama is a very good example of a performance genre that is both 1 → 3 → 4 and 1 → 5_a → 5_b simultaneously and consciously. The whole score of a noh play – its mise-en-scène, music, text, costuming, masking-is transmitted within several schools or families from one generation to the next with only minor variations. In this sense, noh – at least since the Meiji Restoration of the 19th century – is a clear example of 1 → 3 → 4. […] But each individual noh performance also includes surprises. […] True to its Zen aspect, a noh drama staged traditionally occurs only once, finding in the absolute immediacy of the meeting among all its constituent players its essence. Like the Zen archer, the shite and his colleagues either hit the mark or they don't.

[…]

Optimally, then, each performance of noh, and every variation during a performance, is the leading edge of a long tradition formed during Kanarni's and Zeami's time in the 14th and 15th centuries, almost extinguished by the mid-19th, and flourishing again now. This leading edge is both 1 → 3 → 4 and 1 → 5_a → 5_b.

[…]

Just as interesting as noh or experimental performance in regard to the relationship between 1 → 3 → 4 and 1 → 5_a → 5_b types of restored behavior is Shaker dancing. […]

2. Labanotation, roughly analogous to musical notation, was developed by Rudolf von Laban in 1928. According to an article in the *New York Times* (6 May 1979, "Arts and Leisure" section, p. I9) 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 arc placed on the lines indicates what parts of the body arc moving. The shape of the symbols indicates the direction of the movement, and their length indicates the movement's duration." […] Such systems are now widely used in dance, less so in theater.

Plate 1. Shakers dancing, based on a colour lithograph of ca. 1826 by Anthony Imbert. From The New York Public Library.

Shaker ritual included song and dance (Plate 1). Originally these were done by and for the Shakers themselves. But according to Suzanne Youngerman:

> 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. (1978, 95)

The Shakers had stopped dancing by 1931 when Doris Humphrey, one of the pioneers of American modern dance, choreographed *The Shakers*. Working from pictures and research materials but never having seen any Shakers dancing, Humphrey in her dance was able to actualize something of Shaker culture. Youngerman says: "Humphrey's choreography embodies a wide range of Shaker culture incorporating many direct references to actual Shaker dances" (1978, 96). […] But it wasn't until 1955 that Humphrey even met a Shaker.

Humphrey's dance […] is also Labanotated, which means other companies can dance Humphrey's dance much the way orchestras 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 is certainly not the only example of an aesthetic dance being a main way of physically re/membering (= putting back together what time has dis/membered) an extinct behavior. Shakers dancing is 1 → 3 → 4; Humphrey's *Shakers* is 1 → 5_a → 5_b.

[…]

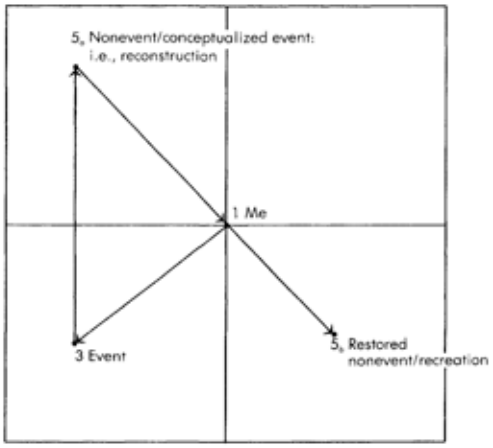

Figure 4

The Shaker story continues. Figures 1 and 4 illuminate it. Robin Evanchuk visited a few surviving Shakers in 1962 and again in 1975. These people had long since stopped dancing. By using their memories and the memories of people who knew Shakers and by drawing on the research of Edward Deming Andrews, Evanchuk reconstructed the "authentic" dances. […] (Plate 2). […]

Plate 2. *The Rendering*, directed by James Slowiak. Olsztyn, Poland, 2002. From left to right: Monika Maciejkowicz, Debora Totti, Andrzej Bartnikowski, Jairo Cuesta, Toby Matthews, Marek Ruczko, Salvatore Motta, Kamil Adamus, Krzysztof Trznadel, and others. Photo: Douglas Scott Goheen, courtesy of New World Performance Lab.

Thus we have three different but related performance traditions: the Shakers themselves (now gone), an art dance choreographed by Humphrey that is still performed by the Limon company and others, and an "authentic" reconstruction of Shaker dancing by Evanchuk. Of the first of these traditions – Shaker dancing in the 19th century – […] I guess that it was of the 1 → 2 or 1 → 3 → 4 type, soon becoming 1 → 5_a → 5_b as tourists visited the Shakers to watch them dance. […] Clearly Humphrey's Shakers is 1 → 5_a → 5_b. But Evanchuk always refers back to 3, an "authorized original" […] but she also states that it is her wish to restore not just Shaker dances but Shaker feelings as well: the fervor, joy and ecstasy that go with the dancing. Humphrey doesn't call her dance an ethnographic reconstruction, and Evanchuk doesn't call her work art. But Humphrey achieved something other than fiction; anthropologist Youngerman thinks Humphrey's dance comes close to expressing the heart of the sect. […] It would seem to me that Evanchuks reconstructions are actually 1 → 5_a → 5_b, evolving out of 1 → 3 → 4 […]. In cultures where performances are transmitted orally, is not the process of transmission very much like Humphrey's process in making *The Shakers*? The authority in such cultures rests not with "data" or "documented" earlier performances but with "respected persons" who themselves, in their very bodies, carry the necessary performance knowledge. The original is not fixed, as in Evanchuk's notes (or, ironically enough, in the Labanotated *Shakers*), nor is it in quasi-literary texts; it is in bodies that pass on not only the "original" but their own particular incarnation/interpretation of that original.

[…]

But even where there is "an" original – as in Brecht, the Moscow Art Theatre Chekhovs, and Humphrey's *Shakers* – contextual and historical circumstances make even the exact replication of a scored/notated original different than the original. […] Technically the Moscow Art Theatre productions of Chekhov, the Berlin Ensemble productions of Brecht, and the Limon company's production of *The Shakers* are 1 → 3 → 4. But in actuality – in the immediacy of their being performed now – all these performances are 1 → 5_a → 5_b.

[…]

History is not what happened but what is encoded and transmitted.

[…] I think restored behavior can best be understood processually by examining the rehearsal process: how the single behaved behaviors of ordinary living are made into the twice-behaved behaviors of art, ritual, and the other performative genres.

[…] During rehearsals a past is assembled out of bits of actual experience, fantasies, historical research, past performances. Or a known score is recalled and replayed. 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 the event but earlier rehearsals or performances. Soon reference back to the original – if there was 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 Roman Catholic church ceremony has its own performance history. The language of church ceremony has never been the language Christ spoke, Aramaic-Hebrew. Nor are the gestures or costumes of the priests 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 scripts. Indeed, in some Pentecostal churches the laying on of hands is the key representation of Christ, the demonstration of His presence. Or it may be speaking in tongues, dancing, or taking up serpents. Each of these scripts has developed its own way of being performed. What happens over years and centuries to the various church services happens much more quickly during rehearsals.

[…]

Look again at figure 1. The fetch, or distance traveled, is more for $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ than for either $1 \rightarrow 2$ or $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$. This greater distance is in the scope of time as well as the scope of mood $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ links rehearsal time, past, and performance time in both the subjunctive and indicative moods. I use "$5_a \rightarrow 5_b$" because the nonevent and the restored nonevent are versions of one another, not independent occurrences. Doing a known score is $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4$, but even this known score has behind it a $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ and is best expressed as $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$, figure 4.

The model offers ways of comparing performances-and from comparisons the means of developing a theory that includes both aesthetic and ritual performances. 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. Aesthetic performances, such as Noh drama, whose proclaimed goal is to show audiences a 3 by presenting a 4 that has been tested against 3 is most often $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. The invention of new performances or the substantial revision of traditional performances (either intentionally or unintentionally) is $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. Events that use the performance process but do not produce performances are $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_c$. Performances that involves $5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ or $5_a \rightarrow 5_c$, draw together divergent times and moods; these kinds of performances are the most complex, multivocal, and symbolically rich.

[…] As performances, $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ are played in the indicative mood, but as performances of something they are in the subjunctive mood. "I am performing" is indicative; "I am performing Hamlet" is subjunctive. The difference between animal and human ritual is that animals are always performing what they are, while humans can choose to perform what/who they are not.

*

[…] Indian scholars trace Bharatanatyam (Plate 3 on the next page), the classical Indian dance, back not only to the ancient text on theater, *Natyasastra* (ca. 2nd century B.C. – second century A.D.), which describes dance poses, but also to centuries-old temple sculptings that show these poses. The best known of these sculptings is the group at the 14th-century temple of Nataraja (Shiva, the king of dancers) at Cidambaram, south of Madras (Plate 4). Most writings assume a continuous tradition connecting *Natyasastra,* temple sculptings, and today's dancing. According to Kapila Vatsyayan,

> India's leading dance theorist and historian, Bharatanatyam is perhaps the oldest among the contemporary classical dance forms of India.... Whether

Plate 3 and 4. 3 Suri Sri Ranjani performing Bharatanatyam. Photo: Rohit Nagsai
4 Sculpture of Madanika, Chennakeshava Temple in Belur (Karnataka, India).

> the dancer was the devadasi of the temple or the court-dancer of the Maratha kings of Manjore, her technique followed strictly the patterns which had been used for ages. (1974, l 5-16)

[…] Vatsyayan's opinion is shared by virtually all Indian dance scholars. But in fact it's not known when the "classical" Bharatanatyam died out, or even if it ever existed. The old texts and 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 in the first decades of the 20th century to "preserve," "purify," and "revive" it.

There was a temple dance called sadir nac danced by women of families hereditarily attached to certain temples. […] Many girls attached to temples were prostitutes. As dance scholar Mohan Khokar says,

> the time-honoured tradition of the devadasis, or temple dancing girls, had fallen into such ignominy that the girls, considered sacred, continued to be considered sacred but in a different way – as prostitutes. And with this the dance that they professed – the avowedly divine Bharatanatyam – too promptly got lost to shame. (1983, 1)

From 1912 on a strong campaign was waged by Indian and British reformers to ban the devadasi system. But a countermovement led by E. Krishna Iyer wanted to "eradicate the vice but have the art." […] At the January 1933 Conference of the Music Academy of Madras, Iyer […] presented devadasi dancing not as a temple art or as an advertisement for or adjunct to prostitution but as secular art. […] Scholar and critic V. Raghavan coined the word "Bharatanatyam" to replace terms associated with temple prostitution. "Bharatanatyam" connects the dance with both Bharata's *Natyasastra* and India: *natya* means dance, *bharat* means India.

[…] Rukmini Devi, "a singularly high placed Brahmin and wife of the International President of the Theosophical Society […] realized how great and lofty an art bharatanatyam was and how pressing the need was to rescue it from corrupt influences" (Khokar 1983, 1). Not only did Devi dance, she and her associates codified bharatanatyam. Their way to rescue the dance was to restore it in a $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ way. Devi and her colleagues wanted to use sadir nac but be rid of its bad reputation. They cleaned up the devadasi dance, brought in gestures based on the *Natyasastra* and temple art, 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 it presumed to be a living vestige of. […]

The "history" and "tradition" of bharatanatyam – its roots in the ancient texts and art – are actually a restoration of behavior, a construction based on the research of Raghavan, Devi, and others. They saw in sadir nac not a dance in its own right but a faded, distorted remnant of some ancient classical dance. That "ancient classical dance" is a projection backward in time: we know what it looks like because we have bharatanatyam. Soon people believed that the ancient dance led to bharatanatyam when, in fact, the bharatanatyam led to the ancient dance. A 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 $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ or $1 \rightarrow 3$ *(Natyasastra,* temple sculptings) $\rightarrow 5_a$ (presumed ancient dance) $\rightarrow 5_b$ (today's bharatanatyam).

[…]

I see nothing amiss in restorations of behavior like bharatanatyam […]. Arts, and rituals too, are always developing, and restoration is one means of change. What happened in bharatanatyam […] is analogous to what the French dramatists of the 17th century did when they conformed to what they thought were ancient rules of Greek tragedy. The dramatists had at hand Artistotle, Horace, the Greek and Latin playtexts, architectural ruins, pottery, but they did not have the actual behaviors of the ancient Athenians. The restorers of bharatanatyam […] had living arts that they presumed were vestiges of older, more classical arts. They also had ancient texts, sculptings, and their own deep knowledge of Hindu traditions.

[…]

*

Although restored behavior seems to be founded on past events – "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 the synchronic bundle $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ or $1 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. 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 "finished thing" to be made graceful through editing, repetition, and invention. Restored behavior is both teleological and eschatological. It joins first causes to what happens at the end of time. It is a model of destiny.

*

[…] Restoration of behavior as a dynamic system is expressed in figures 1-4. The core of this system is $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$ is what happens during workshops and rehearsals. Workshops and rehearsals are two parts of a sevenphase performance process: training, workshop, rehearsal, warm-up, performance, cool-down, aftermath. Terminology varies from culture to culture, but the seven phases represent distinct functions that can be identified interculturally. The absence of one or more phases signals not "incompleteness" but an adjustment of the performance process to meet specific needs. For example, in Noh drama training is emphasized, but there is very little rehearsal; in Grotowski's paratheater there is a great deal of workshop but no performance.

Sense can be made of these differences by asking what it is that each phase in the performance sequence accomplishes. Training is where known skills are transmitted. Workshop is a deconstruction process, where the ready-mades of culture (accepted ways of using the body, accepted texts, accepted feelings) are broken down and prepared to be "inscribed" upon (to use Turner's word). Workshop is analogous to the liminal-transitional phase of rituals. Rehearsals are the opposite of workshops. In rehearsals longer and longer strips of restored behavior are arranged to make a new unified whole: the performance. This two-phase deconstruction-reconstruction process is exactly […] what the founders of bharatanatyam did to sadir nac, the *Natyasastra*, and temple sculptings […].

Although the workshop-rehearsal process and the ritual process are analogous, the terms used to describe them don't fit together neatly. This is because scholars have often treated play, art, and religion separately. But the basic performance process is universal: theater is the art specializing in the concrete techniques of restoring behavior. 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. Behavior that is other is transformed into the performer's own; alienated or objectified parts of the performer's self – either his private self or his social self – pare assimilated and publicly displayed. It is the assimilation of old and new material – and the transformations this material undergoes – that I have summarized as $1 \rightarrow 5_a \rightarrow 5_b$. The conclusion of the workshop-rehearsal process is the public performance; this is analogous to what van Gennep calls "reincorporation" and what Turner calls "reintegration." Of course, the whole project can collapse, especially in modern and postmodern circumstances where performances are more likely to be voluntary, liminoid, than obligatory, liminal. When things go wrong and people scatter, a "schism" occurs.[3]

[…]

How do workshops-rehearsals work? […] There are two basic methods. The first is by "direct acquisition," where a master uses bodily manipulation, imitation, and repetition to teach the neophyte actual items to be performed. The performance text is whole, and

3. I'm taking a term Turner applies to "social dramas" and applying it to the performance process. But his conception of social drama is performative, and closely related to his understanding of the ritual process. Turner uses key terms like "liminality," "communitas," and "process" in laying out his theories of both ritual and social drama. See, especially, Turner 1969, 1974, 1982.

it is transmitted across generations. The second method of workshops-rehearsals is to teach a "basic grammar" that can be used to generate any number of performance texts. There is no one way, nor even any 250 ways, to perform *Hamlet*. There is continuity in how *Hamlet* has been performed from the time Shakespeare wrote it in 1604 to now. Training performers to play *Hamlet* means teaching them how to invent a performance text.

The separation of dramatic texts from performance texts that characterizes modern Euro-American theater leads to the separation of training from workshop and rehearsal. In many Asian forms training, workshop, and rehearsals are one; in Euro-America training is generalized in the sense that techniques are taught as "tools" that can be used to make any number of different kinds of performances. An actor pants not so that she may pant in performance but in order to strengthen her diaphragm, get in touch with the different ways her voice can resonate, control her breathing so that demanding physical work can be done without losing breath.

[…]

The workshop-rehearsal process is liminoid. It is "betwixt and between" the fixed world from which material is extracted and the fixed score of the performance text.

During the past fifty years, since Artaud at least, the two kinds of performance processes – transmission of whole items by direct acquisition and transmission by means of learning a generative grammar – have been linked. This linkage is, in fact, one of the great achievements of experimental theater in this century. […] Examples multiply, bearing witness to exchanges between, especially, Asian and African and Euro-American theater. Three kinds of workshop-rehearsal are now occurring: (1) those used to transmit whole performance texts; (2) those based on grammars that generate new performance texts; (3) those combining l and 2. This last, far from being a sterile hybrid, is a most fertile response to postmodern circumstances.

There is another way of looking at the workshop-rehearsal process, one that connects Turner's ideas of subjunctivity/liminality to Stanislavski's "magic if." In *An Actor Prepares* Stanislavski says:

> You know now that our work on a play begins with the use of *if* as a lever to lift us out of everyday life onto the plane of imagination.... There is no such thing as actuality on the stage. Art is a product of the imagination... The aim of the actor should be to use his technique to tum the play into a theatrical reality. (1946 [1936], 51)

The use of "if" encourages the actor to be in the "given circumstances" of the character. "What would I do *if* certain circumstances were true?" (Stanislavski, 1961, 33). It is during workshops-rehearsals that the "if" is used as a way of researching the physical environment, the affects, the relationships – everything that will sooner or later be fixed in the performance text.

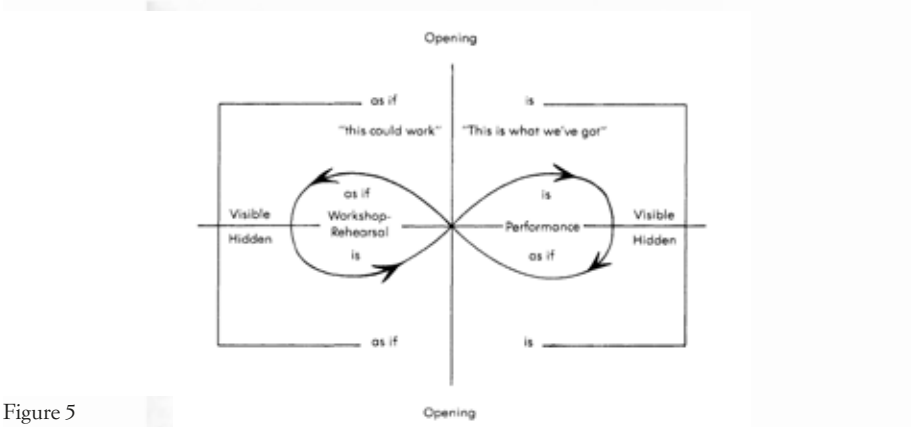

Figure 5

Figure 5 shows how the deep structure of workshop-rehearsal inverts the deep structure of performance.[4] In workshop-rehearsal real work is being done, work that is serious and problematical: indicative, "is." But the daily experience of workshop-rehearsal – what a casual observer might feel – is an "as if," something tentative, subjunctive: "Let's try that," "This could work," "What would happen if?" Workshop especially is playful. There the techniques of "as if" flourish: games, role exchanges, improvisations – participants bring in stuff from all over. Workshops find, reveal, and express material; rehearsals give this stuff performative shape. […]

The finished performance text is the inverse of the workshop-rehearsal. The performance text displayed before an audience, or requiring their participation, is "indicative": 2, 4, or 5_a. […] The performance text is an "is," the more or less invariable presentation of what's been found, kept, and organized. But the deep structure under this "is" is a subjunctive as "if." The tears Ophelia sheds for Hamlet are actual, hot, and salty, but her grief is subjunctive. The cause of that grief may be something wholly unrelated to *Hamlet* or the actor playing Hamlet. The cause is possibly some intimate association the actress found during workshops or rehearsals. The Balinese dancer in trance may violently thrust a kris against his chest, but the cause of this action is not self-hatred but a manifestation of trance possession by the demon Rangda. The two processes – the American actress who uses her personal lite, and the Balinese trance dancer who abandons his – may appear to be opposite, but they are actually identical. In each case the "given circumstances," the "as if" of the preparatory phases of performance, sink out of sight but underlie and cause the "is" of the performance text.

4. I first used this figure in 1977 when I was relating "social drama" to "aesthetic drama" (1977, 144). Turner used the model a few times (see Turner 1982, 73). In my 1977 use I hypothesized that theatrical techniques are the hidden, implicit underground of social and political action, the dramatic ordering of events; and, conversely, that social and political action underly theatrical works. Thus I was denying the one-way action of Aristotelian mimesis and at the same time denying the proposition that "all the world's a stage." I accept both statements as dialectically true: each making the existence of the other necessary. Artistic action creates the rhetorical and/or symbolic possibilities for social drama to "find itself," and the events of ordinary life provide the raw stuff and conflicts reconstructed in art works. The visual pun on the figure for infinity was not intended – but when I saw it I was pleased.

Of course, there are variations of this process: to experiment means to "play around" and in so doing to create new situations. Brecht asked his actors to be in character ("is") most of the time but sometimes to stand beside their characters ("as if"), questioning the very actions they were performing. Thus Brecht introduced into the public performance a quality of the workshop-rehearsal process.

[…] The last part of rehearsal is practice. Longer and more complicated strips of restored behavior are organized into the actual performance. Music, costumes, lighting, makeup, et cetera, 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 very important. This last phase of rehearsal is comparable to the phase of reintegration in a ritual. 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.

[…] Seeing what of the ritual process is missing from a performance can be a useful way of understanding what's going on. Grotowski's paratheatrical work took participants from cities and brought them to remote areas to perform actions with and under the supervision of Grotowski's people. […] the actions always involved discovering and revealing hidden personal themes, finding new ways of behaving (alone or with others), and sharing I-Thou relationships. Many of the physical actions – running through the forest at night, sudden immersion in water, dances around fire and the passing of fire from person to person, group chanting, singing, storytelling – are very like those in initiation rites. […] As performative action Grotowski's paratheater resembled an initiation rite in which a transformation of self, a change of status, was effected. But […] Grotowski did not work out, nor were his clients able to supply, phase 3 of the workshop-rehearsal/ritual process: reintegration. […] Participants were left hanging: they were separated, stripped down, made into tabulae rasae; they had deep experiences, were "written upon," made new; but these "new selves" were not reintegrated into the ordinary world. […]

The absence of reintegration in Grotowski's paratheater reveals his intentions while he was conducting his paratheatrical experiments (ca. 1969-76). Theater has but two stances in relationship to society at large: either to be tightly woven into broader social patterns, as rituals are, or to serve as an analytical and dialectical instrument for a critique of society, as Brecht's theater tried to be. Most theater people are not conscious of these stances, their work drifts. But […] very recently Grotowski began work on "objective drama" – trying to locate efficacious performance processes regardless of their religious or other ideological bases/contexts. This work may synthesize Grotowski's multifaceted career – poor theater, paratheater, theater of sources – into something that includes a reintegrative phase. […]

*

Far-fetched as such projects may seem, they signal a very deep attempt to integrate the performative knowledge of several Asian, African, Caribbean, and Native American cul-

tures with the social, political, and aesthetic life of Euro-America. Such an attempt may have enormous consequences for the development of an intercultural theater. And just as theater workers are increasingly interested in anthropological thought and the techniques of fieldwork, so anthropologists find themselves more and more like theater directors.

[…] The situation precipitated by the fieldworker's presence is a theatrical one: he is there to see, and he is seen. But what role does the fieldworker play? He is not a performer and not not a performer, not a spectator and not not a spectator. He is in between two roles just as he is in between two cultures. In the field he represents – whether he wants to or not – his culture of origin; and back home he represents the culture he has studied. The fieldworker is always in a "not ... not not" situation. And like a performer going through workshops-rehearsals the fieldworker goes through the three-phase performance process isomorphic with the ritual process:

> 1. The stripping away of his own ethnocentrism. This is often a brutal separation, which in itself is the deepest struggle of fieldwork, and is never complete. What should he eat, how? And his toilet habits, his problems of hygiene. And the dozens of other things that remind the worker of the distance between his own culture and the one he wants to get inside of. But if his work is to succeed, he has to undergo some kind of transformation.
> 2. The revelation, often coming suddenly like inspiration, of what is "new" in the culture he temporarily inhabits. This discovery is his initiation, his transition, the taking on of a new role in his adoptive society, a role that often includes a new identity, position, or status. The worker "goes native," even inside himself.
> 3. The difficult task of using his field notes (or raw footage and sound tapes) to make an acceptable "product" – monograph, film, lectures, whatever: the way he edits and translates what he found into items understood by the world he returns to. In brief, he must make an acceptable performance out of all workshop-rehearsal material. His promotion to full professor ratifies his reintegration into his own society.

[…] Ethnography demands a double vision, inside and outside simultaneously or alternately. If the fieldworker is able to show all this […], the third phase of the fieldworker's progression folds back into phase l. He tries to show his own people what the away culture is like in its own terms.

[…] The soft sciences are actually extensions of the arts and humanities. Ordinary life and performative life are related in the looped way I showed in figure 5. Theory in the social sciences is little more than what Geertz calls "thick description" (1973, 3-32). Presently the theater director is leaving the shadowy, out-of-sight offstage and entering the stage not just as another performer but as a unique figure: the embodiment of the workshop-rehearsal process. Fieldworkers now not only watch but learn, participate, and initiate actions. Directors have been, and fieldworkers are becoming, specialists in restored behavior. In this epoch of information and reflexive hyperconsciousness we not only want to know, we also want to know how we know what we know.

*

[…]

The workshop-rehearsal process is the basic machine for the restoration of behavior. It is 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 make 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. Thus the need for separation, for "sacred" or special space, and for a use of time different than that prevailing in the ordinary. The second phase is of initiation or transition: 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 part of the third phase is public performance. […] 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. In creative arts, relatively short strips of behavior are rearranged and the whole thing looks new. Thus the sense of change we get from experimental arts may be real at the level of recombination but illusory at the basic structural/processual level. Real change is a very slow evolutionary process.

[…]

The original text has been abridged by Leszek Kolankiewicz.

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