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Introduction

by Rita Sebestyén

Re/shaping Otherness is the focus of the current, special issue that explores performative and theatrical representations of Otherness. Within the spaces of theatre and the performing arts, the differential bounds demarcating otherness, such as national, cultural, religious, socio-political, sexual, gender, and diasporic delineations, are continually and constantly dramatized, disrupted, negotiated, and redrawn.

In light of the heated debates on globalization and multiculturalism in recent years, new, heterogeneous inter- and cross-cultural approaches to fluid, migrant, hybrid, transcultural worlds have emerged. In this respect, the question of Otherness is vital to the quests that arise as a result of their emergence: How do we approach these new intersubjective and dialogical perspectives of identity-seeking, self-definition, indeed, community cohesion in such a milieu? In a world increasingly global yet local, uniform yet diversified, how do these perspectives complicate relations to and understandings of others and Otherness? How is the relationship between dominant and peripheral cultures, self and other, reflexively re-negotiated? In the following articles we will consider a surprisingly vast array of topics: most recurrent being embodiment, representation, participation, différance, act and reflection, and also methods of approach: ranging from theoretical analysis to essay-manifesto and performance-as-research methodology.

This open and loosely waved narrative, offering philosophical, socio-cultural and artistic insights, also induces a series of quests related to Performing Arts being challenged with regards to its genre, role, socio-cultural-political involvement and responsivity/responsibility.

The exchange of gazes is the pivotal question of Ádám Czirák's study: *Becoming Someone Else. Experiences of Seeing and Being Seen in Contemporary Theatre and Performance*.His study deals with the production trend based on the mutual visualization of the participants that inevitably induces a process of subjectification, in which looking at someone else is accompanied by being looked at. The relation of a new Self and the Other is embedded in these performances that transform the classical subject-object duality into a contingent subject-subject relation. Through examining, from this point of view, performance by Franco B., She She Pop and Dries Verhoeven, Czirák pints to the importance of fashioning new guidelines of a performance analysis approach, and the genre becoming crucial to consider political questions of representation.

Stemming from and leading to direct socio-political considerations, namely the refugees' situation in a relatively tangential country like Romania – and one case in Tajikistan -- thenext article raises all the questions of displacement, socio-cultural otherness, cultural geography and of representation. Based on his own research, creative processes and performances, and subsequently even the audience's feedback, David Schwartz, artist and activist outlines a double narrative in his article: *Born to Run. Political Theatre Supporting the Struggles of the Refugees*; a personal, local, historical, political, cultural description of the refugees' struggles, and the artistic and human experience of the artists and refugees taking part in the creative practice. The article offers the broadest possible horizon of performance as research: hermeneutical-descriptive methods, interwoven with socio-political considerations and a reflective gaze on his own work, leading ultimately to a complex yet by its

descriptive aspect easily approachable social-artistic action research. *Born in the Wrong Place* as performance, *Migration Stories* as performance, followed by debates and the involvement of the refugees and their opinions brings up crucial questions of 'foreignness', prejudice and ethical questions of self-representations.

Likewise, migration and refugees' social integration are the topics of the article by Azadeh Sharifi: *Mentality X - Jugendtheaterbüro Berlin and its theatrical space for Urban youth of Color*, this time shedding light on a phenomenon that both socially and artistically indicates a further step on the matter in question: post-migrant theatre. The term itself being recently coined by researchers, it expresses a phenomenon of self-empowerment, self-representation of the second generation migrant communities, who, through often cross-genre artistic forms of the performing arts and hip-hop, take in their hands the discourse on their own precariousness and transit-state in the German society, deconstruct racist narratives and occupy physical, artistic and aesthetic space through their manifestos and actions. Through festivals, own narratives and aesthetics created by Mentality X, they inevitably push critical reflection, social awareness into discourses that regard them as artistically-socially-politically decisive factors.

Roughly speaking, a manifesto can be regarded as a plan of and call for action projected into the future, often related to (and challenging) socio-political and artistic environments. By putting forward a new aesthetics, method, discourse, community, and a new artistic view that have been marginalized before, Emily Hunka, the author of the next article entitled *Method in our madness: Seeking a theatre for the psychically disabled other* merges the descriptive methods of existing phenomena and the cast-in-the-future gesture of the manifesto. She raises her voice for discovering the possibility of a theatre that can provide the psychically disabled young people with a space that turns the margins into a comfortable place to live and create. Operating with the significance of 'social capital' and 'human capital', also giving abundant examples from Shakespeare to

Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, Schopenhauer, and the power of the creation that through the limbic resonance of the artist reframes the socially viewed oddity into works of art, Hunka provides both scientific and aesthetic considerations and challenges the socially restrictive frame of the atypical emotion/behaviour.

A historically, socio-politically and culturally representative, post-colonialist issue is addressed by Marco Galea in *The Pantomime Other: Building Fences in Pantomime Performance in Malta.* Starting from a historical event, more than 200 years ago, a blockade that lasted 18 months in Malta, Galea unfolds a complex network of social and cultural colonization, a hidden and many-faceted othering endured by the Maltese, condensed in one theatrical metaphor: "black skin, white masks". Maltese and British amateur and professional theatres and their traditions – e.g. the apparently innocent action of writing a pantomime – become dangerous and harmful instruments of colonial control; the anglicized Maltese still being present in the cultural landscape of Malta: the speaking subject that describes the rest of the population as the Other, the different, the subaltern.

As opposed to the colonized representation of the Maltese in the former article, a witty, almost cunning self-representation and self-empowerment emerges from the article of Anikó Oroszlán: *"Mute Hieroglyphics": Representing Femininity in the Early Stuart Court Masques*, dealing with early English actresses in the 16th and 17th centuries. Oroszlán draws our attention to the radical dichotomy between the fact that, on the one hand, the women who performed in those times were regarded as corrupt and amoral, and on the other hand, even the reigning queen was able to show herself in public, like an 'actress'. Through civic pageants, guild plays and royal processions, posing the questions of professional and amateur theatre artists, the social status of the performers and the influence of another culture – in this particular case the Italian touring companies, the article focuses on the emergence of the body of the queen, representing royalty, but on

the other hand, inevitably, the controversially regarded female performer, while tackling at the same time the metamorphoses thematized in the masques of Ben Jonson's plays.

Theatre as a place where physicality is (also) displayed, being an emblematic metaphor of mutability and the ephemeral, is contrapuntal, yet represented in films that deal with and reveal different strata and approaches of Mozart's otherness – closely related to the socio-cultural frame of his contemporary Vienna. Marie Bennett scrutinizes in *Representing Mozart's 'Otherness' in Film* Mozart's social otherness, such as his incapability to relate, while several accounts portray him as a social prodigy, as well. A predilection to the use of Turkish music as mystic, oriental Otherness, and also Otherness of nationality and class are closely examined in the films *Wuthering Heights* (1939), *The Truman Show* (1998), *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter* (1968), and *Kind Hearts and Coronets* (1949), in strong interdependence with the dramaturgy of the music used in them, is examined in this paper on Mozart's Otherness.

Eszter Horváth's *The Other and its Double* closes this special issue, dealing with questions of Otherness and bodily representation, starting from Rimbaud's metaphor: 'I is another'. Like in most of the previously mentioned articles, questions of corporeality, representation, discourse creation and emergence come up as main topics. In this last article the theoretical, mostly phenomenological approach of Otherness in performing arts summarizes and encapsulates most theories that the issue tackles: repetition, re-presentation, difference (Deleuze); human bodies being socially constructed (Butler), reconsiderations of corporeality in the discourse of the Other, as well as the actor seen as a conscious body, acting upon its constitutive differences.

Becoming Someone Else:
Experiences of Seeing and Being Seen in Contemporary Theatre and Performance

by Adam Czirak

In his much praised study entitled *Speaking into the Air,* the media theorist John Durham Peters analysed the history of human communication, its economies and effects and set up a sobering thesis: "The problem of communication becomes […] one of making contact with the person sitting next to you" (Durham Peters 1999, 178). This proposition seems logical, insofar as messages organised by dissemination, i.e. addressing a broad audience, or even conveyed through media technologies, always establish a clear structure of roles and participation in the information transfer. In contrast to the relative stability of situations composed of a speaker (or multiple speakers) and (many) listeners, in dialogical situations we have to take into account the potential for the destabilisation and unpredictability of an established reference. Due to the reciprocity and closeness of the particular positions involved, uncertainties, ambiguities and disagreements may emerge jeopardising the intactness of the information transfer. As Durham Peters demonstrates, in view of the historical and current media situation, the supposed privilege of the dialogical is to be revoked inasmuch as it is, above all, mass communication that has always played the most dominant role. If one considers how, for instance, our visual culture is orchestrated and in what ways it is

configured in the form of images stored and distributed through media technologies – such as placards, fashion photography, video clips, movies and television films – it seems plausible that the normative power of the communicational circumstances of the spectacle derives from the fact that their formats are always already firmly established before any reception could take place. The contingency and risks of their information transfers conveyed intentionally are minimised to the greatest possible extent.

In the theatre and performance art of the 20th century, however, we can find traces of a production trend which distinguishes itself by a mutual visualisation of the performance participants, so that the relations between the Self and the Other take shape in the reciprocity of seeing and being seen. Thus, in progressive forms of the performing arts visual perception advances to the position of inter-subjective participation and, consequently, the corresponding irritations and bewilderment of habitualised behavioural reflexes emerge on the horizon of experience. The act of looking at someone is accompanied by the possibility of being looked at, which complicates the representation of oneself and the Other, so that the effects, functions and consequences of seeing subvert the traditional experience and description patterns developed by theories of perception, such as phenomenology or semiotics.

The mutual participation engendered by the gaze in the theatre can be grasped as a form of aesthetic experience which, as a consequence, also entails social effects, as it were. In the exchange of gazes the dependence of the Self on the Other becomes virulent, while this dependency correlates with a form of inter-subjectivity that fundamentally differs from the reception models of viewing and spectatorship. If one not only sees but is also seen, then it is fair to say that certain types of gazes, which are involved in the processes of subject formation, hitherto remained neglected in the theories of the gaze developed in Media, Image and Film Studies. Even though these disciplines are interested in the social effects of

seeing, they all seem to concentrate on, and thereby prioritise, the "seeing subject" as opposed to the "seeing individual that is also being seen", and analyse gaze dialogues predominantly from the perspective of the aesthetics of reception, i.e. as adoption, identification, empathy, or projection. However, the critical analysis of certain performances from recent years shows that the spectator has assumed a "new" role, and his or her activity is no longer restricted to making "a selection from the visual environment" (Wulf 1997, 446), as Christoph Wulf insisted in his definition of seeing. In the act of seeing, the attendee of a performance becomes a participant perceived visually and affected corporeally, and is confronted, in the gaze of the Other, with the fact that his or her behaviour is conditioned by the perception of the Other, and "that one is beside oneself, not at one with oneself" (Butler 2004, 103). Settings characterised by the simultaneity of "seeing and being seen" open up a field of action in which subjectification, identity acquisition, and all forms of meaning production are dependent on the perspectives of others, and are negotiated and practiced accordingly.

If the spectator is embedded in a structure of power and dependences that stem from the fact of mutual perception, than he or she is characterised by a form of individuation which can neither be grasped from the perspective of traditional intermodal perception models, nor by using interpretative concepts based in sign theory. In contemporary theatre, spectators have to give up their voyeuristic position since they are driven out of their hiding spot in the auditorium and put in the spotlight or confronted with the gaze of the Other. Consequently, they have to be prepared for unpredictable appeals and reactions which propel them to fight for recognition and continually redraw themselves in the eye of the Other. Their role unsettles the dichotomy of actor and spectator, of one's own and the foreign, and, accordingly, the classical subject-object duality is transformed into a contingent subject-subject relation. Beyond all verbal speech acts and vocal appeals, the exchange of gazes seems to induce a subjectification process in which the Self

begins to form only after self-loss and self-endangerment take place. After an intermission of considering a few points about the specific mediality of gaze dialogues, in what follows we will try to find answers to the question of what the relation is between the Self and the Other in contemporary theatre performances.

The Mediality of the Exchange of Gazes

Arguably one of the most beaming gazes ever captured in an image looked down from the self-portrait of Rogier van der Weyden. The painting was held in the Town Hall of Brussels but it is not in existence anymore. The philosopher and theologian, Nicholas of Cusa described the look on this picture as active and omnipotent. "[L]ook upon it", he prompts his addressees who at the time were the monks of the Tegernsee:

> [L]ook upon it [a]nd each of you shall find that, from whatsoever quarter he regardeth it, it looketh upon him as if it looked on none other. And it shall seem to a brother standing to eastward as if that face looketh toward the east, while one to southward shall think it looketh toward the south, and one to westward, toward the west. First, then, ye will marvel how it can be that the face should look on all and each at the same time. For the imagination of him standing to eastward cannot conceive the gaze of the icon to be turned unto any other quarter, such as west or south. Then let the brother who stood to eastward place himself to westward and he will find its gaze fastened on him in the west just as it was afore in the east. And as he knoweth the icon to be fixed and unmoved, he will marvel at the motion of its immoveable gaze. If now, while fixing his eye on the icon, he walk from west to east, he will find that its gaze continuously goeth along with him, and if he return from east to west, in like marvel how, being motionless, it moveth, nor will his imagination be able to conceive that it should also move in like manner with one going in contrary direction to himself (Cusa 2007, 4–5).

In his choreo-graphic report, Nicholas of Cusa addresses a performative pictorial experience which emerges in the encounter with a portrait. Weyden's self-portrait has a pleading quality inviting the recipient to relate to the visual representation, to respond to its appeal, and to take up a position in terms of his or her actions and behaviour towards the image. The impression of vitality made by the figure depicted in the painting stems from the fact that the materiality of the painting,

that is its two-dimensional, continual object-like quality, and thus its actual material constitution, escapes the attention of the spectator in the perception process. While encountering the lifeless materiality of the picture, this disappearance enables the spectator to exchange the object relations for an event which, in accordance with its performative foundation, can evoke an inter-subjective relation between the spectator and the picture.

My proposition is that the pictorial effects of a self-portrait, as well as several other illusion techniques and visual traps of contemporary art production, are incomparable with the impact of the exchange of gazes which takes place in an interpersonal framework. No matter how active and activating images are, one cannot interact with them. It is only the spectator that animates them and brings them to life. Due to their mediality, however, they resist the recipient's every attempt at influencing them. The human gaze, on the other hand, becomes a transformative impulse – provided that it is directed at a person that is bodily present and not an image. For the gaze inevitably leaves traces in the social environment; it takes part in reality; it intervenes in it, and is steered by it. While the perception of the "artificial presence" (Wiesing 2005, 70) of an image is based on "simple" contingency, social interactions are characterised by a double contingency, as Niklas Luhmann put it (Luhmann, 1997, 333; Baraldi 1998, 38). The exchange of gazes constitutes a kind of relationality between people, who perceive themselves in the action of perception. It is not only by grasping the world visually that the gaze creates images, but also by showing a capacity to constitute and animate the Other as a subject, as well as to prompt him or her to stage, adjust or adapt him- or herself.

In contrast to the procedure of "seeing", the concept of the gaze (German *Blick*, French *regard*) connotes a relation between the one that sees and the one being seen by decentralising the position of the former and connecting him or her to his or her environment. Consequently, the gaze establishes a transitory nexus

which impacts the Self and the world, or the Self and the Other. As many theoreticians of the gaze have pointed out, while the gaze is capable of extending the physical reach of the body, it always creates a paradoxical "contact at a distance" (Wulf 1984, 21), for the sense of proximity between the gazes is unfailingly reduced by the experience of remoteness. If the relation created by the gazes harbours a tension between directness and distance, then the exchanges of gazes correlate with ambiguous or even conflicting relations between the Self and the Other. This idea is illustrated by the tradition of Western myths and legends in which gazes rule over life and death, and whose settings of the gaze have been reproduced in numerous Western artistic representations. The stories of Narcisuss, Oedipus, Orpheus, and Pygmalion speak about gazes characterised by emotional or existential concern, about episodes in which the physical and mental dispositions of the protagonists can be recognised, in a concentrated form, from their visual relations.

A whole range of scholars and philosophers in the 20th century provided systematic descriptions of reciprocal relations of the gaze. The ideas put forward by Georg Simmel, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Jacques Lacan may provide productive starting points for the analysis of gaze dialogues in theatre and performance, even if they cannot be applied directly to artistically designed gaze relations. Simmel conceives of the seeing process as an "inter-individual" (Simmel 1921, 359) procedure, at the same time, however, he idealises the exchange of gazes as a reciprocal information exchange that suspends all asymmetries. He writes:

> By the glance which reveals the other, one discloses himself. By the same act in which the observer seeks to know the observed, he surrenders himself to be understood by the observer. The eye cannot take unless at the same time it gives. (ibid., 358)

Thus, Simmel does not consider the inter-subjective implications of power and the "negative" correlative effects implied in the exchange of gazes – above all in situations of intimidation or turning away. The phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty reaches a conclusion which is similar to Simmel's sociological concept of the gaze. In his late work, Merleau-Ponty develops the idea of the world as flesh (*chair*) and also fosters the elimination of asymmetries. Since it conceptualises the gaze positions in a complementary way[1] and ignores historical, cultural and gender-specific dimensions,[2] Merleau-Ponty's concept cannot offer insight into those moments in the perception process in which our inter-subjective "dependence" is actually determined by an experience of difference. Jacques Lacan also described significant parameters of what it means to be looked at and dismissed the idealistic concept of seeing from a central perspective. However, his theory of the gaze resists the application to the relations of individuals mutually looking at one another. Although there have been attempts at transferring his model of the gaze to inter-subjective relations (Meyer-Kalkus 2007, 226; Widmer 2005, 144), Lacan himself advised against reformulating his theory of the drive about the pre-existing gaze as an inter-subjective model (Lacan 1973, 83, 93).

After a critical assessment of pertinent theories of the gaze, we can set up four fundamental theses which prove to be productive for the analysis of exchanges of gazes in a theatrical context. *Firstly*, living bodies cannot be reduced to visually fixed shapes, that is to say, interactions of the gaze presuppose a

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[1] Martin Jay characterises Merleau-Ponty's model of the gaze as a "cooperative, complementary world of intersubjectivity", for the phenomenologist consistently distances himself from thematising and conceptualizing non-reciprocal gaze interactions. Cf. Jay 1993, 312.

[2] Rabinow and Dreyfus, among others, accuse Merleau-Ponty of ignoring the historical-cultural encoding of corporeality. Cf. Dreyfus 1982, 166. According to Andrea Roedig, the phenomenological method misses "Linguistic, Psychoanalysis and History" and follows these up in her monograph (Roedig 1997, 60). In her brilliantly written and elegantly laid out deconstructivist reading of Merleau-Ponty's *The Visible and the Invisible*, Luce Irigaray accuses Merleau-Ponty of a solipsistic positioning, and critically assesses his concept of the reversibility between the one that sees and the one being seen, a concept which does not take into account the experience of the difference of the Other: "If I cannot see the other in his alterity, and if he cannot see me, my body no longer sees anything in difference" (Irigaray 1993, 168).

double contingency if they are to be regarded as reciprocal social processes. *Secondly*, the gaze is not be conceived of as a process of making oneself understood, but as a mechanism of animating and affecting one another. The gaze does not carry out a symbolic exchange but, instead, *initiates and activates* processes of action and exchange by generating and maintaining interpersonal contacts. *Thirdly*, a gaze relation is always motivated and accompanied by asymmetries, distances, differences, and potentials for conflict. *Fourthly*, the encounter with the Other in the gaze can by no means be reduced to a cognitive achievement. Rather, it is to be understood as a sensual experience of intersubjectivity, individuation, and experience of the world.

The Subjugating Gaze (Franko B: *Don't Leave Me This Way*)

By condensing the intersubjective act of the encounter into a reciprocal event of the gaze, the performance *Don't Leave Me This Way* by Franko B displays the brief moment of mutual looks by the Self and the Other. In his 2007 work entitled *Don't Leave Me This Way*, the Italian performance artist who, since the late 1970s, experiments with his own body and blood and turns the body into the subject matter of his art, presented his naked body on a round platform in front of visitors of the gallery. The completely empty exhibition space featured only a round stage platform and a chair, as well as the corporeal presence of the actor which became visible and noticeable only when a flash-like beam hit the stage.

Since the premiere, Franko B performs his show in two different theatrical settings. Generally, his self-harming performances were carried out either in the centre of a collective of spectators or in a face-to-face encounter with a single visitor. Similarly, after the first lengthier stage version, which had dramatic lighting and musical accompaniment, he also realised *Don't Leave Me This Way* in an alternative format which set up the encounter of the artist with a single spectator. The visitor of the performance was led into a fully darkened space and

left alone with his expectations in a sphere with very few stimuli. Suddenly, a glaring beam of light filled the space (lighting designed by Kamal Ackarie), made Franko B's body visible, facilitated an exchange of gazes, and turned the already existing bodily co-presence into an actual scene of intersubjective encounter. As soon as the photographic effect of the flash-like light was over and the eyes involved had to plunge into darkness again, the visitor was collected by someone offstage and led into the entrance hall. And so the performance, marked by the fleeting exchange of gazes and the caesurae of darkness, came to an end.

By displaying his robust body tattooed from head to toe and making the phenomenal qualities of his very own body available for the visitors' gaze, he presented himself as a visually designed sculpture. Just like in his earlier works, B suspended all linguistic and vocal articulations this time as well, and exhibited his naked body, which he consistently calls the canvas of his art.[3] However, this time his performance did not only seem to stage an act of the perception of art in which the body is exhibited as an object but, rather, it raised questions concerning the participation of gazes – Who is looking at whom? Who is actually posing?

In *Don't Leave Me This Way*, the individual behaviour of the spectator was affected by the feeling of being looked at. The situation let the spectators realise that their position and behaviour as someone who is looking at something are not only constituted by their own perspectives and the visual field they perceive but also, or above all, by the fact that they are suddenly being looked at. The gaze of the Other reaches and frames our body. That is to say, it lets us appear in a particular framework to which we, first of all, have to adapt physically. What one sees is of secondary significance in Franko B's theatrical setting. What is crucial is how one behaves, that is where one looks – how, where

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[3] "The body is site for presentation, a canvas. In my performances I am not interested in story telling. I show things that are not possible to articulate with speaking. The image moves on all the time and the baggage that we all carry changes the images that we see." Quoted from Meyer 2008, 230.

exactly, and how long one looks at the Other. By making the gaze manoeuvres visible to the Other, the binary logic of the perceiving one and the perceived one becomes unsettled and socially effective reactions emerge, such as intimidation or tension, turning away or straying.

In Franko B's performance, one not only sees, but is also seen. And what is more: in the act of seeing, one becomes an image. The notion of becoming an image in the gaze of the Other has been described by Jean-Paul Sartre as objectification. For him, getting into the focus of the Other means losing the privileged perceiving position of the voyeur and becoming the object of inspection, as well as the target of value judgements of others (Sartre 1992, 302). Sartre's reasoning leads to the conclusion that the purpose of the gaze is objectification. However, the example mentioned above points to the fact that the one being looked at is also an individual with situational and social ties.[4] Franko B's performance demonstrates that under the "flashlight" of the gaze of the Other, processes of subjectification take place, which are experienced as primal corporeal acts. In addition to the participants themselves, their viewing directions and, consequently, their visual attention become visible as well and, therefore, in this inter-bodily proximity the question of the fairness of the gazes presents an ethical problem. Spectators may feel insecure as to whether they are allowed to peer at the Other, they are to favour the face of the Other, or if they should look at the body in order not to stare at them so much.

Franko B's gaze at the visitor from the platform implies a perspective which is inaccessible to the one being looked at, and which prompts him or her to adapt to this perceptual perspective. This mechanism of the corporeal redrafting of the Self, which takes place in the objectifying gaze, has connections to the theory

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[4] It is certainly not enough to look at the world if one is to experience the dimension of the reflexive consciousness. Sartre puts it pithily: "For the appearance of a man as an object in the field of my experience is not what informs me that *there are* men" (Sartre 1992, 373, italicised by Sartre).

of the appeal. In Louis Althusser's concept of "interpellation", the moments of objectification and subjectification coincide in a way that reminds us of one of the experiences in Franko B's performances. As Kaja Silverman[5] critically observes, Sartre interprets the theory of the phenomenon of suddenly being looked at primarily as objectification and not as subjectification. Silverman rewrites Louis Althusser's theory of interpellation and makes it productive for the description of the individuation taking place in the interaction of gazes.

Althusser's guiding principle, according to which "[a]ll ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects" (Althusser 1971, 175), is most commonly illustrated by an example in which the subject is constructed through the vocal appeal of another person. When a policeman addresses a passerby by shouting "Hey, you there!" thereby separating him or her from the crowd and taking away his or her anonymity – this event is a manifestation of the "ideology" generally accepted by all individuals. In the figurative sense, Althusser's theorem about the interpellation is to be understood as an act of "temporary arrest", and refers to the thesis that the social conditions of the Self always presuppose a central "subject", i.e. discursive norms, on behalf of which empirical subjects can connect with each other and are acknowledged as subjects. Accordingly, every gaze negotiated between individuals calls into existence a third perspective, the dimension of symbolic behavioural conventions, and turns the visual objectification into social subjectification. The gaze that hits us exposes social expectations. It urges us to conform to the perspective of the Other and appear as worthy of being recognised. In brief: the gaze simultaneously *forces* and *enables* the constitution of the subject looked at, and makes it dependent on the

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[5] "Finally, Sartre misses the crucial opportunity implicit in the concept of the looked-at look – the opportunity to theorize it in relation not to objectivity, but to subjectivity. He fails to understand that latent in the voyeur's apprehension of the exteriority of *le regard* is the possibility of both coming to an awareness of the lack upon which the look pivots, and – in accepting this lack, which not only limits, but opens the door to the infinitude of desire – emerging as a subject in the strongest sense of that word" (Silverman 1996, 166-167).

"symbolic order" without which no intersubjective communication can be established.

Analogously to the voice, the gaze of the Other is the witness of an exterior which introduces the individual into an existence related to the Other and situates him or her in a social context. However, critics of Althusser's interpellation theory point out[6] that in the constellation of the three perspectives active in the exchange of gazes, i.e. the one who looks at someone, the one being looked at, and the gaze of the "symbolic order", there is always an irresolvable asymmetry at work. This prevents the one being looked at from assuming a closed identity, the gaze of the Other from appearing as something fully sovereign, and the conventions of the discursive framework from becoming completely predictable and calculable. In light of the fact that in Franko B's performance the physical proximity of the artist and the effect of appeal contained in his gaze constitutes the spectator as a Self marked by and dependent on social and situational conditions, the moment of suddenly being looked at is not only to be conceived of as objectification and mortification but also as subjectification and individuation. Furthermore, the example provided by *Don't Leave Me This Way* also demonstrates that in situations of gaze exchanges in which the participants are bodily co-present, there is no clear differentiation of roles between the one looking at someone and the one being looked at, the one acknowledging and the one being acknowledged, and the visually subjugating and the visually

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[6] The Slovenian psychoanalytic theorist Mladen Dolar disputes that ideology is characterised by a claim of totality and interprets subjectification as a fragile process continually producing remainders, which creates the subject only by never letting it be identical with itself and forcing it at all times to leave something behind that cannot be incorporated into the status of the subject (cf. Dolar 1993, 75–96). In the argumentation of Althusser, Judith Butler even detects the individual's "passionate complicity" with the law which is not only coupled with the acceptance of guilt but also prevents the critique and subversion of ideology (cf. Butler 1997b, 29–30). Slavoj Žižek affirms Dolar's thesis about the individual not reaching total subjectification and points out that subjectification is an impossible and processual act, for neither the symbolic order nor the subject can be grasped as being complete and also cannot be totalised. Consequently, both are reliant on a permanent relation of interdependence (cf. Žižek 2014, 134).

subjugated, since these positions, although continually occupied, can never be frozen in an intersubjective complementarity. Since the 2010s, the disappearance of the fixed positions of visual subjects and objects, which Shannon Jackson recently linked to a new emphasis on the social aspects of art,[7] has become a central aesthetic principle in performance art. In this regard, it was certainly Marina Abramović's durational performance *The Artist Is Present* that received the greatest response. In the framework of her retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, every day from March 14 to May 31 she sat at a small wooden desk and initiated eye contact with the museum visitors. For a total of 700 hours visitors had the opportunity to sit down opposite her, one by one, and exchange wordless glances with her while having an influence on how long these exchanges lasted. In *The Artist Is Present*, as well as in her performative installation *512 Hours*, which remained undocumented for good reason, she exposed intersubjectivity along with seeing and being seen as a dimension of action in the primary sense, that is a sphere of agency "where sovereignty wanes" (Butler, 1997a, 16), where the tactics of illusion generation, domination and affirmation are to be questioned or rendered ineffective. The fact that a conceptual dichotomy of the one who sees and the one being seen gets unsettled, if not subverted, becomes apparent, above all, in the contingent allotment of shame which, in performances, makes the dichotomy of roles implied in the "feeling of embarrassment in front of the other", which Sartre elaborated, problematic.

The Sense of Shame in the Gaze of the Other (She She Pop: *Bad*)

Jean-Paul Sartre is the only theoretician of the gaze that revealed and developed the affective level of seeing and being seen. To put it differently, his concept of

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[7] Already at the beginning of her monograph, Jackson notes that "[i]n recent decades, artists and art critics [...] see performative work as a variant of 'post-studio' and 'post-optical' art-making, joining terms such as social practice and relational aesthetics to others such as live art, time-based art, or group art" (Jackson 2011, 1). See also: Bishop 2012, Balme 2014.

intersubjectivity relying on arguments rooted in the psychology of affects is based, in a revolutionary way, on epistemological considerations, which can be seen from the fact that Sartre conceptualises the moment of being looked at as an experience of shame (Honneth 2003, 76). His formula of "shame is shame of oneself *before the Other*" (Sartre 1992, 222, italicised by Sartre) point to the fact that the situations in which the experience of suddenly being looked at and the vocation of shame implied in it become virulent are, above all, situations of bodily co-presence. In contrast to a number of other affects, such as fright or joy which can be provoked by objects standing on their own, the sense of shame is a genuinely intersubjective emotion closely connected to the socio-cultural creation of our Selves. Sartre takes a bipolar logic of embarrassment as his starting point, according to which the one being looked at is affected by shame when he or she realises the situation in which he or she is. However, if one considers certain contemporary performances, it becomes apparent that the simultaneous presence of the participants correlates with a factor of contingency which reallocates the roles of the one looking at someone and the one being looked at, the exhibitionist and the embarrassed one – over and over again.

What seems to be recourse to Sartre's observations on shame, at the beginning of their work *Bad*[8] (2002) three actresses from the theatrical performance group She She Pop displayed a tableau of bodily exposed and exhibited people presenting themselves naked to the eyes of the spectators. In the centre of the performing space, the performance artists Ilia Papatheodorou, Lisa Lucassen and Katharina Oberlik waited with microphones in their hands, while the audience slowly, one by one, entered the hall through the narrow corridor and sat down on their chairs arranged in a "democratic" circle. Compared to the nude actresses who suggested exposure and the quality of being unmasked, the

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[8] The work *Bad* by the performance collective She She Pop was performed in Kampnagel in Hamburg on 31 January 2002. Later, it was shown in Podewil in Berlin, too, among other places.

audience seemed to be protected by clothes as well as a socio-cultural orchestration. However, the constellation of people undressed on the one hand, and dressed on the other, implied a definite assignment of roles only at first sight. The contingently programmed performance caused the relation of subjects and objects to sway. In the process of exchanging gazes, the positions of the ones that are looking at someone and the ones being looked at suddenly changed. The performers compensated for their nakedness by giving out acoustic and verbal signals, thereby articulating their reactions to the ways the audience members appeared and behaved as they entered the theatre hall. They seized power by making comments, often even offensive remarks, and, consequently, drawing the audience members' attention to the one they were directing their gazes at. Despite their "masochistic" exposure, the actresses, who verbally humiliated people that were unknown to them, revealed themselves as the true voyeurs of the situation. By objectifying the spectators, who were dressed up, they maintained their position of power unflinchingly. By directing the attention of the audience members already present to imperfections of visitors just entering the hall, and critically assessing their bodily proportions, facial features, as well as clothing, they bartered their sense of shame for the dominance of the interpellators. The visitors, who entered the space unsuspectingly, and whose appearance served as the target of nasty comments, found themselves in a state of helplessness, for they were not capable of changing their looks or their conspicuousness. In the social vortex of the gazes, the members of the audience experienced what it is like to suddenly and fully unexpectedly become an image and to become a subject by subjugation. This subverted the more or less passive ideas about conventional role allocation of an average visitor. In the starting situation of *Bad*, the artists did not only assume their ultimate roles as the ones that look at someone, they also robbed the visitors of their own gazes, who bowed their heads in shame and avoided eye contact. Thus, the neat dichotomy of the roles of actors and the

audience collapsed right at the beginning of the performance, and every visitor experienced what it is like to unintentionally assume the position of the actor and, correspondingly, subordination.

It was a kind of negative interpellation that befell the spectators who became the object of comments, which blocked them physically and mentally. Their powerlessness correlated with a discomfort in the face of the negative assessment of their entering the hall and triggered feelings of shame. This intense affective feeling which, according to Sartre, is to be conceived of as signs of a "freedom" (Sartre 1992, 259) suddenly lost, involved repressive reactions on the part of the visitors. They bowed their heads after entering the hall, they blushed, their motor movements seemed involuntary and uncertain, they experienced the inability to act and felt the urge to disappear. In an effort to protect themselves from the comments, they rushed to their seats as fast as they could.

In the register of affects, shame is characterised by particularly intense amplitude, a relatively short duration, and passive agitation on the part of the one ashamed. Many theories of the shame take it as their starting point that this feeling is provoked by violations of norms that "are not entirely intentional" (Landweer 1999, 38). The cause of the experience of shame is "an idiosyncrasy of the Self which cannot be voluntarily influenced by the individual" (Bastian 1998, 50). The feeling of shame differs from the affect of guilt precisely in this regard, the latter emerging "after committing something evil" (Bastian 1998, 49) and can be seen as the consequence of a failure or a deviant act; at any rate, it goes hand in hand with conscious activity (Wurmser 1993, 314).[9] According to Anja Lietzmann, the affect of shame is an inevitable social "event" which consists in the loss of "certainty about what one is" (Lietzmann 2007, 17). However, shame is not a "purely" repressive experience; it also has a protective function which, in spite of

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[9] According to Wurmser's arguments, in the example of *Bad* we could locate the feeling of guilt on the side of the performers, and the feeling of shame on the side of the spectators.

all the conflicting differences between the ideal and the self-image, retains the self-integrity of the one looked at. Furthermore, in the feeling of shame the bewilderment cooperates with the enhancement of self-reflexivity, as well as with the realisation of the values and ideals of one's own identity. To put it differently, the motor, cognitive and psychological block caused by shame can lead to action. In the performance entitled *Bad*, in which individual feelings of shame almost turned into a collective awkwardness, the visitors reacted to the gaze directed at them by quickening their steps and trying to disappear. In his interpretation of Sartre, Hans-Dieter Gondek explains the arresting gaze and shame as "elements of the primal scene of an implantation, as it were, of sociality and morality" (Gondek 1997, 185).

It is precisely this social experience of everyday processes of encounter, in which shame becomes the price we have to pay for intersubjectivity, that the performance group She She Pop radicalised. In terms of processes of participation, we can even speak of a "habitualised shamefacedness", for the Self experiences and fears "the collective of others as an eagle-eyed controller who is always alert" (Lehmann 2002, 41, 43). Sartre argues that the sense of shame has a triple valence which presupposes an encounter between the Self and the Other: "shame is shame of oneself *before the Other*" (Sartre 1992, 222, italicized by Sartre). The experience of becoming an image and the corresponding vocation of shame are at their most virulent in situations of bodily co-presence, provided that the sense of shame is a genuine intersubjective emotion.[10] As demonstrated by *Bad*, the interactions of the gaze do not permit a complementary role allocation of seeing and being seen. Rather, all who are present experience their participation in the performing situation as a continual and unpredictable alternation of active and passive positions, of exhibitionistic joy and humiliating instances of shame.

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[10] Cf. Jens León Tiedemanns Dissertation *Die intersubjektive Natur der Scham*, in which he contemplates and further investigates the phenomenon of shame from the perspective of current theories of recognition rooted in intersubjectivity (Tiedemann 2007).

This unpredictability of moments in which one becomes the object of inspection is a constant feature in our attendances of performances. And what is more, in contemporary theatre performances the indissoluble risk of suddenly being looked at often creates a latent fear of embarrassment, even a permanent and crisis-like bewilderment in the visitor, which Matthias Warstat described as a state of nervousness. According to him, nervousness results from the worry that one is not able to autonomously influence the interaction one is part of. It is a feeling which accompanies the perception of contemporary theatre-goers and which relates the attendance of performances to the experience of an exam situation. Besides She She Pop's *Bad*, this feeling may also be familiar from numerous other works which were designed as community plays, such as Gob Squad's *Western Society* (2013) or Signa's *Club Inferno* (2013). As Warstat puts it, "a thousand pair of eyes examine how miserably or capably one deals with the challenge of the situation. The result is a sort of exam stress" (Warstat 2006, 90). To make one nervous or to create fear and anxiety, it is enough to produce a certain spatial and physical proximity between the actors and the audience:

> […] here, nervousness results from the experience of being seen, or from a kind of seeing that always has to take into account its own risk of being seen. The visitor, elevated to the position of a visible actor, is forced to react to an unfamiliar situation in front of the crowd (Warstat 2006, 90).

Thus, nervousness arises from the fear that one might unexpectedly be given the task of staging him- or herself and, by doing so, will run the risk of having to be ashamed of him- or herself in front of others.

Self-staging in the Gaze of the Other (Dries Verhoeven: *thy kingdom come*)

By interweaving the moments of reciprocal self-reference with moments of reference to the Other in a relation of gazes between a male and a female spectator, the Dutch director Dries Verhoeven made the specific mediality of the

interpersonal exchange of gazes the subject matter of his interaction play *thy kingdom come* (2003). The performance began with the two of them being collected from different cafeterias of the Viennese Museumsquartier and then led to a metal container. After entering the windowless container bare-footed, they realised that the interior space has been divided into two sections by a glass panel. The visitors were not allowed to speak verbally or touch each other; here, their communication was limited to the exchange of gazes. The voices offstage tried to create feelings of sympathy between the spectators, and told fragments of a fictional love story from male and female perspectives. Remarks such as "I was sure that it was going to be you, I saw you outside" or "What I am telling you now, should remain our secret" created mutual trust and led to statements that created (eroticising) desire: "I want to touch you" or "I want you to hold me". In this setting, it was not the most important what one saw, what really mattered was *where* and *how long* one looked. The perception of the spectators oscillated emphatically between different realities: between the story recounted acoustically and the things seen directly, between the imagined and the phenomenal. The reason for this was that the gaze actually emancipated itself from the acoustically presented narration and created subjectivity beyond the possibilities of staging. The individual movements of the gaze and their mutual visibility subverted the coherence of the love story told by the voice and often led to reactions like intimidation or turning away.

The gaze of the Other mobilised discursive behavioural norms of a social formation, which can also be achieved by cameras. But it also forced the one looked at to adapt to the perceived subjective demands for recognition of the one looking at him or her. In this case, subject formation involved processes of self-staging as well, for the exchange of gazes not only integrated the participants into a single context, but also into a processual situation. Since the perspective of the Other, due to its contingency, could not be fathomed only imagined, it contributed

to the creation of the Self *in the long run* and *in reciprocity*. In light of the configuration of this setting, we can set up the thesis that in the gaze of an Other physically present we are forced to continually redraft our own Self and let our behaviour hinge on the actions of the one looking at us – if we are to gain long-term recognition, that is recognition for the duration of the gaze dialogue.

In *thy kingdom come*, the specific subjectification effect of the human gaze came to light by coupling appeals of the voice and the gaze. The acoustic level aimed at addressing the spectators as gender-based subjects that fall into line with hegemonic identity norms, i.e. with representational ideals that Jacques Rancière and Kaja Silverman called *dominant fictions*.[11] The voices offstage assigned an appropriately naive but mysterious and "unfathomable" female image to the female spectator. The male spectator, on the other hand, was supposed to appear as a slightly frightened but sensible man that still managed to take the initiative, and articulate unobtrusive but clear signs of establishing a relation. Thus, in his textual dramaturgy Verhoeven utilised the strategy of typifying female and male identities and, apparently, codified their social relationality. At the same time, however, the confrontation between the individual gaze intentions worked vehemently against stereotypes, which are employed as a normalising representational power in many commercial images. The gazes, moving in their own ways and not adapting to the narrative structure, opened up a dimension for the critique of the hegemonic identity, without necessarily creating other consistent identities as an alternative. Their potential for critique lies in their incalculable and autonomous movement, as well as in the fact that they were continually visible for the Other and bewildered him or her.

Accordingly, the peculiar appeal of the exchange of gazes in *thy kingdom come* consisted in the fact that the acoustic invocation by the narrative voices was

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[11] "[The dominant fiction is] the privileged mode of representation by which the image of the social consensus is offered to the members of a social formation and within which they are asked to identify themselves" (Rancière 1977, 28; cf. also Silverman 1992, 23–28).

disrupted and subverted by attacks of the gaze, while the interaction was filled up with tension, gaps, contingencies, misunderstandings, and conflicts. Beyond verbal speech acts, a processual dynamic of reciprocal subjectification had been developed here, which destabilised the consolidated rhetoric and imaginaria of the idea of "love at first sight". It became apparent that individual actions of the gaze are capable of intervening in the regime of calculability and staging, and, furthermore, these actions demonstrated that there is no act of recognition and, consequently, intersubjective communication without the risk of disturbances, disruptions, and irritations in the visual relation.

In *thy kingdom come*, the doubly contingent actions foregrounded the individuality of the viewers, for the spontaneous, partly unconscious reactions, which sometimes seemed involuntary, drew the intersubjective attention to themselves. The male and female spectator could not immediately evaluate and calculate how the situation was going to play out and how their interests and reactions would develop, and so they were not sure which rules and norms they should follow with their actions. No matter how the spectators behaved, they became the protagonists of their own "performance". The expressivity of their behaviour consisted precisely in the singularity of their actions, whose unpredictability transcended traditional fictional patterns of representation. Verhoeven's performance exposed the processuality and unpredictability of self-staging which counteracted all kinds of causality in the dramatic composition. The spectators were spotted in the middle of the act of finding themselves, they were grasped as subjects constantly in search of adequate images of themselves. They demonstrated that self-staging in the reciprocal and doubly contingent exchange of gazes is accompanied by a processual and interminable formation of the Self. In contrast to exhibits of portrait photography or theatrical representations of characters, there were no images of the Self here given prior to the event, neither staged, nor materially fixed, which could have appeared as coherent and illusory.

thy kingdom come made the dimensions of failure and anti-conformism visible in a thoroughly thought-through form. The performance elevated unpredictability to the position of the primary dramatic and aesthetic principle. Dries Verhoeven showed that in theatre identity is caught up in a contingent *scene* and does not get frozen into an *image*. In accordance with Judith Butler's thesis, recognition was negotiated as a communicative practice, "as a processual result of communication" (Schaffer 2008, 151)[12] in his performance.

The theatrical setting of gazes directed at each other makes an aspect of subject formation apparent which, according to the political scholar Isabell Lorey, remained unattended to in the juridical model of identity production. Lorey's objection, especially to Butler's earlier theories of subjectification, is that the socialization of an individual can by no means be reduced to his or her relation to the law.[13] In her monograph *Immer Ärger mit dem Subjekt* [There is Only Trouble with the Subject], Lorey re-evaluates the agency of individuals, and emphasises the interactive dimension of subject formation, which plays an essential role in human socialisation. Thus, in performance situations which enable the reciprocal communication of the participants, normally there are three perspectives connected, all of which may impact the subject formation of those involved. The one who looks at something, the one being looked at, and the gaze of the 'symbolic order" – this triad conditions all intersubjective relations (of the gaze). Accordingly, the corporeal exchange of gazes amounts to the initiation of relations between people who can only become individuals and subjects of a situation as a result of these processes of establishing a reference. The exchange

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[12] Johanna Schaffer sums up Judith Butler's arguments about the intersubjective practice of recognition with this phrase (cf. Butler 2004, 132).

[13] "Since Butler is not interested in the problem of the formation of the Self, juridical structures of dominance are foregrounded in her analysis, which operate under constraint. Due to the central position of the relation between the subject and the law, interactive processes are left out of consideration. By doing so, Butler reinforces the idea of a self-identical and autonomous subject. This reproducing effect cannot prevent her from giving an account of the fiction of self-identity. Thus, Butler's critique of the subject ends up in a circular argument" (Lorey 1996, 142).

of gazes teaches us that self-reflexion in situations of bodily co-presence depends on the implicit and constitutive risk that the recognition might potentially fail. If others affect us through the sense of shame, if they look away, if they observe us, fix their eyes on us, or control us through their gazes, they call for the redrafting of our Selves in an idiosyncratic way, and make us fight for the recognition of our social visibility incessantly.

The above-mentioned scene of encounter in Dries Verhoeven's *thy kingdom come* consists in the interminable negotiation of a regime of gazes between two individual perspectives. By revealing visual experience as an interpersonal participation process, this configuration challenges traditional definitions of seeing and its reduction to a procedure of reception. It draws attention to the fact that the gaze is not only constitutive of individual visual perception, but also has social effects, as it were, and establishes intersubjective relations. It is an immaterial means of communication which is semiotically relevant and which resists the consensual symbolic encoding and, at the same time, produces corporeal and tangible effects. It makes one become someone else through someone else.

Conclusion

Even though every performance analysis begins with the description of the setting and of what one sees, until now theatre studies have not shown much interest in the process of seeing and its effect on the continuous subject formation of the spectator as a culturally conditioned Self. In contemporary theatre, however, we can witness a proliferation of diverse visual effects from the visualisation of bodies actually present to forms of technological or digital transmission of images, resulting in the fact that the inter-medial interplay of phenomenal and virtual representations can be considered an inherent feature of theatre performances defined by aesthetic and social factors. And what is more, the

reason for the insistence on and importance of an analysis of gaze interactions rooted in theatre studies is the fact that in this discipline the exchange of gazes can be examined in the reciprocity of seeing and being seen. That is to say, an approach based in performance analysis helps us to grasp the experience of the exchange of gazes in the bodily co-presence of the participants, an experience which can be *evoked* by visually transmitted figures and their gazes, be they recorded cinematically or photographically, but which can by no means be medially configured.

However, individual actions of the gaze that carry the potential of being seen do not only constitute the nucleus of aesthetic experience in contemporary theatre productions and performances. In addition, they also take on increasing significance in the visual arts, so that the performance analytical investigation of the visual processes of appropriation proves to be productive and necessary within a wider cultural context. In the situations that Tino Sehgal designs for the museum or in contemporary dance performances in the context of exhibitions, above all those of Boris Charmatz, Xavier Le Roy or Ivo Dimchev, often even the audiovisual documentation of the event is forbidden which restricts the experience of the gaze to the duration of the performance. It is interesting, however, that despite the recording ban the experiences of the gaze gained in these exhibition situations provide for lively discussions and resonate for a long time. These unique experiences produce imaginary inscriptions, as well as their vivid verbal extension. The short-lived encounters of the gaze in performances and exhibitions provide evidence for the fact that a participation of gazes does not end in the singular act of being directed at someone but, beyond the situations themselves, it can also find expression in discourses and imaginaria, and shape future expectations and actions of the gaze.

An analysis of the gaze based in theatre studies draws attention to the fact that the effects of the gaze cannot be conceived of in the duality of the one who

sees and the one being seen. The effects of the gaze invariably presuppose a relationship triangle between *the one who sees*, *the one being seen* and the *context of the gaze*. This configuration is of utmost importance for theatre and culture studies, for it sheds light on the fundamental medial conditions of an intersubjectivity based in reciprocity. The irreducible trinity of perspectives is only inherent to performance situations; the effects of the gaze in the case of camera objectives, photographic or cinematic images suspend the double contingency and merely simulate effects which cannot be transferred into interactions. The corporeal exchange of gazes involves the creation of connections between peoples that can only be produced as subjects of a situation in and through this process of establishing reference. This demonstrates that it is not only images that affect the body and the behaviour in a normative way. In fact, the gaze of the Other implies a transformative power which is capable of altering identities and "the landscape of the possible" (Engel 2002, 93). Every exchange of gazes jeopardises social norms by mobilising, (inter-)subjectively negotiating, and potentially shifting them in particular acts of identification and self-staging. A performance analytical standpoint helps us discuss positions of embodied perception which never manifest themselves in abstract and regular forms, but always in specific discursive configurations or between concrete and particular perspectives.[14] In the play of gazes, every position is personified along spatial-temporal and socio-cultural coordinates. Without overestimating the relevance of this particularity in creating and critiquing culture, it can be stated that in contemporary performance art it seems to be crucial to consider political

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[14] In her overview of the subject of participation, Juliane Rebentisch stresses that the challenge that art theory faces today is that of taking into account the "culturally and socially conditioned nature of subjectivities" in the analysis of aesthetic experience: "The question of the relation of aesthetic experience to the dimension of the intersubjective [...] must be reformulated. For otherwise this dimension can only be conceived of as something clear and abstract. Instead, it must be related to the individual, that is concrete, culturally and socially conditioned form of subjectivities" (Rebentisch 2013, 59-60).

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questions of representation through singular gaze acts and focus on our socio-cultural power to act in situationally conditioned visual relations. Since each and every one of us "sees and hears from a different position" (Arendt 1958, 57), the spatial-temporal difference between the spectator subjects is an elementary signature of our social conduct. Even habitualised practices of intersubjectivity which are firmly established in the discourse rely on actualisation and its perception which unsettle and, to an extent, reshape and shift the validity of supposed majority positions. It is precisely the connection of dominant and particular, collective and individual actions of the gaze that assume great importance in contemporary theatre performances. Their exposure draws the contours of the new guidelines of a performance analytical approach and requires a corresponding broadening of the analytical horizon.

Translated from German by Balazs Rapcsak

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Born to Run:
Political Theatre Supporting the Struggles of the Refugees

by David Schwartz

The current article aims to describe the personal and political experience of myself being part of a collective of artists interested in the struggles of the refugees in Romania. The article focuses on two aspects: 1) the personal, local, historical-political, international context of the refugees' struggles; and 2) our artistic and human experience, including the interactions and collaborations between the artists and the refugees and the perspective of the latter on the artistic process.

The interest for the histories, perspectives and struggles of refugees started from the deeply personal experience of meeting (and befriending), a couple of Afghani refugees, during a trip in Central Asia, in 2011. Their complex life story and their traumatic experiences caused exclusively by the "guilt" of owning the "wrong" passport (the Afghani one) left a strong impression on myself and my colleague, Alice Monica Marinescu (actress and playwright). Starting from this concrete emotional experience, we decided, back in Romania, to research the situation of the refugees on the contemporary and historical Romanian territory. We were additionally touched by the topic, as both of us come from mixed, minority families (Jewish and Armenian), who went through several painful experiences of persecution, runaways and exile.

This research process was the beginning of the work experience for the text and performance "Born in the Wrong Place"[1], a play that blends together the documented life stories of five refugees to and from the Romanian territory (a Palestinian man, a Jewish woman, a Serbian woman, an Iraqi woman and an Afghan man). The play premiered in Bucharest, part of a project financed by the Ministry of Culture which focused on emphasizing and debating the stories and struggles of refugees. The performance was built together with professional actors who were also included in the research process, and who met several migrants and former refugees. Furthermore, some of the actors themselves come from minority families, being connected emotionally and personally to the experiences of refuge and discrimination. The former refugees whose stories are performed in the play have received and read the text, and some have also been involved in the work process, contributing with feedback, suggestions and opinions, one of them practically becoming part of the team.

From personal experience to research process – Meeting Ahmad and Paradise, Afghani refugees in Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

During a research field trip in Central Asia, Monica and I met Ahmad and Paradise in Dushanbe, young Afghani refugees in Tajikistan. Following the worsening of the situation in Afghanistan, the visas for Western countries became more and more difficult to obtain. In this context, the number of Afghani refugees in the neighboring poor, but safer, country, increased. Ahmad and Paradise (both 24 years old at the time) were born in Iran, from parents of Afghani nationality, who had found refuge in Iran following the invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR in the 1980s. Iran gave very limited rights to the Afghani refugees and tries to

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[1] Premiere: September 2013, Platforma Contemporary Art Space, Bucharest. Written and Directed by Alice Monica Marinescu and David Schwartz; Music: Cătălin Rulea; Set and Costume Design: Adrian Cristea; Performers: Alex Fifea, Katia Pascariu, Mihaela Rădescu, Andrei Şerban, Silviana Vişan; with the Contribution of: Bashar Al-Kishawi, Margareta Eschenazy, Valentina Ivanov, Ahmad Marwi, Sana Rahimo.

limit the immigration process as much as possible. Ahmad's father, a former Imam of Turkmen ethnicity and Sunni religion in Afghanistan, was not able to find a permanent job in Iran, working instead as day-laborer in construction or recycling garbage. Ahmad and his brothers were not allowed to attend university because of their Afghani nationality. The whole family was constantly subjected to class and ethnic discrimination:

> In Iran people would mock you, if you were Afghani. All kinds of stupid jokes: that Afghanis are stupid, that they are stuck in the past and live like they did 1000 years ago. And, the most stupid thing: when a child cries or doesn't behave, his mother tells him: if you keep crying, I will call the Afghanis to eat you! (Ahmad 2011)

In this context, Ahmad chose to go back to Afghanistan, in order to be able to attend university, with the purpose of helping his family out of poverty. In Afghanistan, he studied English and Computer Science. After 2006, when the situation in the country became even worse than in the first years of war, he managed, together with his girlfriend, Paradise, to get a Tajik visa and leave the country.

> Legally, Ahmad was not allowed to travel anywhere. He did not have access to any visa. He couldn't even travel to Iran, even though he was born there and his parents were still there. Illegally, the black market has its own fares: a visa for Iran costs 1000 $, a visa for Turkmenistan (where, being a Turkmen ethnic, he planned to apply for citizenship) costs 2000 $ and the cheapest option, a Tajik visa – 500 $. (Marinescu 2011, np, own translation)

In Tajikistan, a country that didn't sign the Geneva Treaty which establishes the rights of refugees, Ahmad and Paradise found jobs as English teachers. They were paid decently, even if worse than in Afghanistan, but were constantly subjected to harassment from the police: an absurd law forbids Afghani refugees from living and working inside the capital, where the majority of jobs can be found. Therefore, Ahmad and Paradise worked on the black market, without official

papers, and had to hide after dark, as they risked a consistent bribe or even expulsion in case of identification by the police.

The life story of these people, whom we eventually befriended, posed for us a range of questions and problems related to the artificiality of borders, the infringement of individuals' fundamental rights in the name of "nation-states", and to the concrete consequences of the global militarism and imperialism for the everyday men and women in "third world" countries.

> [Ahmad] seems resigned and used to this situation, to the lack of alternatives, the lack of rights, the lack of a "welcoming" society, but nevertheless, he finds it "unfair" that the Afghanis are treated like this by the rest of the world. Ahmad doesn't know what to do. He would like to get to the "real" world that he has seen in Germany. He doesn't know which way to go. And actually, he doesn't have many options. (Marinescu 2011, np, own translation)

Nevertheless, Ahmad was one of the few privileged Afghanis who afforded the luxury of paying the 500 dollars in order to leave the country and who had a profession that allowed him to easily find a job abroad. The majority of Afghani citizens, as well as the big majority of people from extremely impoverished or war-torn areas from Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe or Latin America cannot afford to move even to a different town.

In the current Romanian socio-economical context, the issue of emigration is much more visible than the problems of immigrants or refugees, because it directly affects the local context from an economic, political and personal perspective, but also because the number of emigrants is very big in comparison with the numbers of immigrants in general, and refugees in particular. The numbers of the latter is fairly small in comparison with other countries of the European Union.

Historical and social context – immigrants in post-Socialist Romania and the status of refugees

The ethnic minorities in Romania are usually divided in two categories – the historical minorities (who have been living on Romanian territory before the Second World War) and the "recent" minorities, people who arrived during the Socialist period and, more often, after 1989.

Some of these immigrants came to Romania as foreign students during the Socialist period and chose to stay (usually following marriages with locals) or returned with their mixed families from their birth countries after the beginning of war conflicts (especially from Irak and Syria). Other migrants, mostly of Turkish, Arab and Chinese origin, came for business opportunities after 1989.

After the relative growth of the number of migrants, especially after Romania joined NATO and the EU, foreign citizens started to encounter difficulties in finding jobs. Immigrants, especially of Arab origin, face permanent discrimination, especially on the labor market:

> Trying to show the nature of the problems, an Arab citizen invites me to talk to a potential employer from a commercial center, who, after I explained that the respective person doesn't need additional papers, told me: "you know how these foreigners are. They always make trouble. If I get an inspection and they find Iraki employees, what do I do? How do I explain it? They will fine me for sure, I won't be able to cover the fine with a month's salary! I don't want to complicate my situation. If you are so sure that they don't need extra-papers, find someone else to do charity for them (Guga 2011, 85, own translation).

Therefore, the problems on the labor market and discrimination make the immigrants more vulnerable in relation to the employers, having only two options: to diminish their wage demands, becoming a precarious workforce, or to find employers of similar ethnicity and/or religion.

> A Romanian never hires an Arab unless the Arab is desperate and accepts working for nothing. And what can we do? That's why Arabs don't work for

Romanians – because they don't want to hire us (E, Iraqi citizen – Guga 2011, 87, own translation).

This situation, which apparently looks like a cultural problem, is actually functioning perfectly in the interest of capital (which benefits from a cheaper and more vulnerable workforce) and against the local workforce (disadvantaged by comparison with the immigrants who are forced to accept worse working conditions).This problem, which is currently rather small in Romania, is rampant in the Western countries, where precarious migrant workers are ubiquitous. As the Romanian artist Veda Popovici ironically noticed, a good part of this migrant workforce from some Western countries consists of Romanian workers, who face similar problems to those of the immigrants in Romania.

The Romanian citizens represent an awkward category of "foreigners" for the West. Never European enough, never civilized enough, never white enough. This representation is already applied, on a different level, to non-European persons in Western Europe. The Romanian public sphere borrowed this representation, forcing an apparent distance between the Romanian migrant abroad and the non-European migrant in Romania. But the two situations are not very much different (Popovici 2014, np, own translation).

The prejudices which affect the foreign citizens, especially the Arab and/or Muslim citizens, are also the direct consequence of the genuinely racist media assault coming from the Western media. The discriminatory propaganda, disseminated more aggressively after the 9/11 attacks in New York City, has been adopted without any critical reflection by a Romanian media which propagates the same stereotypes:

Also, they [the interviewed migrants] consider that the Arabs are constantly discriminated through the Romanian media channels, being often called "suspicious", "terrorist" etc. This situation was perpetuated over time, influencing the negative Romanian public opinion towards the Arabs, and thus allowing their depiction as scape-goats, "judged without the presumption of innocence" (Guga 2011, 88, own translation).

In this context, when the immigrants face a relatively high degree of discrimination, the situation of the asylum seekers and stateless persons is even more difficult. According to the generally accepted definitions, a refugee is "A person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to the respective country." (Advocat.ro 2007, np, own translation) The persons who are in such situations enter Romania sometimes legally (usually with a tourist visa), but more often "illegally," crossing the border. They usually deliver themselves to the authorities and ask for refugee status. While their application is being analyzed, they are placed in Centers for Hosting and Procedures for Asylum Seekers. They are allowed to leave these centers during daytime, but have to come back at night. They receive a minimum benefit, consisting of cosmetics, cloths and a symbolical amount for food (around 1 euro per day). During the asylum procedure, the refugees are not allowed to work. Beginning with 2007 (the year Romania joined the EU), the visa procedures, as well as the conditions for receiving a form of protection in Romania, became harsher following the directions of the European Union. Increased border security was one of the main requests for admission in the EU. Therefore, even though the Geneva Convention clearly states that no state should "expel or return a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened" (General [1951], 137), the experience of social workers who deal with refugee rights shows that only around 10 percent of the asylum applications are accepted annually in Romania. There were several cases, both in Romania and abroad, of returned foreign citizens who were subsequently arrested, persecuted or even murdered in their countries of origin.

The number of refugees in Romania is relatively low in comparison to other states, around 2000 persons. The majority of them come from countries

affected by violent and sectarian conflicts, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Syria, Libya and Palestine.

Although in theory they have almost the same rights as the other citizens (except for the political rights and the interdiction to return to their home-country), the situation of refugees is in reality much more complicated. The directions of the EU should protect them, but the law is usually interpretable and the bureaucracy ferocious. Even after earning the status of refugee, the refugees face the usual struggles of an immigrant: the language barriers, the prejudices of the natives, the difficulty to find work, the homesickness and the awareness of the fact that they might never see their home country again. This is especially true for the ones coming from areas of seemingly never-ending conflicts, such as Afghanistan or Somalia.

A Romanian state which, as a refugee told me with bitter humor, is not able to take care of or create jobs for, its own citizens, seems totally unprepared to face the refugee situation, considered a minor issue in the current economical-political situation.

The situation of the refugees is by definition a vulnerable one. They are never full citizens of a state, the carry with them the affliction of dislocation, their lives are permanently defined and directed by the bureaucratic apparatus of the nation states and by geo-political conflicts. Their mere belonging to an ethnic, religious or sexual category makes them targets in their own countries, but doesn't exempt them at all from discrimination and precarity in the adopted country.

> The refugees are the scourge of nations, the persons who break up the foundation of nationalism, defined by the adherence to one people, one territory, one culture and set of traditions. The refugees are the ones who "don't belong" – and for them, special laws were issued, institutions and agencies were founded, shelters were built. (...) For them, such concepts as "human rights" are always interpretable, according to the interests of the ones who use them" (Guga 2014, 8, own translation).

Therefore, beyond the humanitarian problem of the refugee situation, the examination of these perspectives sets the frame for a broader historical-political reflection, about the dynamics of the global capitalist system, about the relation and inter-dependence between the Euro-Atlantic power core and the various peripheries and semi-peripheries of the world, about the effects of the imperial and expansionist policies disguised as "wars in the name of democracy", about the West's "new racism" (Balibar 1991, 20) that reframes the "foreigner".

"Euro-centrism" and "Orientalism" – Western racist discourse copycatted in the Romanian context

In order to explain and frame more precisely the empirical situations encountered during the working process, as well as the historical-political origins of the racist discourses and behavior, I feel a short analysis of the West-East (or West-rest-of-the-world) dynamics in the capitalist (post-Renaissance) period is required. In this frame, I consider very useful the concepts of "Euro-centrism" and "Orientalism", theorized by two Arab authors, the Egyptian political economist Samir Amin and the Palestinian-American literature theorist Edward Said.

Following the shift of the economical power core of the world from the Far East (China) and Middle East (Central Asia, the Arab Caliphate) towards Western Europe (the Italian cities, the Dutch cities, the British Empire) in the fifteenth century, Western Europe became quite suddenly the main economical, political and cultural force. But its development will inevitably depend on the promotion, by any means, of the "superiority" of the Western "civilization" and (white) race over all the others. The genocide of the indigenous populations, the colonizing of the other continents, the enslavement of Africans and indigenes could not find their theological-philosophical justification in the absence of this frame. Therefore, a rewriting of the whole history of history, science, culture and

the arts was undertaken in order to confirm the exceptionalism of the European "civilization". This vision is called by Amin "Euro-centrism" (Amin 2009, np).

As Amin rightfully observes, once the West acquired superior military and economical capacities, it also arrogated to itself the right to represent others, to categorize and judge them. This action is called "Orientalism", defined as "a political vision of reality that promotes the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'we') and the unknown (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (Said 1994, 43). According to Said, the Orient was perceived as a territory, a civilization, a culture which, if not inferior, at least one requiring correction from the West: "The Orient was viewed as if framed by the classroom, the criminal court, the prison, the illustrated manual. Orientalism, then, is knowledge of the Orient that places things Oriental in class, court, prison, or manual for scrutiny, study, judgement, discipline, or governing" (Said 1994, 41).

Of course, this vision didn't relate only to the (Far) East, but basically to all the non-Western territories, including, in literature for example, to the mythical Romanian-Hungarian Transylvania, projected in the mind of British writer Bram Stoker as the unknown, wild territory of the vampire Dracula. Furthermore, this vision established the basis for the racial theories of the 18th to 19th centuries, when some pseudo-scientific research proclaimed the absolute superiority of the Western European white (Arian) race.

If the classical racism of the 19th century has been, in theory, generally dismantled and condemned in the Western area, the new era of decolonization and post-Nazism managed to invent new forms of racism, what Ettiene Balibar calls "Neo-racism". This new racism is no longer based on "scientific" arguments, but on "geographic" or "cultural" ones:

> It is a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity, but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups of peoples in relation to others but "only" the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles

and traditions; in short, it is what P. A. Taguieff has rightly called a *differentialist* racism (Balibar 1991, 21).

This racism is characteristic of the post-colonial period, when the migration wave was reversed and Europe became, from the main emigration zone, the main "target" for immigrants. Therefore, the immigrants became the main victims of the Western racism. This "differentialist" racism which promotes the "impossibility" of cohabitation between cultures and the lack of will/capacity of a certain "culture" to "integrate" into the Western culture is by no means a new concept. It was also conceived in the 19th century and on similar Orientalist bases in the form of Anti-Semitism: "A racism which does not have the pseudo-biological concept of race as its main driving force has always existed, and it has existed at exactly this level of secondary theoretical elaborations. Its prototype is Anti-Semitism" (Balibar 1991, 23).

This continuity is super-obvious in the case of Arabphobia and Islamophobia, which operate with arguments perfectly similar to the Anti-Semitic ones, and fall under the same "Orientalist" view that frames the (Oriental) foreigner as fundamentally different and unable to assimilate.

The Romanian context is a particular one. On one hand, the Romanian Principalities were placed geographically in Central Europe, but culturally, at least until the 19th century, Moldova and Wallachia were under major Oriental influence. The Orthodox religion is an Oriental one *par excellence*, the alphabet used until the 18th century was the Cyrillic and the Western calendar was adopted only in the 19th century. On the other hand, the rediscovery and valorization of the Latin basis of the Romanian language was part of the nation-state project, generated the idea of a Latin (therefore Occidental) island in a Slavic (Oriental) sea and thus enhanced the entry of the Romanian Principalities (and subsequently of Romania) under Western political and cultural influence. The pro-Western choice was definitely a strategic one, aimed to protect the Romanian countries

from the two main local expansionist Empires (the Czarist and the Ottoman). But the pro-Latin agenda that supported the re-Latinizing of the language and culture was mostly successful in the long term – most Romanians feel closer to Western Europe, which has become a sort of economic, cultural and political "role model".

Nevertheless, for the West, Romania is still largely a mysterious Oriental state in all respects – from the permanent historical and geographical confusions of many Westerners (the idea that Romania was part of the USSR, the confusion between Bucharest and Budapest etc.) to the racist discourse and actions of most European states towards Romanian immigrants – the anti-worker campaigns and laws in the U.K., the expulsions of the Romanian Roma immigrants from France, the racist attacks in Italy etc.

In this framework, when it is more and more evident that the EU is a non-egalitarian structure that works for the benefits of the Central and Northern European states, in which the position of Romania is a marginal, submissive one, a big part of the Romanian intellectual and political elite still "identifies" itself with the West in a continuous process of self-colonization. This elite keeps praising "Western civilization", always in anti-thesis with the "primitivism", "barbarism", more recently "Communism", of the Romanian popular classes.

Historically, Romanian intellectuals have manifested a blatant anti-Semitism since the 19th century, occasionally influenced by "Oriental" religious (Orthodox) views, but more often founded on the same Western Orientalist principles of "non-assimilation" and "parasitism" of the Jews. The examples of Romanian Anti-Semite intellectuals and politicians are widespread.[2] Here is a relevant fragment of a Parliamentary discourse by the national poet and politician

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[2] For a comprehensive description of the Antisemitism of the Romanian elite, see Carol Iancu, *Evreii din România 1866-1918: de la excludere la emancipare* [Jews in Romania 1866-1918: from Exclusion to Emancipation] (Iancu 1996) or Leon Volovici, *Ideologia naţionalistă şi problema evreiască. Eseu despre formele antisemitismului intelectual în România anilor `30* [The Nationalist Ideology and the Jewish Problem. Essay on the various forms of intelectual Anti-Semitism in Romania in the `30s] (Volovici 1995).

Vasile Alecsandri, from 1879, which is relevant for the similarities with differentialist Western Anti-Semitism: "What is this new invasion? Who are these invaders? (...) they are the supporters of the blindest religious fanaticism, the most exclusivist of all the inhabitants of the earth, the most incapable of assimilation in other nations" (Iancu 1996, 240, own translation).

While in the Socialist period, the racist discourse was officially forbidden (though the ethnic discrimination of Jews and Hungarians became more and more common in the later years of the regime), in the post-1989 period racism became more and more widespread in the public sphere. The Anti-Semitic attacks, meanwhile, largely condemned in the Western world after the Holocaust, were rather scarce and instrumented mostly by the extreme right. But, in the general context of Anti-Roma racist discourse visible all over Western Europe, following the post-socialist emigration process, the racist attacks against the Roma communities became widespread among Romanian intellectuals and politicians.

The most shocking Anti-Roma declarations came from Adrian Cioroianu, otherwise a respected historian and Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time. He proposed no less than confining Roma offenders into concentration camps in North-Africa:

> These people should not be placed in common cells with TV sets. They should be forced to the hardest labor and put in disciplinary battalions. (...) I was in the middle of the desert [in Egypt] and I was thinking if we could buy land in the Egyptian desert to relocate these people who are a disgrace to us (Blagu 2007, own translation).

The quote is relevant from the frightening perspective of the comparison with the Nazi camps, organized similarly on foreign land by the Romanian state (in occupied Pridnestrovie), but also from the Orientalist perspective. In Cioroianu's imaginary, the territory that is most suitable for Roma "offenders" is the Arab-African Maghreb. One would have difficulties imagining Cioroianu placing his camps, for example, in the Finnish tundra.

Another interesting case is the one of another respected Romanian historian, Lucian Boia, who, aiming to analyze the "problem" of the relation between Romanians and the Roma minority, formulates similar "Orientalist" stereotypes: the Roma are presented as a homogenous mass of "uncivilized" people, who live by their own rules and resist assimilation: "To equal "Gypsy" with "criminal" is definitely abusive. But it is equally true that they live in a world of their own, where the constraints of the modern world do not apply" (Boia 2007, 240, own translation).

Boia is also the prototype for the intellectual "in love" with "Western" culture, obsessed with the danger of "the End of the West". He even published a book with the same title, which is rife with Euro-centrist ideas, some of them simply hilarious: "The planetary civilization today is the Western civilization, absorbed and adapted, of course, in different ways. The others [non-Westerners] didn't invent anything essential: from the electric bulb to democracy, everything came out of the Western laboratory. We can ask ourselves where would we have been without the West? Who knows? Perhaps America wouldn't have been discovered" (Boia 2013, 28-29, own translation).

In the post-socialist period, this rudimentary neo-racism promoted by the intellectual, pro-European elites, together with the Western (North-American) and local media propaganda, joined the traditional popular fear of the "other", of the "different". The quasi-totality of our meetings with Arab, African and Muslim immigrants confirms the discriminatory and humiliating behaviors these people were subject to in relation with common men and women, but also with the authorities.

The Research Process and the Elaboration of the Text "Born in the Wrong Place". The Problem of "Representation" vs. the Vulnerability of the Refugees.

The preliminary research period on the situation and problems of refugees had several components: a series of interviews, informal discussions and meetings with refugees and former refugees; meetings and discussions with sociologists and social workers involved in collaborations with migrants and refugees; and reading and checking several materials that refer to the situation of refugees, from national and European legislation, to various studies and testimonies regarding the violence and abuses suffered by these groups.

From the first meetings, we confronted a problem that was going to be at the core of our actions: most of the asylum seekers are afraid to talk publicly because of their volatile status. Even refugees – and refugees who became Romanian citizens – are reluctant to openly discuss their struggles and voicing their opinions, still feeling "foreign" and vulnerable, and afraid of the Romanian authorities and the public opinion. In most cases, refugees prefer to find individual solutions or to ask for help from specialized NGOs.

Several problems similar with the ones of the Afghani refugees in Tajikistan have been confirmed by the research process: the opacity and racism of the authorities, the exasperating bureaucracy, the lack of help and cooperation from many locals, and the difficult economic situation, in the context of an impoverished semi-peripheral state. Beyond these social problems, that will emerge also in the text, we encountered several humane, psychological and communitarian problems, that enabled us to reflect on a series of fundamental questions often ignored by non-refugees: what is the significance of "Fatherland"? Where is the place where one feels "at home"? How does it feel to leave separated from your parents, brothers, relatives and closest friends? What is the sensation when you know you will never see your birth-place again? What is the impact of

religion, ethnicity, nationality and geography over one's destiny? These are questions that also certainly rise in the minds of the millions of Romanians who left to work abroad, but which are even more striking for the refugees. In this context, we felt the need to also introduce in the text the story of a Romanian who personally suffered the experience of exile. After several discussions, we chose to interview a Jewish lady from Bucharest, who took refuge in Uzbekistan during the Fascist period.

During the research, we became more and more interested in the relation between the micro-histories of everyday struggles of these people and the global macro-history of the major geopolitical conflicts. The majority of refugees come from territories affected by armed conflicts. Generally, the local Romanian perspective towards these conflicts is neutral, uninvolved, or even a positive one (the thesis of "war for peace" according to which the wars held by NATO and the US, together with their allies, including Romania, are "just" wars, that will enable the "democratization" and "civilization" of third world countries). Therefore, it became very important to us to transmit the perspective of the victims of these wars.

Also, during the time of research, studying several laws, manuals and reports, we became more aware of a contrast which will structure the play: the fundamental opposition between the "letter of law" (the rights of individuals, as they are stipulated by various international and national laws) and the concrete, real situation of the persons affected by these laws.

From the beginning we aimed to write a text based on personal histories, eventually transmitted through the verbatim method. During the research process we faced the problems of "representation" and lack of "self-representation" of the refugees more strongly. From the discussions with them, and with several other activists for refugees' rights, the main problem they face is the ignorance and insufficient media exposure of their struggles. The cultural or civic events of

several groups of refugees are, most of the time, strictly communitarian events that do not reach the majority of the population. The activity of the organizations that work with refugee rights, even when it is well-intentioned, faces the lack of funding, and focuses mainly on resolving concurrent concrete problems of the refugees. As a direct consequence, the majority of the population is completely unfamiliar with the struggles, the situation and the life-stories of the refugees.

Therefore, the idea of a text (and a performance) which made these struggles and stories visible seemed to us an urgent matter. At the same time, the research process made it clear that at least for the time being, a project of self-representation (i.e., a play performed by the refugees themselves) would have been difficult to realize and ethically problematic. This is the case, on one hand, because the vast majority of these people do not want to expose themselves in public and, on the other hand, because we wanted to avoid by all means the feeling of a "zoo", inevitable when publicly exposing a social and ethnic group perceived as "exotic" for a middle class audience. This idea was also emphasized by Bashar Al-Kishawi, one of the refugees who collaborated with us during the whole process: "When you talk to a person, he will tell you his story in an intimate environment, but if you put him in front of the public, I think he will run away and he will think that the people look at him like a monkey in the zoo" (Fifea 2013, 6-7, own translation).

We chose a variant of verbatim text written to be performed by actors, in which we aimed to transmit, as truthfully and completely as possible, the perspectives, stories and opinions of refugees from different countries, of different ages and sexes. The selection of the stories was based mainly on the willingness of the people to discuss details and experiences, and their approval to have their stories performed in a theatre play. We chose a structure of alternate monologues, based on five personal stories: a Palestinian born in Kuwait, who came to Romania in 1991 as a student and was compelled to stay because of an

interdiction to return to Kuwait; a Serbian woman who took refuge in Romania together with her husband and children, following the Kosovo war; an Iraqi Christian woman, who fled the war and religious persecutions which began after the occupation of Iraq by the US; the story of the old Jewish woman who took refuge in Soviet Uzbekistan, during the Fascist regime; and the story of Ahmad, the young Afghani we met in Tajikistan. The five stories have many things in common – the escape from war, the ethnic and religious persecution, the dismantling of families and impossibility to return "home", the embracement of a new "Motherland", perceived as their own country, but where the people are still perceived as "foreign", the bureaucracy and lack of basic rights in the "adoptive" states. The stories are alternated in the text and even though the narration jumps from Kuwait to Serbia, from Uzbekistan to Romania, and from 1940 to 2010, the five story-tellers narrate somehow the same story: a sort of universal story of refuge, in which the lives of millions of persons could mirror, each with their own particular experience, but all united by the same struggles. The text mixes experiences and memories from the home country of each person with experiences from the Romanian context, including the local bureaucracy and the every-day interactions.

One last common element, that surprisingly emerged in the research process, and that we eventually included in the final version of the text was the relation of several refugees to the Romanian Roma minority. Though, in theory, it would seem that someone who personally experienced discrimination would be more open towards other ethnic groups, from the discussions with several migrants came out all kinds of stereotypes and prejudices towards Roma. Many were enforced by negative personal experiences (minor conflicts with aggressive Roma men, beggars or fellow workers), but several generalizations and prejudices were only borrowed without reflection from the mass-media discourse or from other non-Roma Romanians. Finally, we decided to introduce these fragments in

the play as a counterpoint, meant to reverse the context for a moment, in order to see that (some of the) discriminated persons can also become discriminators. It was important for us to state, on one hand, the fact that national racial stereotypes are so strong that they are easily assumed by non-Romanians too, and on the other hand, that no person, regardless of the discrimination he/she suffers, is free from behaving discriminatorily in other contexts. This fragment will prompt some of the most intense debates during the post-performance talks and create proper circumstances for pointing out that anybody, including us, the artists, can become oppressive in certain contexts and that permanent self-examination is always necessary.

The first draft of the text was ready at the end of 2011. We would have to wait more than a year until the national premiere in Bucharest.

"Migration Stories" – Project for Making Visible the Stories and Struggles of Refugees. The Involvement and Collaboration Between Artists and Storytellers in the Creative Process

The project "Migration Stories", developed in 2013 and funded by the Ministry of Culture, consisted in the developing of the theatre performance "Born in the Wrong Place" and 9 representations of the respective piece, performed in Bucharest and in two other cities that hold Centers for Hosting and Procedures for Asylum Seekers.

All the performances were followed by debates with the public, conceived as part of the event, in which the artists, refugees and large audience discussed the main subject and problems reflected in the play. All the performances had free access for the public. In total, over 1000 people attended the events.

The main goals of the project were: the promotion in the public agenda and the debate of the struggles of refugees; and the critical analysis, in a public frame, of the geo-political power relations that structure the contemporary

capitalist world-system. I will further refer to the work process of developing the performance itself.

The process had several stages: choosing the casting; a second period of research, done together with the actors; the elaboration of the concept of the performance; the rehearsals; a series of public rehearsals and feed-back sessions, in which refugees and other migrants took part, including those whose stories are part of the text. The work of production, directing and dramaturgy was shared by Monica Marinescu and myself.

Together with the actors and actresses we started a second phase of the research process, part of which consisted of each of them meeting the person whose life story they were going to transmit in the performance. The actor that was going to tell the story of Ahmad met with him through online means. During the discussions with the story-tellers, the actors found further details from their biography, discussed the performance and how the refugees saw a performance about their life-stories, recorded interviews that laid the base for an updated enriched version of the text. Besides this, some of them really became friends and spent time together. Besides these meetings, the performers also researched the historical, geographical, political and economic context of the story-tellers' lives, trying to deepen the understanding of their personal experiences, but also the geo-political background. Part of the research and learning process, we also held several theoretical discussions and practical exercises regarding the life-experiences of refugees. The research process has been, for the performers, as well as for us, one of permanent learning and self-education on topics which are rather invisible in the Romanian context.

From the beginning we aimed, as much as possible, to avoid the exterior elements that could bring the feeling of "strangeness" and "exoticism". Therefore, we aimed to find visual and sound solutions as neutral as possible, to move away from any ethnic-folkloric, exoticizing landmark. We decided that the only obvious

sign of "foreignness" should be the accent used in the Romanian language. We felt it was important that the performers tried to reproduce, as precise as possible, the accent, first as proof of respect for the persons who shared their stories, the accent being a distinction pertaining to the personal manner of narration and interpretation of the world and not a linguistic/theatrical gimmick. For us it was very important that when the respective persons come to see the performance they would be able to recognize their "voice", like they would listen to an audio recording of their testimonies. At the same time, we needed the emotional distance, in the Brechtian sense, that would allow the spectator to remember from time to time that on the stage there are performers-story-tellers that transmit others' personal stories, and not "real refugees" or "interpreters". So, we chose to alternate moments when one performer tells a personal story of a refugee with interventions of a "choir" when all five performers tell fragments of one of the stories together, borrowing the respective accent. In this way, we tried to make clear the fact that the performers are collectively telling histories that are generally kept silent, and do not assume, or steal, the identity of the real persons.

A very important situation in the rehearsals relates to the part in which several refugees talk about the Roma in a stereotypical manner. In the text, that moment is followed by a fragment from the Romanian Constitution, quoted in the guide for obtaining Romanian citizenship, which states that "Romania is the home country of all its citizens, regardless of their race, nationality, ethnic background, language, religion, sex, opinion, political views, wealth or social origin." (Constituția 1990, np, own translation) One of the actors, Andrei Şerban, a Roma performer, involved in Roma rights activism, insisted on being the one who would read the respective fragment in the show. And he read it in a virulent, vehement manner, straight towards the public, aiming to stop the discriminatory debate, and, ideally, to shake the prejudices of the spectators too, reminding them of the principles on which, theoretically, the Romanian state is based. This kind of

gesture is very meaningful from my point of view, as it states the difference between the "interpreter-actor" who "plays" the role, better or worse, and the activist-performer who believes 100% in the intentions and aims of the performance and who states his political views in every play.

The Involvement of the Refugees in the Working Process and their Opinions about the Performance

As stated by Edward Said, the main characteristic of Orientalism is the wish (and power) of the West to "represent" the Orient, to be the one that names and defines what and how is the "Oriental". Therefore, even though we, as Romanians and Eastern-Europeans, and furthermore, as a group of partly minority artists, are rather far from the Western privileges, the danger of assuming the right to "represent" others, especially a group as vulnerable and excluded as the refugees, is still there. Even though we aimed to avoid such an approach as much as possible, the decisive test, from our team's point of view, was not only the confrontation of our work with groups of refugees, but firstly with the ones whose stories are part of the show. Our intention was to receive feedback and collaborate with them during the rehearsals. The most receptive to this approach was Bashar Al-Kishawi, who took part in the rehearsals, photo-documented the shows, translated the play into Arabic, promoted the show in the Palestinian community, and also for a broader audience: "The fact that I live here, in Romania, for 22 years and the fact that I lived separated from my parents, that I haven't seen them for 16-17 years, this was the main reason to get involved so deep [in the project], because there are probably many people like me." (Fifea 2013, 6-7, own translation)

Bashar also proposed that the person who would tell his story in the performance be called Selim, in the memory of his uncle who, when was fired from work in Kuwait because of his Palestinian origin, killed himself: "I

translated the text into Arabic, and regarding the name of my character, I wanted him to be called Selim. I wanted to pay an homage to a man that I very much respected and who, when facing a situation similar with my own, took his life. I learnt a lot from my uncle, he was an extraordinary person" (Fifea 2013, 6-7, own translation).

Of course, Bashar's proposal was more than welcome, and thus the performance earned a new dimension, at the human and social level, of an homage to the silent victims of ethnic discrimination. Therefore, the theatre experience became much more than plain "representation", an experience of artists and story-tellers sharing and expressing their perspectives. As Helen Nicholson (2014) also observes, our shared experience was one of gift-giving and exchange. Bashar's participation, though not embodied, was active and meaningful, at the most personal level.

The level of involvement of each story-teller refugee was different, from the complete involvement of Bashar, who practically became a member of the team, to the lower level involvement of others. All story-tellers who have seen the show had similar reactions, guided first by the emotion of recognizing their own life stories, re-transmitted in a respectful and faithful manner. Bashar remembers in an interview: "I was hearing my story and closing my eyes, trying to live again those moments (...) I had a unique sentiment, like I was watching pictures from my childhood or a very old video. This experience is very real. There are parts of the play when you can see me crying" (Fifea 2013, 6-7, own translation).

Mrs. Eschenazy, the former Uzbekistan refugee, recalls similar impressions, telling me, during an informal discussion that "it is incredible the sentiment you have when seeing your whole life in front of your eyes". For Sonia Ivanov, the Serbian refugee, the most important part is the political-educational goal, of telling real hard life stories: "People have to see the other side of life too, not only the nice parts. The nice parts cover the ugly ones, but in life there is more

ugliness. People who only want to see nice theatre are people who are afraid of life, afraid of the truth" (Marinescu 2013, 8-9, own translation).

Bashar, too, considers the educational component the most important, both for the broader audience and for the asylum seekers themselves:

> I believe that, beyond the artistic part, any story, any movie, any play has to make you think and have an educational goal. (...) Among asylum seekers and refugees there are people who are afraid. (...) and it is good to see the play, in order to know that it is their right, as human beings, to live under safe conditions (Fifea 2013, 6-7, own translation).

Beyond the common educational goals, each storyteller has a personal aim for which they share their life experiences. Often enough, for the refugees the aim focuses on a traumatic experience they want to make public, because it is silenced, because they feel they have experienced injustice and/or because they want to prevent similar things from happening.

For Mrs. Eschenazy, the main goal of her personal story is not so much related to the persecution of her family and her refugee, and more to the present-day, struggles – she was forced to enter a Senior Home, after she was violently and abruptly evicted from her house in Bucharest. For her, this part of her story in the show was the main emotional trigger.

For Ms. Ivanov, the main aim relates to the trauma of war: "For me, it is very important to talk about the war, I lived my whole live in war. I don't want to stay silent, I want to state that the war is a catastrophe which destroys not only individuals, but an entire people. I always say: May God see to it that no country goes through what my country went through!" (Marinescu 2013, 8-9, own translation).

For Bashar, the main problem at a personal level relates to his Palestinian identity, heavily oppressed internationally, and to the impossibility to visit Gaza, the land where his grandparents lived and died:

> I liked it that you chose a lady of Jewish origin in the play alongside me, a Palestinian. I was very impressed by her story and wanted to meet her. Because, beyond the Holocaust, her story as a human being is very meaningful. I liked it when she said that she didn't want to go neither to Palestine, nor to Israel (...) If all the Jewish population would have been like her, probably (...) we, my parents and others, wouldn't have been forced to leave their country (Fifea 2013, 6-7, own translation).

From the opinions of the people involved, one can extract the fact that the performance was successful in transmitting not just the exact words, superficially, but rather their points of view, the perspectives that they share and find important and which need to be voiced. From this point of view, in my opinion the text and the performance succeeded in their initial goal – building a frame in which the stories of refugees will be transmitted as authentic as possible, complete and in detail, though mediated and reassembled through the filter of the artistic team.

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Mentality X:

Jugendtheaterbüro Berlin and its Theatrical Space for Urban Youth of Color

by Azadeh Sharifi

"Sie sagen Moslem gleich Terrorist, ich zeige Dir was Terror ist.
NSU, NSA, Rollenscheiß, Blackface.
Dicker, Trauer ändert nichts
Mentalität, Malcolm X, Kopf runter, Faust hoch
Unsere Wut ist haushoch!!" [1]

Introduction

Back in 2008, I was working on my dissertation and while only working theoretically is not always fulfilling, I decided to help out in a youth theatre who were looking for some volunteers. The youth theatre which called itself, at that time, *Jugendtheaterwerkstatt* (youth theatre center) was placed in the margins of Berlin – or that was how I perceived it. Although on the map Moabit is part of the centre of Berlin, the district is conceived of as a periphery of the city. The inhabitants of Moabit are mainly migrant workers or migrants who are part of the lower class. The children and young adults who participated in the theatre were migrants of the second generation; their families came from Lebanon, Palestine and ex-Yugoslavia. They were born and raised in Germany but the experience of their parents of violence and war and being stateless and refugees was part of their

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1 "They say Muslim equals Terrorist, I'll show you what terror is. NSU, NSA, stereotypes, Blackface. Sorrow doesn't help a thing, Malcolm X mentality, head down, fist high, our anger is rising up." Refrain from the HipHop-song "MentatlitätX" by Jaydonjam.

perception of the world. Another important aspect of their experience was being seen by society as outsiders, criminals and social welfare benefiters. When I met them, most of them had experienced discrimination on different levels. The spiral of violence which surrounded them was part of their personal stories; institutional and structural racism was part of their everyday life.

Ahmed Shah, a theatre artist from the UK, and his then assistant and later theatre pedagog, Cigir Ozyürt, had the same experience of structural and institutional racism during their own child- and adulthood. They founded the theatre and embraced the experience of the youth of color by trying to transform these stories to empower them and give them a possibility of expressing themselves. When I joined the group, they had already created their second piece, a play called "Der Sprung" ("The Jump") which had three different threads of a story. The play started in a school room where the students were harassed by their teacher for being not German, they jumped to Dschenin where they met with Juliano Mer Kamis from Freedom Theatre, and finally go to the life of Hedy Epstein, a Holocaust survivor who dedicated her life to the Palestine-Israel-freedom-movement. The triangular story created a sum, an idea of where the young adults got their inspiration from and whom they saw as empowering individuals. The play was invited to different places in Berlin but it was also invited to schools in the Western part of Germany. The "tour" to three different cities became afterwards a legend among the young adults because it gave them a sense how important and appreciated their work was. After their performances the young actors would sit on the stage and talk about their work and the teachers and other students would listen to them. The way they talked about themselves and their experiences, but also about the artistic work and how it helped them to understand and appreciate their own abilities, was very powerful.

A few years later, after I already had finished my PhD about representation and self-representation of migrants in the German state theatre, they contacted me

again. They asked me to do a workshop with the young adults where I would share my academic expertise to demask structural and institutional racism in German theatre and encourage the teenagers to use this knowledge for criticizing the system in their performances. This was the point where I got involved again in the work of the *Jugendheaterbüro Berlin* and learned how many different artistic methods and also political instruments they had developed to endow the young adults of color with the ability speak for themselves through music, mainly HipHop, theatre and art. Their work is exceptional on a practical but also on a theoretical basis. They claim to be inspired not only through the artistic but also the political notions of HipHop, rooted in the Black Power movement in the US. This can be obviously seen in their names for their spaces ("TheaterX"), their narratives ("GenossenschaftX") and aesthetics ("MentalitätX").

In this article, I am going to look into the work of *Jugendheaterbüro Berlin* as theatrical and public political spaces of empowerment for urban youth of color. In analyzing how they claimed these spaces, and have created narratives and aesthetics, I want to reflect how their work has reshaped the image of the youth of color and challenged the cultural institutions in Berlin.

Otherness, Urban youth of color and the arts

Otherness is the result of a discursive process where the in-group or majority constructs an outer-group or minority in order to distinguish – real or imagined – differences between the self and the other. The Other is fundamental to the constitution of the self. Bhabha argues that 'fixity', "as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism", is an important feature of the construction of otherness. It implies rigidity and a fixed order as well as disorder. Stereotype as its main discursive strategy, is "a form of knowledge and identification" that oscillates between what is always ''in place', already known, and something that must be fixed (Bhabha 1983, 18).

In the creation of nation identity the fixed order of the "imagined political community" (Anderson 2006, 6) relies on the very notions of the Other as the counterpart. In recent decades, in Europe and its inconsistent European nations racialized minorities, migrants and refugees serve as the personification of non-Europeanness and a unifying threat. The German government, for example, has still not succeeded in facing the social reality of its nation. Germany has for most of its time denied being a country of immigration and is still struggling with it. To everyone's surprise, the conservative cabinet of Angela Merkel has recently opened Germany's borders to refugees from Syria although it is closing them again since the overwhelming right-wing radicalization of the population, particularly in Eastern Germany, has made them step back from their progressive program. Race and religion function as central but largely invisible factors. While race is a highly problematic category entailed from Germany's history of Third Reich, it is still not diminished and still serves as the main right of citizenship (*ius sangius*). Hence indications of structural racism like racial profiling are still legal German police procedure, although in 2012 a court decision opened a controversial public debate.[2] Religion, on the other hand, has been part of the political and media debates, while most German citizens would call themselves non-religious and the debates do not involve their "own" religion. It is rather created around the very old European debate of the threat of Islam (Said 2003, 59). The German debate circles around the demonization of Islam and the fetishized idea of the Muslim's religion not being part of the German national identity. It is worth mentioning that only 5 percent of the German population identify themselves as Muslims.

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2 In Germany racial profiling, the act of suspecting or targeting a person of a certain race based on a stereotype about their race, is not explicitly clarified by the law and jurisdiction. In 2012 the court in Koblenz, Rheinland-Pfalz ruled over the case of a 25 year old Black German student, who had been controlled by police in a train without been given a reason. The court declared the actions *(Verwaltungsgericht)* by the police legal, but was later overruled by a higher court (Oververwaltungsgericht Rheinland-Pfalz) for violating the anti-discrimination provisions in Art. 3 GG and the General Equal Treatment Act of 2006. (TAZ 2012)

The more obvious debate is around "integration," where on one side there is a demand that migrants integrate into the German *Leitkultur*. Despite this postulation, the migrants are never fully allowed to integrate into the nation through different kinds and levels of exclusion — while simultaneously being accused of denying the 'offers of integration'. Exclusion happens discursively through the long-lasting ascription as *Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund* (person with migration heritage) and legally through the denial of citizenship which reinforces structural racism like unequal access to labor market, social services, etc (Liebig 2009).

In "European Others," Fatima El-Tayeb locates the consequence of the precarious position which migrants and their descendants take within the nation, as they are defined through an excess of movement while simultaneously experiencing an extreme lack of it.

> They are perceived as being in transit, coming from elsewhere, momentarily here, but without any roots in their host nation, living instead in a parallel society, refusing to either fully integrate or finally return. At the same time, the everyday life of this group is often shaped by severe limitations to its mobility, some of them economic, some legal, or more frequently a mixture of both. (El-Tayeb 2011, 23)

Especially the young adults of color are affected by Othering within the national identity. Under the guise of integration and the accusation of being integration-refusers, especially Muslims are seen as the disrupter in the German society.

Ilka Eickhof points out that within anti-Muslim racism, being a Muslim operates as a stigma (Eickhof 2010, 9). Arabic or Turkish names or what could look – in the literally sense – like a Muslim, i.e. non-White person, seems to be sufficient to feed the image of the criminal and aggressor male Muslim. Honor killing (*Ehrenmord*), being a member of Daesh (or any other terrorist Islamic groups) as well as sexist and homophobic notions seems to be inscribed in the

bodies of Muslim men. On the other hand, the female Muslim, or the women and girls with headscarves (*Kopftuchmädchen*), has become an established racist term for media and political debates about "oppressed" Muslim women in Germany. The term appeared initially in the book *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (Germany abolishes itself) by the Social Democratic party member Thilo Sarrazin, where he used pseudo-biological arguments to create the myth that the immigration of Muslims would have catastrophic aftermaths for Germany.[3]

But instruments of empowerment and self-empowerment were always found in the arts. Art has been a very successful tool for marginalized voices to be seen and heard. Fatima El-Tayeb has, for example, highlighted that Hip-Hop as a counter-strategy has become essential to the urban youth of color.

> The emergence of a continental hip-hop culture facilitated the move from a local to a translocal sense of community by pointing to commonalities that were not based on ethnic or national identifications or ascriptions, but rather on the common effects of racialized economic exclusion, on similar strategies of resistance in Europe's urban ghettos. (El-Tayeb 2011, 29)

Hip-hop has made a dialogue possible among and between minorities and it worked as a lingua franca that enabled minorities to explore their similarities beyond ethnic differences and language barriers.

> Hip-hop's appropriation in Europe allowed for the creation of a remarkably fluent movement that has engaged in the process of building a community that avoids the seemingly unavoidable retreat to an essentialism differentiating between "us" and "them"—not by denying that there are fundamental differences running through European societies, but by insisting that these differences can be named and dismantled. (El-Tayeb 2011, 29)

In the case of *Jugendtheaterbüro Berlin* not only Hip-Hop but also Theatre is a powerful source. Contemporary theatre is apparently often selected as a medium

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3 The Turkish Union in Berlin-Brandenburg filed a criminal complaint against Thilo Sarrazin at the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. In the opinion of the UN Anti-Racism Committee of 26 February 2013, Sarrazin's statements were racist and the UN Committee concluded that the Federal Republic of Germany had violated the Convention by letting Sarrazin spread Hate Speech.

to deal with issues (ethnic, cultural, religious, etc.) of the minority, to negotiate social injustice and discrimination or to present topics of general interest for discussion from the perspective of the marginalized. Theatre is a privileged place in which traumas of the past can be illuminated, in which the disposition of one´s own identity can be explored and challenged. Theatre can contribute to the catharsis (reactivation) of the crisis of the group´s collective identity and is thus a crucial space and a chance for the marginalized to make themselves seen. Theatre is also the space in which "pre-defined" identities in a historical, economic, social, or cultural context or in the context of colonialisation can be contested (Gonzalez 2010, XXII). *Jugendtheaterbüro Berlin* has contested these pr-defined identities through HipHop and Theatre which are forced on the urban youth of color by media, politics and society. They have intervened through musical and theatrical performances, interventions, occupations.

Creating theatrical and political spaces

A very profound shift in the work of *Jugendheaterbüro Berlin* took place when they got a space in the office-building of the *Reformationskirche Berlin-Moabit* (Church of Reformation). Space is in many ways a symptom for power struggle and the hegemonic order. In the case of *Jugendtheaterbüro*, space includes the geographical space, the safe place (or safe space) and also a theatrical and political space. Within the meaning of geographical space it enabled the *Jugendtheaterbüro* to have a regular place for the young adults of color to meet, have discussions and rehearsals or be together. Beside the geographical aspects the space became a safe discrimination-free space where experiences of everyday racism were excluded. Racism in this context is understood as "a social practice" (Hall 1989, 919), a differentiation which is based on "racist" characteristics. Racism makes it possible to "produce identity and to safeguard identification". It is a component of the consensus and consolidation achieved by one social group

in opposition to another group subordinate to it. In general, this is described by Hall as a construction of the "Other" (Hall 1989, 919). By stereotyping the "Other," the construction of a society seems homogeneous in which the "Other" does not fit. Racist ideologies always arise "when the production of significance is linked to power strategies, and these are used to exclude certain groups from cultural and symbolic resources" (Hall 1989, 913). These exclusion practices can often be traced back to a naturalisation, i.e. the depiction of certain cultural or social circumstances as natural characteristics. In this sense, the concept of race is understood as a social construct whose pseudo-biological classification structure is based on skin colour and other external characteristics like body shape, hair structure, etc., and is solely used to rationalize and justify unequal treatment.[4] *Jugendtheaterbüro Berlin* created a safe space where racial discrimination is deconstructed by the youngsters themselves and questioned in their everyday activities. There they can talk about their experiences and they will be heard, something they are not allowed in schools, in the public and in other art spaces.

And finally with their new space gave them the possibility to establish their artistic and political work. They define their Theatre as Community Theatre which uses the theatrical practises of Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed. Jugendtheaterbüro* uses those techniques and practises to educate themselves in ways of fighting against oppression in their daily lives. Boal says "theater is a weapon [...] a weapon of liberation" (Boal 1979, IX). The theatrical act by itself is a conscious intervention, a rehearsal of social action based on a collective analysis of shared problems of oppression.

While knowing that their own space would give them the possibility to create their art, they quickly realized that in order to be artistically and politically seen they need to go into already existing places and make their work seen by a

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4 Paul Gilroy describes this in the following way: "For me, 'race' refers primarily to an impersonal, discursive arrangement, the brutal result of the raciological ordering of the world, not its cause" (Gilroy 2005, 39).

wider audience. They started looking for support in State Theatres and established Cultural Institutions. And because they didn't want to be the "supplicators", they demanded, through different artistic interventions, access to "big theatres." After a few months of campaigning in front and inside of different theatres in Berlin like *Schaubühne* and *Deutsches Theater Berlin*, the cultural institution *Haus der Kulturen der Welt* offered them their space for a festival. *Jugendtheaterbüro Berlin* then decided to not only show their own work but to share this opportunity with other youth theatre groups. They created a youth theatre festival called *Festiwalla* which would have taken place over three days and where the young adults of color would be responsible for the whole process - from curating the festival to sound and light design. Unfortunately, *Haus der Kulturen der Welt* decided to take back their offer – mostly because their agreement was not to "surrender" their spaces to them. This decision enraged the group, and they started their now famous campaign *KulTür auf!*[5] where they demanded access to established cultural institution for young urban adults of color from disadvantaged suburbs. In their manifesto, they wrote:

> We know who we are. We heard it all. WE are the ones, you are talking about. WE are the foreigners/strangers, WE are the migrants, WE are the social welfare benefiters, WE are the urban youth without jobs, WE are the headscarf wearing Muslims, We are the problem cases, who are hamper your lives!It doesn't matter what name you give us you will never find the right stereotype for us!We are no longer willing to be patronized – not on stage, not on the street – nowhere! We want you to open the doors of the cultural temples called state theatres. WE want to have a stage for self-representation, WE want to have structural changes in the way the funding is distributed, so that the artistic work of the youth is regularly funded, WE want more artistic and social projects for the youth, WE want a remix of the German culture without discrimination and WE want access to the cultural production houses where we can we been trained and gain experience without fearing that we are mistreated because of our ethnicity, our skin or hair color, our gender and sexual orientation or our religion. Look at our talents/abilities and stop putting us in stereotype boxes! (Das Brennpunkt Manifest 2011, translated by the author)

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5 'Open the culture!' But it also means to open the doors.

While access meant, in their demand, to literally be part of the established institutions, they also postulated that in order to create access it also needs better funding, theatre spaces in the suburbs and the possibility of job training and experience within the cultural institutions. The protest and the campaign showed off and *Jugendtheaterbüro* literally occupied *Haus der Kulturen der Welt* for their festival. The first *Festiwalla* - a combination of the word "festival" and the Arabic word "walla" - became a great success because it was the first self-organized festival by young adults of color and it showed art productions by other young adults of color with their topics, narratives and aesthetics. Marie Güsewell has emphasized that the "big stage" of *Haus der Kulturen der Welt* can be seen as a bigger articulation space (Güsewell 2014) which, in the sense of Ranciere's stage metaphor for politics, becomes the "specific[...] space of visibility" (Rancière 2002, 37). Now *Festiwalla* takes place once a year and shows art from all around Germany.

Creating narratives and aesthetics

While spaces in the centre are important, the stories and practices of creating art define how they will be seen and heard. *Jugendtheaterbüro* is creating new and untold stories through their own aesthetics. In the past ten years, a new theatrical category called "postmigrant theatre" has been established, a very important inspiration.

For a long time, there seemed to be the need of a venue where a collective voice of marginalised artists could be heard; a place where perspectives and positions of artists of colour could be continuously staged and diaspora experiences and their narratives of displacement could find their own aesthetic. Shermin Langhoff and few other artists founded *Ballhaus Naunynstraße*, which is located in the heart of Kreuzberg, historically a district of immigration. Stuart Hall calls places like *Ballhaus Naunynstraße* "a very powerful and creative force in

emergent forms of representation amongst hitherto marginalised peoples" (Hall 1989, 223). It became a place of self-representation and new aesthetics for artists of colour. *Ballhaus Naunynstraße* was called by the founding artists "postmigrant theatre" since it showed "stories and perspectives of those who are not immigrated, but who have a migration background as a personal history and as a collective memory" (Langhof 2011, 400; translated by the author).

Initially, the term 'postmigrant' had been used by American academics to describe German-born authors whose work could not be denoted by their migration background (Haakh 2011, 3). The rationale of the concept was to dissociate them from the often racist use of the term 'migration' and, at the same time, to appropriate the discourse by self-definition. Post-migration does not refer to a historical period but is an analogy to the various 'post-' conditions of the twentieth century. As a theoretical term, it brings a critical notion to the discourse of migration (Lornsen 2007, 211).

Ballhaus Naunynstraße became well known internationally as a postmigrant theatre. They inspired other artists and practitioners to use the term of post-migration, for instance the European project *Europe Now!*, which is a collaboration of theatres dealing with Europe from postmigrant perspectives. Playwrights, directors and producers from five theatres – *Riksteatern* (Stockholm), *Talimhane Tiyatroso* (Istanbul), *eater RAST* (Amsterdam), *Arcola Theatre* (London) and *Ballhaus Naunynstrasse* – came together to develop new plays in dialogue with each other.

Ballhaus Naunynstraße is a very political theatre since the artistic productions have a huge impact on the German discourses of "migration and integration".[6] In this sense the artistic work of *Jugendtheaterbüro* emanates from postmigrant perspectives on society and arts. They use theatre as a *Sprachrohr*

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6 Nowadays the term postmigration is used by academia, media and politics to describe the conditions of the German society, i.e. Erol Yildiz, Naika Foroutan.

(loudspeaker) or microphone (Güsewell 2014, 92) to make themselves and their art visible and heard. Their recent production, *Schwarzkopf BRD*[7], is a collage of their own experiences as marginalized subjects in a predominately white society and about the Nazi Terror cell NSU[8] as a synonym of structural racism in Germany. Through their research the young adults draw parallels between U.S. history and German situation:

> If the school does not teach us how to deal with life, then we make our own researches and our own lessons of history. We take inspiration from the Black Movement in USA to Berlin. What would Malcolm X have said, if he was a Berliner today? What would he have said, about the fact that for more than 10 years of killings by Neonazis, the victims were treated like the criminals -and no one knew anything? We break the silence and we call the problem with its name: racism! (Schwarzkopf BRD 2015)

Schwarzkopf BRD starts with a history lesson in which the teacher wants to give her students an insight about the colonial history and the resistance through the Black Movement in the US. The teacher is stopped by the school director who thinks that colonialism is not appropriate for the German school curriculum since it is "not" part of German history. While the teacher and the students fight for their right to know their story, reality bursts abruptly on the stage when Ibrahim, one of the actors, receives the notification that he cannot stay in Berlin.[9] Due to German law, the 17 year old asylum seeker from Guinea has to leave because he is assigned to another refugee camp in Dortmund in the West of Germany. A new energy envigorates the group and the messages of such heroes as Martin Luther

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7 The translation is "Black Head Germany" and refers to the stereotype of people of color having black hairs and black or brown skin.
8 The Neo-Nazi cell NSU (National sozialistischer Untergrund) carried out a series of racially motivated assassinations across Germany, in cities spread around the country. Between 2000 and 2006 the group killed eight Turkish and one Greek businessmen, as well as a police officer. Until 2011, the German police criminalized time the victims until the Nazi group distributed a video where they confessed their killings.
9 This situation is really true for the actor, as well as part of the play. With the help of other theaters Ibrahim could stay in Berlin but is still under threat that his application as an Asylum seeker can be rejected any time.

King Jr., Malcolm X and Angela Davis become even stronger. The young actors use the lessons they learn from their role models to empower themselves but also the audience. It's the intertwinement of reality and fiction in their art is a result of the urgency of dealing with reality that cannot be dissolved and where theatrical and artistic interventions seem a necessary part of re-action. The connection can be seen within the narratives: the everyday issues of urban youth of color such as being disadvantaged in schools and universities, gentrification and displacement, and police and state violence are the resources of the theatrical work. The topics are put on stage almost immediately after the young adults face them. The narratives of *Jugendtheaterbüro* are artistic and political comments to current occurrences for people of color and especially young adults of color in Berlin but also in Germany. The intertwinement is also visible within the aesthetics: on stage the productions are created based on Agitprop, Hip-Hop-culture and theatrical techniques of *Theatre of the Oppressed*. While some criticize their work for being very pedagogical and having some dogmatic morals, when the audience is full of young adults of color the impact is very palpable. It's their own story which is told on stage and it's their way to make it sensible. *Jugendtheaterbüro* is, beside *Ballhaus Naunystraße,* one of the very few theatres in Germany that challenge the images and stereotypes of urban youth of color and changes them with their young artists and their artistic interventions.

Creating the future: TheaterX
Germany continues to imagine itself mainly as a white society, at times challenged but fundamentally unchanged in its perception of various Others who remain forever outside. Fatima El-Tayeb observes that the

> colorblind society in which difference is marked along lines of nationality and ethnicized Others are routinely ascribed a position outside the nation, allowing the permanent externalization and thus silencing of a debate on the legacy of racism and colonialism (El-Tayeb 2014, 14)

Those who are seen as "Others-from-Without" (Wright 2004) like people of color always are really (also) "Others-from-Within". Postmigrant theatre has prominently questioned this perception of Germany's "Others" in many ways. The artists and their artistic work have scrutinized into the narrative of Germanness and inscribed it with post-migrant German history. Along these lines, *Jugendtheaterbüro* has done this especially for urban youth of color. And to ensure that ongoing project they are building a community theatre. The staff of *Jugentheaterbüro* have wanted to establish, for quite some time, a community theatre and although for a long time it seemed impossible, they reached a point of fame, where the government (or the municipality of Berlin) cannot reject their demand for their own stage. As I have already mentioned, they have a space at the reformation church which is not a proper stage, and since one of the aims of the *JugendtheaterBüro Berlin* is to give the urban youth of color the possibility to learn all the theatre jobs from scratch – they want to build their own theatre.

For their community theatre they wrote a – another – manifesto which was inspired by the US Black Movement and they call their theatre *TheaterX*. In the manifesto they describe how the staff and the urban youth of color want to work together. They have create a *GenossenschaftX* (cooperative) where every one of them has an equal part. The cooperative consists of a committee of young adults and the staff, who decide the central matters of the theatre. In order to challenge the hierarchical order, which can be found in other theatre buildings, they have created working groups. The *AG Intendanz* - the working group for the directorship – consists of five areas of operation: the management, the production and programming, technical management, the dramaturgy and the artistic direction. The working groups insists on at least one young adult and one person from the staff.

The X stands for the inspiration which comes from MalcolmX, explained in their first paragraph of the manifesto: "X stands for self-empowerment, self-representation, active resistance and the rediscovery and the writing of our own story from the bottom up" (Das Brennpunkt Manifest 2011, translated by the author). Their approach of theatre making and how to empower themselves and others they call *MentalitätX*.

In the light of rising fascist parties in Germany and also all around Europe, created through a fear of Islam and terrorist attacks as well as the rising of anti-Muslim racism as well as racism in its different occurrences, theatre groups like *Jugendtheaterbüro* and their artistic interventions seem more than needed.

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Method in Our Madness:
Seeking a theatre for the psychically disabled other

by Emily Hunka

As a child, in my first year in a secondary state school in Surrey, in the London suburbs, I experienced 'a type of aggression by which someone who holds a dominant position in a group-interaction process by intentional or collective acts, causes mental and/or physical suffering to another inside a group' (Yohji Morita quoted in Schott, 2014, 35), experiencing bullying as 'psychic torture' (Schott 2014, 21). Singled out as different from my peers, I was, according to Schott, the unfortunate scapegoat for natural human process:

> A society is defined by whom it both includes and excludes. Exclusion is necessary to establish the borders of society…Such borders are not rigid, but constantly under pressure to be negotiated. Individuals or groups who are excluded become viewed as 'the other' by the society that excludes them' (Schott 2014, 38).

I am defined as the other, along with many others then, and now, whose differences are deemed reason for being ostracised (those with physical disabilities or differences; learning difficulties; speech and language difficulties; behavioural issues; mental health difficulties) were/are apparently 'destined' for this fate (Young Minds 2015, np). For me, the perceived differences from my then peers – primarily in acute sensitivity, public displays of emotion, and the imaginative worlds I inhabited – are also the very differences that now enable me

to make a living as an artist and artist-researcher, and to bond with other artists who have comparable experiences. They are also a collection of traits that have, for me, been linked to a diagnosis: that of Bi-polar Disorder. Since I choose to own it as a practical and political identity, 'Disabled', it connects me to the sub-culture of artists who share similar atypical mental experiences. But there is a third identity I have –that of applied theatre artist/facilitator - that has remained stubbornly distant from the others. I run workshop programmes for young people with "mental health problems", but, for the most part, this crucial part of who/what I am remains hidden from those I work with. Up to now, I have lived with this reality, with a nudging discomfort; young people who have atypical mental health experiences and I are of what Ken Robinson would call the same "tribe", sharing attributes and experiences, both emotional and social, as we grapple together with joy and despair, stigma and the complexities of being a mental health (NHS) 'Service User'. According to Robinson "when tribes gather in the same place, the opportunities for mutual inspiration can become intense" and "can have transformative effectives on your sense of identity and purpose" (Robinson 2009, 197). Through the prism of a society in twenty-first century Britain, this paper seeks to find an identity for this tribe, and whether - circumnavigating the complicated networks of health and illness, normative and other, personal and social, - an applied theatre can, in the spirit of a 'radical openness' (hooks 1999, 205), find a joyous and meaningful space in the margins.

In *The Labelling Effect: Drama, mental health and learning disability*, Nicola Hatton suggests that there are inherent problems with the term 'learning disabled' as "the effects of labelling on the individual will nearly always be detrimental, a 'structural oppression' created by society, which attaches a meaning to physical and mental variation based on a common perception of normality" (2009, 91). However, without that formal disability label those with mental health 'issues' are, I would argue, more disenfranchised in describing themselves, and

being described. A discussion of emotions, thoughts, and behaviours cannot go far without quickly becoming inveigled in terminology. As well as the label 'disorder', the terms mental health 'problems', 'difficulties', 'issues' are also applied. When I identify as disabled, I do so making reference to the UK Equalities Act 2010, which states (in schedule 1, paragraph 2(2)) that "a disability is a physical or mental impairment that has a 'substantial' and 'long-term' effect on [a person's ability] to do normal daily activities, including experiences that are 'reoccurring or fluctuating" (*Gov.uk* 2010, np). But I operate in a context of mental health activism and within networks of others who would identify as Disabled. According to the World Health Organisation's International Classification of functioning, disability and health (ICF), "there is not an explicit or implicit distinction between different health conditions, whether 'mental' or 'physical'" (ICF 2015, 1). But the difficulty of describing that disability suggests, at least on a socio-political level, this is not the case. I prefer 'disabled' to having 'mental health problems' for example, to describe the day-to-day experience of having an enduring atypical mental health experience, and embracing the notion that my emotional sensitivity and proneness to both mental distress and mental insight are intrinsic, and a self that I choose to own. However, the right prefix is harder to own; 'mental disability' has, in the UK, connotations of 'mentally handicapped', a term that used to describe those who are now labelled 'learning difficulties', and is now considered offensive. Psychological disability comes closer, but by using this term, I am privileging scholarship and practice that follows a psychology model, a therapeutic tradition of psychoanalytic, psychodynamic and behavioural therapy. Its alternative 'psychiatric disability' conversely privileges the medical model. 'Neurological disability' may also describe neurological conditions such as Parkinson's disease, or acquired brain injuries. I have therefore chosen 'psychic disability.' Although it has unfortunate connotations with its other definition, mind-reading (psychic ability could read as

something completely different!), 'psychic' as in "relating to the mind or the soul" (OED) describes a broader experience than can incorporate both brain chemistry and processes of thoughts and emotions, including those that may be described as spiritual; young people with substantial and enduring psychic disabilities describe those who have "acute and complex" needs as identified by the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service (CAMHS) Tier system (Tiers three and four) (Pugh 2015).

Although 'Social capital', has been used for over a century in different contexts, including by Pierre Bourdieu, in this paper, I am limiting an interpretation of it solely to a British twenty-first century context. Here, it is described in *Measuring National Well-being - An Analysis of Social Capital in the UK:*

> In general terms, social capital represents social connections and all the benefits they generate. Social capital is also associated with civic participation, civic-minded attitudes and values which are important for people to cooperate, such as tolerance or trust.' (Siegler 2015, 1)

Its relevance to this paper is its context of the particular political paradigm of 'moral capital', used in 2012 by Prime Minister David Cameron, as "that genuinely popular capitalism… allows everyone to share in the success of the market and can promote morality" (Cameron 2012), (although it also extends backwards to refer to a neoliberal ideology of the New Labour Government 1997-2010). Grootaert describes it as "the glue that holds societies together and without which there can be no economic growth or human wellbeing" (in Siegler 2015, 1). Its mass appropriation into the areas of health, wellbeing, culture and education is, I will argue, disadvantaging young people with psychic disabilities. Arguably emerging from Adam Smith's notion of "human capital" as assuming that capital can rest with the individual labourer, in order to [use] the acquired and useful abilities of the population in a country as part of its capital (Smith 2007 [1776]),

its critics, such as Marxist philosopher Henry Giroux, describe this pervading "mode of public pedagogy" as disturbing. It:

> not only furthers a market-based ethic, which reduces all relationships to the exchange of money and accumulation of capital, it also de-politicises itself and reframes public activity as utterly personal practices…a creation of atomised individuals who live in a moral coma…and relate to others in a sheer survival of the fittest ethic (Giroux, 2014, 1).

This process of de-politicisation and 'moral coma' is usefully contextualised by Pierre Bourdieu's concept of Symbolic Violence in *Reproduction in Education, Culture and Society* (1977), a mechanism by which the dominant power structure (pedagogic authority) conveys an oppressive agenda that those disseminating information (pedagogic agents) take as the authoritative 'truth': "every power to exert symbolic action" suggests Bourdieu "is every power which manages to impose meaning and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specificity force to those power relations" (Bourdieu 1977, 9). The culture imposed, according to Bourdieu, is arbitrary, passed into constructs of meanings as if an empirical observable reality (Bourdieu 1977, 9). Young people with psychic disabilities are grievously abused by symbolically violent acts that banish them beyond social borders, undesirable deportees that bring nothing valuable, and yet are forced to peer through the wire wishing for asylum for acceptance. 'Wellbeing's proliferation in the UK over the last decade can be linked to two 2008 reports from the *Government Office for Science's* Foresight Project and a National Wellbeing Audit from the Office of National Statistics in 2011. The first report, *Mental Capital and Wellbeing: Making the most of ourselves in the twenty first century* states:

> [the] key message is that if we are to prosper and thrive in our changing society and in an increasingly interconnected and competitive world, both our mental and material resources will be vital. (Foresight 2008).

Five Ways to Wellbeing also emerged from research undertaken for Foresight, by the *New Economics Foundation* (NEF), also published in 2008. The concept of the "Five Ways" was to enable people to improve their wellbeing and happiness by adopting five self-improving actions – to: "Connect"; "Take notice"; "Be active"; "Keep learning"; "Give" (Aked 2008). Reducing the evidence to five postcards for public use, citizens follow instructions that, 'if practised regularly' (Cordon 2008, np), can improve personal wellbeing, as the postcard for "connect," suggests:

> Connect with the people around you. With family, friends, colleagues and neighbours. At home, work, school or in your local community. Think of these as the cornerstones of your life and invest time in developing them. (Aked 2008, 5).

Seven years later its dominance endures. The *Five Ways* have become influential and widespread, "successful in capturing the imagination of many people working in a variety of fields[…] used in a number of innovative ways, from school-based educational programmes to public festivals, and picked-up as far afield as Australia and New Zealand" (Mahony 2011, np). This includes effective use of a capitalism marketing strategy, disseminating the Five Ways in colourful and 'user friendly' tools including "puppets, fairy tales…a quiche" and an app for android and i-phone (Wimbush 2010, np).

Overlapping with the rhetoric of the *Five Ways*, the concept of 'Resilience', pioneered by the charity Banardo's, as an approach to influence children's services since the mid-1990's, has influenced over a decade of academic and expert practitioners review research about 'what works' for health and happiness in children (Newman 2004). The research suggests a list of 'resilience factors', which strengthen a child's reserves and give him a chance for a more successful life. Although far more complex than I am conveying here (unlike the *Five Ways*, it puts the resilience factors in the context of life risk

factors such as transition points and acute episodes of stress), its language fits comfortably within the rubric of Moral Capitalism. It suggests ways in which children can acquire stronger chances at happiness. A list of resilience 'factors' for those in adolescence and young adulthood include having social support networks; a sense of mastery and a belief in one's own efforts can make a difference; participation in a range of extra-curricular activities; the capacity to re-frame adversities so that the beneficial as well as the damaging effects are recognised; the ability – or opportunity – to 'make a difference' by helping others or through part-time work; and not to be "excessively sheltered from challenging situations that provide opportunities to develop coping skills" (Newman 2004, 3-4).

Both these tool-kits begin with an assumption of a norm. They place the onus on the child to participate in civic life in order to accrue mental capital: unless she connects, gives, develops coping strategies, gets a job, learns, like a bank account with no money, she will be deemed a failure. In fact, drawing on neurobiological theories (Schore 1994, Siegal 1999, LeDoux 2002, Van de Kolk, 2005, Cozolino 2006), this advice for psychically disabled young people is both impossible to take, and entirely counter-intuitive.

Tim Cantopher describes depression in particular as a physical illness, a failure of the part of the brain that regulates emotions. Like any other physical system it breaks under significant stress - "the limbic system is a type of fuse mechanism and it doesn't matter how hard you try, you can't achieve anything" (Cantopher 2012, 1).

This is particularly pertinent working with young people with psychic disabilities, not least those who have been neurologically damaged by relational trauma (including by bullying). Geddes claims that these children have an entirely different "internal [biological] working model" from other children in which "they

do not assume safety and they cannot relax but must stay constantly hyper-alert to threat." (Geddes in Bomber, 2011, 6-7). As Bomber states:

> These pupils are interpreting things very different to the majority and we must never overlook or dismiss this. It's not just a matter of *"just get over it"* as some cynics might comment when they overhear discussions about vulnerability. (Bomber 2011, 6-7)

It is therefore biologically impossible for children with these psychic disabilities to positively implement the Five Ways independently, to 'connect', to 'learn', or to 'give'. Cantopher advises (as with a physical injury) rest; Bomber, a stable environment safe from threat. Unfortunately, under a regime of symbolic violence, these young people are led to believe they have failed – because they have not achieved this mainstream ideal, they cannot achieve that promise of happiness, itself a false legitimacy. Instead, for these differences, they are more likely to be punished, bullied and excluded for failure to live up to the wellbeing ideal. School systems, through these systems of symbolic violence, are urged to support the false legitimacy. Strategies for dealing with school bullying provide a useful example of this. Advice in *School Support for Children and Young People who are Bullied Factsheet* advocates a particular approach:

> Removing bullied children from school, even for a short time, disrupts their education and can make it difficult for them to reintegrate. It also fails to address the causes of the problem and can send the wrong message that victims of bullying are unwelcome. (Department for Education 2014, 2)

Personally, the feeling of entrapment in my situation when I was thirteen, that in the school corridors, classrooms, and even toilets I could be 'got at,' was the most damaging aspect of the experience. If we are to accept that bullying is psychic, then this policy is at complete odds with the ways in which other forms of abuse are dealt. To suggest bullied children should remain in school is the equivalent of asking the sexually or emotionally abused child to remain in that setting. An

environment in which a child can neither fight nor take flight leads to other "escape", including self-harm, attempted or actual suicide. In *The relation between bullying, victimisation, and adolescents' level of hopelessness,* Siyahhan shows evidence that being a victim of bullying develops hopelessness, describing hopelessness as a state in which a child feels helpless in the face of global events, views himself as unworthy and inferior and believes consequences are unchangeable and have big impacts. Their research indicates that being bullied is significantly correlative with developing depression and having suicidal ideation and actions (Siyahhan 2012, 1054). It is a perverse logic that holds a child in a dangerous place against his will and judgement in order not to send out a message that 'victims of bullying are unwelcome'. It is also apparently a false one: a study at Warwick University led by Professor Diete Wolke, shows children who are bullied by other children but don't experience maltreatment by adults are more likely to suffer from anxiety in the future (Copeland et al, 2013).

By privileging a neurological 'internal working model', it might follow that I am also privileging a psychiatric model, a 'medicalised' approach to understanding mental health and mental illness. But psychiatric models are as much part of a neo-liberal, market-based capital system as mental capital. In the UK, following the United States model, mental "disorders" are defined in the Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSMV), the last edition of which was published in 2013. If a person is experiencing significant atypical mental processes, she will be referred to a psychiatrist, a trained medical doctor qualified to prescribe medication. If hospitalised, especially if sectioned (detained under the Mental Health Act), medication – for lessening distress, but also for lessening symptoms (non-compliance, agitation, aggression) – is routinely prescribed.

In *Doctoring the Mind,* psychologist Richard Bentall critiques this approach, suggesting that it is deeply flawed and unhelpful:

> the dominant paradigm in psychiatry which assumes that mental illnesses are genetically influenced brain diseases has been a spectacular failure. Despite enormous expense, for those suffering with severe mental disorder [improvement] has been slight. It has failed to make a measurable contribution to the wellbeing of society as a whole (Bentall 2010, 3).

But its inculcation into the polar position has been absolute: "If there is one central intellectual reality at the end of the twentieth century" writes Edward Shorter in *A History of Psychiatry*, "it is that the biological approach to psychiatry – treating psychiatric disorder as a biological disease of the brain – has been a smashing success" (Shorter cited in Bentall 2010, 3). Bentall critiques the development of disorders as linked to pharmaceutical companies, which can be treated predominantly by pharmacological interventions:

> When considering the role of the pharmaceutical industry in psychiatric research, it is important to recognize that the industry's main purpose is to make money for its shareholders. Drug companies are no more driven by the desire to do good than the manufacturers of automobiles, canned soup or household products (Bentall 2010, 197).

I am not unreservedly critical of psycho-trophic pharmaceuticals to treat unpleasant symptoms of neurological distress by altering chemical processes in the brain; currently I am on a combination of medication, which is helpful to me in that it allows me to function, to manage my negative symptoms. But – importantly – medication does not alter my image or take away my sense of self. So-called typical and atypical anti-psychotics are well-known for significant side-effects, which include sleepiness and slowness, weight gain, interference with sex life, an increased chance of developing diabetes, dizziness and, in high level or long-term use, stiffness of the limbs and tardive dyskinesia (Royal 2015, np). As Janet Gotkin, a schizophrenic patient interviewed by Andrew Soloman describes: "I became alienated from myself, my thoughts, my life, a prisoner of drugs and psychiatric mystification; my body heavy as a bear's lumbered and lurched as I

tried to manoeuvre the curves of my outside world. These drugs are not used to heal or help but to torture and control" (Soloman, 2012, 308). Vice Dean of academic psychiatry at Kings College London, Simon Wessely, suggests that without psycho-trophic drugs to treat diagnosis in DSMV, many people would be unable to live in the community (Wessley 2013). However Soloman suggests this is far more complex, and more sinister, citing *de-institutionalisation*, and medication's role in it, as a brutal mechanism of the state:

> The TAC [Treatment Advocacy Center- based in Washington DC] has strongly backed legislation such as Kendra's Law, a New York Act that allows suits to be brought against mentally ill people who fail to take their medication. Depressed people are taken to court, fined, and then released again into the streets to fend for themselves, since there is no room or budget for providing more extensive treatment. If they cause too much trouble they are incarcerated as criminals. (Soloman, 2012, 380)

In looking for a theatre for young people, I would naturally turn to Applied Theatre models currently in existence, of which there are several. Applied theatre certainly claims a long history of ameliorative work with those who experience psychic disability. Jacob Moreno, a protégé of Freud, inspired a model of work called Psychodrama (or the now rarely-used 'Sociodrama'), which, in a development from the theories of psychoanalysis of his mentor Sigmund Freud, was based on the concept of creative spontaneity:

> Well, Dr. Freud, I start where you leave off. You analyze their dreams. I give them the courage to dream again. You analyze and tear them apart. I let them act out their conflicting roles and help them to put the parts back together again (Moreno, cited in Holmes 2015, 11).

Dramatherapy traces back to 1973, with the work of Sue Jennings (Jones 2013, 352), emerging from an ideology of the late 1950s and 1960s, that theatre had the power to intervene and make "ameliorative changes", seeking to change personal behaviour (Heddon 2006, 137). In tandem, there were non-accredited models that

tended strongly toward the therapeutic: Jonathan Fox's Playback Theatre, and 'the Boal method of theatre and therapy', the *Rainbow of Desire* (1995), in which "…the human being perceives where it is and where it is not and imagines where it could go" (Boal 1995, 13). However, given these still use (at least in part) Jungian/Freudian psychoanalytic ideas, I perceive such paradigms as examples of symbolic violence from another era and ideology, which Lewis et al denounce as a "dictatorship":

> Freud's logic was a veritable Mobius strip of circularity. When patients complied with his insistence they remember early sexual material, they called him astute; when they did not, he said they were resisting and repressing the truth" (Lewis 2001, 8).

I might, therefore, turn to a newer trend, which has gained considerable ground since the 1990s: "arts and health," described by the Sidney de Haan Research Centre for Arts and Health as "the potential value of music, and other participative arts activities, in the promotion of well-being and health of individuals and communities" (Sidney 2015, np). Its establishment as a specific academic and practical field in the first decade of the twenty-first century has meant *"the coming of age for arts and health,"* according to the editors of the inaugural issue of *Arts in Health: An international Journal of Arts and Health*. (Camic 2009, 3). It is particularly pertinent to me, in my professional working life as an applied theatre practitioner, for various organisations have been working within this paradigm. In 2009, I was tasked with developing an inclusion agenda for Greenwich & Lewisham Young People's Theatre (GLYPT), and it was through this that most of my work, which had previously been with young refugees, shifted into an "arts and health" context. This included significant involvement as a freelance practitioner with the Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Creative Partnerships programmes, in which I explored ways to increase confidence and self-esteem, and to encourage 'good' behaviour and happiness in the classroom.

In 2010, I led a nursery project in Bellingham in the London Borough of Lewisham, in which children explored creativity and happiness through drama and music. This was part of a 2007 Arts Council England initiative, 'Be Creative, Be Well', itself part of a large regional initiative called *Be Well London*, in which deprived pockets of the city called *Lower Super Output Areas* were selected to benefit from arts application (Ings 2011, 19). The project sought to connect to government agendas of wellbeing, as the evaluation report attests:

> In health terms, when people are happy or fulfilled in themselves, keep fit and active and are actively engaged with others, they are less likely to present symptoms of poor mental health and, thus, may require fewer medical or institutional interventions…There is a strong desire, in both medical and government circles, to encourage behavioural change towards healthier lifestyle choices (Ings 2011, 14).

The false legitimacy of the participatory arts and health field had me duped as one of its pedagogic agents, making a living by promoting it. By doing so, I was participating in the idea that "artistic instrumentalism would embrace excellence in terms of raising artistic standards and a better understanding of the value of the artistic experience for producer and consumer" (Taylor 2011, 18)**.**

The evaluation of *Be Creative, Be Well,* for example, applies the individualistic improvement model that "in a variety of social and institutional settings including schools, prisons and hospitals, artists are helping people to develop a range of positive behaviours, improving their ability to learn, to take responsibility, to act pro-socially, to take pleasure in creating things and so on" (Ings 2012, 14). That these 'positive behaviours' are supposedly most needed by those who fall into the lowest socio-economic postcodes, explicitly links poverty to their inverse 'negative' or 'anti-social' behaviours – expressions of difficult and complex emotions that do not belong in a society that bases its wellness on the success of its citizens to engage in wealth accumulation.

The arts and health/arts and wellbeing agenda is an example of another 'capital'. Arts Council England's *Cultural Capital: A manifesto: Investing in Culture* describes 'creativity' as:

> [T]he key to economic recovery. Public investment in the arts and heritage helps to generate the cultural capital that feeds the creative industries with knowledge, practical experience and inspiration. Every artist is an entrepreneur, cultural organisations …nourish the people and ideas that make money for this country. (Arts 2010, 7)

Being more aware of these invisible agendas, and how they are potentially damaging to young people with psychic disabilities is crucial, but, I would maintain, there is not any viable alternative model at present. This agenda, problematically for me, has efficiently dispatched any radicalism for theatre in working with the psychically disabled, a radicalism that is generally absent (or perhaps hidden) in a psychic Disability movement. In *Far From the Tree*, Andrew Solomon interviews a range of children and parents who are 'different', devoting a chapter to different identities including "Deaf"; "Dwarfs"; "Downs Syndrome", "Multiple and Severe Disability (MSD)", "Autism" and "Schizophrenia". Solomon notes that in the identities of physical and learning Disability, parents and children are given chances to hold their identity as positive through activist and support groups. With Schizophrenia, the opposite is true. This is due, in part, to the fact that conditions like schizophrenia carry stigma of blame that is no longer associated with physical disability, where members of the general public believe that mental health problems are self-induced, the result of bad parenting, or a byword for a violent criminal (Solomon 2014, 306). A further reason why activism may be less developed is that for many, the label of 'disabled' sells the agony they experience short. A parent Solomon interviewed describes this:

> People have to play the cards they're dealt with, and they become who they are by doing so, but would anyone seriously wish for their child to develop mental health problems? The reality I recognise from my own experience and my friends

and what I've seen on the ward is hopelessness and despair' (Solomon 2014, 338).

Alison Jost (Yale Inter-disciplinary Centre for Bioethics) suggests that activism against stigma does not recognise the reality that "no matter how stigmatised our society becomes, mental illness will always cause suffering" (Solomon 2014, 338).

Perhaps all these factors contribute to greater stigma and shame around having a psychic disability. They are possibly also behind the rarity of a theatre for those with atypical mental health experiences, which, within the Disability Theatre movement, has little presence. According to Collette Conroy, Disability Theatre has roots that stem from a negative socio-historical position, which has "applied to the act of interpolating the other: cripples, freaks, invalids, the retarded", which has "incorporated pity, charity, segregation, advocating eugenics and the acceptance of restriction for people with impairments" (Conroy 2009, 1). Physically/Learning Disabled theatre practitioners have sought to represent themselves and others in a range of ways, both challenging scapegoating and marginalisation, and firmly occupying a space in the margins, re-appropriating 'otherness'. This is the case with crip-culture (Conroy 2009, 2) and with companies such as *Graeae Theatre*, founded in 1980 by Nabil Shaban and Richard Tomlinson who shared a vision to "dispel images of defencelessness, together with prejudice and popular myths around disabled people through theatre workshops and training" (Graeae 2015, np) and *Deafinitely Theatre* who aim for "a world where deaf people are valued as part of the national theatre landscape, recognised for the excellence of their work" (Deafinately 2015, np).

Regrettably, there is no Lunatic Theatre, as such[1]. A theatre that addresses manifestations of the marginal experiences of disability, has, potentially, marginalised a group of Disabled practitioners that do not have a clear and

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[1] Although there is a growing body of work from solo performance artists making work about their experiences such as Bobby Baker.

definite voice even within the paradigm. The special edition of *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 'On Disability: Creative Tensions in Applied Theatre,' highlights, for me, that this paradigm has excluded a significant Disabled group: the issue offers thirteen papers; only one mentions 'mental health' and this, in the title of the paper, is not about mental health theatre, but about labelling involved in learning disability and mental health.

Disheartened by the cultural/mental capital model, and its reinforcement of marginalisation, distress and hopelessness, I am inspired to create a Lunatic Theatre. I am inspired to resist the implied rhetoric of moral capitalism, which suggests the psychically disabled are to blame for their place on the margins, I am interested in discovering the possibility of a theatre that does not have to be complicit in the capital agenda, in how the participatory theatre group for psychically disabled young people can provide a place of celebrated acceptance that is permanent and powerful enough to make those margins a comfortable, safe and pleasurable place to live. The question is, then, what would it look like, and what benefit would it have? Am I simply looking to politically empower young people to enable them to forge an identity as politically aware and motivated artists? For vulnerable young people, I run the risk of what James Thompson cautions against in *The Ends of Applied Theatre: Incidents of cutting and chopping;* by empowering a group through theatre to understand their oppression, their opposition to the state aggressors may put them is severe risk (Thompson 2009, 117-123). Furthermore, the condition of atypical mental health experiences present complexities not present in other Disability identities. As Solomon suggests:

> Schizophrenia self-advocacy is different from Deaf Rights or LPA (Little Person's Association) politics or neuro-diversity because members of those movements are presumed to have an accurate understanding of themselves…

[and] entails delusion, which complicates claims on identity (Solomon 2014, 332).

Finally, given that their disability is neurological, I might be asking young people to assert the extra effort of will that Cantopher suggests is so neurologically counter-intuitive. I do believe there is a way forward that owns and celebrates the psychic disability, which rests in its nature. Just like crip-culture, which re-casts the 'disabled' body, this will reframe the 'disabled' mind. In the capital model, the artist in applied theatre is effectively incidental. In the "arts and health" model, theatre techniques are used to transform lives, but these techniques are, arguably, part of a toolkit, one amongst many (karate, mindfulness, volunteering at a charity shop for example) to enhance mental capital. But the artists – and here I refer to all artists, because dancers, writers, visual artists, musicians and directors all have a role in creating theatre –that can, and frequently have, used the disabled mind in powerful and transformative ways. The antidote to the instrumentalism of mental capital, which demands reason to achieve its ends, is a committed emotional one.

In *A General Theory of Love,* Lewis et al suggest the artist has a particular role in interpreting humanity. Artists, versed in embodied experiences of affect are well placed to "sharpen and calibrate [a child's] sonar, teaching him how to sense the emotional world correctly[…] through a symmetry as compact and surprising as the equivalence between matter and energy, love's poetry and its science share an unexpected identity" (Lewis 2001, 14). "Long before sites existed, sharp eyed men and women told each other stories about how people are, and stories have never lost their power to enchant and instruct" (Lewis 2001, 15) In *Touched with Fire*, Kay Redfield Jamison, a psychiatrist and academic with a bi-polar diagnosis, directly links the bipolar (including delusions in mania) to the artistic temperament, as she states:

> the fiery aspects of thought and feeling that initially compel the artistic voyage – fierce energy, high mood and quick intelligence; a sense of the visionary and the

> grand; a restless and feverish temperament – commonly carry with them the capacity for vastly darker moods, grimmer energies and occasionally bouts of madness (Jamison 1996, 2).

She makes a case for several well-known (Western) artists, including William Blake, Robert Lowell, Emily Dickinson, Ernest Hemingway and Vincent Van Gogh. In contrast to the frequent persecution of the neurologically disabled as 'other' (they have variously been accused of being sinners, sexually repressed, irrevocably insane, and bestial (Solomon 2001; Erenreich 2007)), other historical periods in the West reframed 'other' as gifted, intuitive and blessed. "If the middle ages moralised depression," Solomon states, "the Renaissance glamorised it" (Solomon 2001, 295). Italian philosopher Marsilio Fincino (1433-1499) perceived its existence as a "pre-requisite to inspiration and intelligence" (Solomon 2001, 296). Arguments like Finico's became popular towards the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century across Europe, including with thinkers such as Levinus Leminos in Holland, Huarte and Luis Mercado in Spain and Andreas Du Laurens in France, who each wrote of depressive disability (melancholy) as a trait that better and more inspired men would possess. (Solomon 2001, 295-297). Expression of the profundity of emotional experiences has a constitutive place in theatre, especially, Solomon suggests, in Shakespeare, who deepened the complexity of depression as a condition seemingly defeating "infinite reason" and "noble faculty" (Hamlet 2.2.293-310). Its place in the canon firmly suggests that these strong feelings are the cornerstone of human and public life. Romantic era melancholy was the domain of artists, but also philosophers such as Nietzsche, Kierkegaard and Schopenhauer, who endorsed melancholic tendencies as part of their identity as the genius 'other'.

There are many who label these connotations of artist with atypical mental experiences, then and now, as fashions or fads. In *Mania: A short history of bi-polar disorder* David Healy suggests that bi-polar is a cultural construct, and that histories such as Jamison's are mis-translating being selective, to bend

descriptions of delirium to describe mania (Healy 2008, 16), for example; psychoanalyst Darian Leder in his book *Strictly Bi-polar*, concludes that we live in a 'bi-polar age', and that symptoms are more likely to represent the exhibition of relational trauma (Leder, 2013, 1). As well-known actors, musicians and writers such as Stephen Fry, Ruby Wax and Paul Abbott choose to publicise their disability, others are quick to dismiss. An article by Joanna Moncrieff in the Daily Mail online in 2013 decries it as a 'fashionable' mental health diagnosis. "Once considered rare and seriously disabling, bipolar disorder has been transformed[…]into a vaguer notion of 'mood swings' that can apply to anyone" (Moncrieff 2013, np). However, recent clinical research supports the idea of manic highs, psychotic delusions and visions. In incidents of hedonic schizotypy (psychosis), research suggests that "artistic creatives" and psychiatric patients share unusual ideas and experiences, but that artists can be distinguished by "the absence of anhedonia and avolition;" unlike schizophrenics who experience negative disturbing aspects of the condition, many artists do not perceive this as illness (Nettle 2006, 876). If, as Lord Byron suggests "We of the craft are all crazy" (Redfield Jamison 1996, 1), there is celebration in reframing adversity and celebrating difference. It may well be possible to reframe the concept of strong atypical emotions and behaviours as exceptional attributes, and to craft theatre practice that not only celebrates, but needs these attributes, reframing a young person with a psychic disability as an artist: within a community of other artists in which in a place of marginality, shared affect is its comfort, its pleasure, its strength.

But this alone is not, I would argue, enough as a standpoint and practice for young people with psychic disabilities. It is the enhanced ability to interpret the world, occupying the place where "poetry transpires at the juncture between feeling and understanding" (Lewis 2001, 4) *combined* with a trope in which the performing arts particularly excel: the dynamic of the group, the collective, the

theatre troupe. Based on their work as practising psychiatrists in the US, Lewis et al describe a different picture of the plight of individuals in neoliberal societies, which "plows emotions under" (Lewis 2001, 37). The insistence that wellbeing is a goal achieved by individual effort is not borne out in actuality:

> our work makes all too clear the world is full of men and women who encounter difficulty with loving or being loved, and whose happiness depends critically upon resolving the situation with utmost expediency (Lewis 2001, 9).

Theories of neurological attachment posit that a genuine wellbeing is dependent on others; as Sue Gehardt claims "[w]e are shaped by other people as well as what we breathe and eat. Both our physiological systems and our mental systems are developed in relationship with other people" (Gerhardt in Bomber 2007, 10) and "in some important ways, people cannot be stable on their own. This is disconcerting for a society that prides itself on individuality" (Lewis 2001, 88). However, they argue "evolution has given mammals a shimmering conduit, and they use it to tinker with one another's physiology, to adjust and fortify one another's fragile neural rhythms in the collaborative dance of love." (Lewis 2001, 84). A theatre can transform lives in a deep and biologically intrinsic way. Its precedent is an age old ability to forge connections between performers and performers, performers and spectators. Jill Dolan's *Utopia in Performance: Finding hope in the theatre* describes this profundity. Her argument is that theatre for social change is not in didactic representations of oppression, or narratives that will change the world, but is "about sharing breath" (Dolan 2005, 107). Historian Robin Kelley suggests that "the most radical art is not a protest art but works that take us to another place, envisioning a different way of seeing, perhaps a different way of feeling" (Kelley cited in Dolan 2005, 107); From a moment of feeling emerges a reinvigoration of democracy and commonwealth. Dolan also sees it as a powerful platform for those "lost in the indices of mainstream culture" including the poor, and the disabled. (Dolan, 2005, 84).

This marginal community is made up of emotionally intuitive artists, and young people, must be the antithesis of a symbolically violent one. It must offer people connection without any requirement to work for it. In the pervading insidiousness that is capital, I do not want to be an investment banker, guiding young people to make wise financial choices designed to get the best returns. Dolan writes specifically of the affective experiences of spectating, moments when "[theatre] provides a place where people come together, embodied and passionate, to share experiences of meaning-making and imagination that can describe or capture fleeting intimations of a better world" (Dolan 2005, 2). She does so by writing of her affective responses to a series of performances in different settings. The words hope, compassion, humanism and above all, love, are reoccurring tropes:

> I am most moved by the words that our work, in theory, once cast into doubt: words like love, truth and beauty as well as the capacious holding place called 'humanity'. I am moved by the potential that performance offers for polishing away the tarnish of cliché that clings to these words" (Dolan 2005, 163).

A theatre community for young people, I posit, offers hope in that "[s]eeing performance requires that we listen attentively to the speech of others, that we hear people speak and feel their humanity and its connections with our own" (Dolan 2005, 90). This is a vital component of achieving limbic resonance: "If a listener quietens his neocortical chatter and allows limbic sensing to range free", state Lewis et al, "melodies begin to penetrate the static of anonymity. Stories about lovers, teachers, friends and pets echo back and forth and coalesce into a handful of motifs. As the listener's resonance grows, he will catch sight of what the other sees inside that personal world, start to sense what it feels like to live there." (Lewis 2001, 169). One-woman show actor Lily Tomlin comments on the ability of theatre to discover a humanism: "If I have an agenda it's that all humans have been ridiculed; all of us as a species, we're so debased that there must be

some kind of human embrace that makes us worthy of something" (Tomlin cited in Dolan 2005, 74).

The power of theatre, to attempt to step in time with others, to hear their stories and appreciate and accept their pain and distress, whilst willing transcendence from it, is immense. Arguably, theatre as ritualised communitas - an expression of a community as a social glue - as espoused by anthropologists Victor Turner and Roy Rappaport and by performance theorist Richard Schechner (Schechner 2006, 52, 66) might offer a suitable template. There is precedent in applied theatre, which "offers a unique journey within a Ritual Theatre process of dramatherapy, … [exploring] notions of rites of passage and the importance of myth" (University 2015, np). However, I prefer Barbara Ehrenreich's reading of the group jubilation explored through her book *Dancing in the Streets: A collective history of Joy*. She examines historical examples of 'ecstasy' in a context of, not community ritual but community festival, which "falls under the same constellation of activities, [but] has been used again to achieve communal pleasure, even ecstasy or bliss" (Ehrenreich 2007, 19). Her argument focuses specifically on dance as age-old, intrinsic and ubiquitous, rather than extra to life:

> Go back ten thousand years and you will find humans toiling away at the many mundane activities required for survival: hunting, food gathering, making weapons and garments…But if you land on the right moonlit night or seasonal turning point, you might also find them engaged in what seems, by comparison, to be a gratuitous waste of energy: dancing in lines and circles, sometimes wearing masks or what appear to be costumes, often waving branches or sticks. (Ehrenreich 2007, 21)

Ehrenreich critiques Turner's notion that communitas provided occasional relief from the rigid structures of hierarchy in the form of collective excitement and activity, 'liminal', 'marginal' and transient (Ehrenreich 2007, 11). She is equally critical of psychological interpretations of ecstatic dance activity as a sign of mental disease – hysteria, compulsions, tics and 'neuroaesthenias', and Freud's

suggestions that an unhampered expression of ecstasy through the performative was the result of a sexual repression bursting into uncontrollable frenzy. This reflects contemporary experience; being 'manic' carries connotations of incapacity, whether or not those experiences are damaging. Those who experience hallucinations, which in other societies are considered insights, or heightened experiences (Bentall 2004) are given the label 'psychotic', which is still confused with 'psychopathic.' Ehrenreich claims that dancing and theatre as part of festival are not a sign of mental imbalance or a less developed brain but highly sophisticated and planned. The fact that communities expend significant time and energy preparing for festival performances defeats the notion that it is a spontaneous lack of control. This framing of a shared expression of emotion is, in fact, a powerful social act of the communal against dominant pedagogies: The notion that festival performance is an act of control designed by the state, a pre-ordained 'safety valve', sanctioned by the dominant power structures to keep low-status citizens productive for the rest of the year, is also misleading. Festivals *do* become adopted by the state, but this is more to suppress acts of joy that are held by the community, by making them state-governed; festival origins always were originally (and are) fundamentally 'of the people'. "From an elite perspective, there is one inherent problem with traditional festivities and ecstatic rituals, and that is their levelling effect, the way in which they dissolve rank and other forms of social difference" (Ehrenreich 2007, 44). She also gives an interesting perspective on individual 'dancers' within the community performance. Anthropologists, psychologists and several applied theatre theorists are disparaging about the idea of a theatre of experts and professionals, preferring to privilege non-performative processes of play and exploration "Drama: most people think of performance, theatre, curtains, stage lights [but it] moves more into the spontaneous, into play" (Smail 2013). Instead Ehrenreich suggests:

> [Performers] devote great effort to composing music for the dance, perfecting their steps or other moves. They may experience self-loss in the dance, or a kind of merger with the group, but they also seek a chance to shine, as individuals, for their skill and talents (Ehrenreich 2007, 27).

Ehrenreich's perspective of a communal performance that are viewed with suspicion by those in dominant positions, throughout historical discourse, is important to my search for an applied theatre for young people with psychic disabilities. As a marginalised community of the psychic 'other', to engage in combat with the moral capital that pervades invisibly yet totally would be self-defeating and potentially damaging. The false legitimacies are so indoctrinated, that they are often difficult to comprehend as though through a prison mesh. But though the detention camp to which they are banished by state and by school can be terrifying to stateless young people with psychic disabilities, as artists, we can come together in loving support, interpreting experiences of exile. At first, we may simply share our gifts of artistry, as we sit together preparing the performance and the feast, seeking out limbic connections in each other, talking and resting, and loving in order to renew and restore our pain, "in a prime position to introduce our [participants] to a world of secure attachment by providing the stepping stones they will need to interpret facial expressions, gestures, tones of voice, posture and activity more accurately" (Bomber 2011, 8). Then, we move closer to one another as performers, poets, directors, musicians and illustrators, using our superior gifts to achieve limbic resonance, to reframe what in the mainstream is deemed odd /weird /crazy/ dangerous/ unacceptable, as a festival of celebration of atypical emotion, behaviour and thought, a joy and ecstasy that is unimaginable in a restrictive frame of mental and social capital and wellbeing; then we can engage in the 'collaborative dance of love' (Lewis 2001, 84).

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The Pantomime Other:
Building Fences in Pantomime Performance in Malta

by Marco Galea

Introduction

Malta is an island-state at the southern-most tip of Europe. Being roughly equidistant between Sicily to the north and Libya to the south, and because of a history that involved interactions with Europeans, Africans and people from the Near East, the Maltese could not easily be defined by foreigners who visited or settled on the island. Travel writings from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries show the struggle that their authors faced to describe the indigenous population; however, this quote from William Lithgow in 1612 is quite typical:

> The peasant or natural inhabitants are of the Affrican complexion, tanny and sun-burnt; and their language semblable to the Barbarian[1] speech. These rural Maltezes are extremely bent, in all their actions, either to good or evill wanting fortitude of minde, and civil discretion, they can not temper the violent humours of their passions, but as the headstrong tide, so their dispositions runne, in the superfluous excesse of affections. They follow the Romane Church, though ignorant of the way (quoted in Freller 2009, 403-405).

European travellers and colonisers created a narrative that described the Maltese as non-European, or at best as a population inhabiting the extreme periphery of Europe and possessing only some qualities usually found in European communities. Throughout the centuries, the Maltese population, or at least that small part of the population that had access to education and had acquired

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[1] Presumably "Barbarian" refers to the languages spoken in the Maghreb region.

European tastes, insisted on its European heritage to try to combat the othering project that effectively ruled out the Maltese from any position of influence in the running of the island.

Grand Narratives in a Small Island

One of the preferred narratives among the Maltese about the start of British colonialism in Malta speaks of the brave resistance that the population of the villages in Malta put up against a French occupation led by Napoleon Bonaparte himself. The new French rulers had hardly been on the islands for six months in 1798 before they were blocked in the walled towns with no possibility of acquiring fresh supplies of food or water. The blockade took around eighteen months, during which time both sides suffered extreme hardship, with lack of food causing disease and starvation. The period also enabled the Maltese to organise themselves both on a military level as well as through representative institutions. Eventually, after the Maltese had received the assistance of the British Navy, the French capitulated. Subsequent developments saw Britain take over Malta in order to protect the inhabitants' interests (Farrugia 1995, 1-6). The representatives of the Maltese people continued to remind their British rulers that they had never been conquered by Britain but had earned their protection by suffering and shedding their blood to rid the islands of Napoleon's troops. As an editorial in a Maltese newspaper in 1903 showed, the Maltese claims to having earned their liberty did not hold much water with the British government:

> One hundred years of fearful experience have elapsed, and is there anybody, by this time, who is not convinced that, in Downing Street, Malta is merely considered as a fortress and nothing else, and the Maltese are so many white snails, slumbering for six months of the year in the crevices of the bastions and fortifications, and coming out during the other six months to feed on the plants which grow out of the crevices themselves when the rain wets the porous stone.
> One hundred years have elapsed during which England has held in its claws this gem of the Mediterranean, the value of which it does not deny, and yet she shamelessly declines to give to the people the right which belongs to them of

> governing themselves, simply for the reason that Malta is a fortress of the greatest value to the Empire.
> One hundred years! (*Malta*, June 1903, reproduced in Frendo 1993, 217).

The claims made by the newspaper quoted above were representative of a widespread anti-British sentiment that a large section of the indigenous population subscribed to. Nonetheless, many other sectors had come to accept British colonialism almost as a natural condition that could be exploited just like other groups had previously exploited the Order of St John to gain ascendency in Maltese society. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Maltese population was divided between those who were in favour of the changes that British colonialism was bringing about and those who were resisting them. As was the case in many other colonies, the Maltese experience of colonialism was a mixed bag. While generally the system itself was geared to exploit the population in order to cater for imperial interests, a new class of subjects was created which saw an opportunity to achieve social mobility by serving those same colonial interests and acquiring an identity which was as similar as possible to that of the colonisers. The Fanonian syndrome of "black skin, white masks" was compounded by the fact that the Maltese considered themselves as European as their masters and therefore demanded different treatment to that suffered by British subjects in other colonies, even if this claim was not generally entertained by the colonial rulers.

The Ascent of the British Amateur

When a certain Major Campbell Todd landed in Malta in October 1909 as part of his duties with the British Army he found that British amateur theatre "had been pretty much moribund for some time" (Mompalao de Piro 1985, 5) and he immediately set about to sort it out. In January of the following year he directed his own work, *Captain Reece of the Mantelpiece: A Nautical Extravaganza in Three Acts*, a work very obviously based on W.S. Gilbert's ballad "Captain

Reece". His fascination with musical theatre was evident, as he was soon to stage other works by or in the style of Gilbert and Sullivan. He worked with other British people residing on the island at the time to produce amateur theatre that was aimed at a British audience. His endeavours, at least to the island's English language press at the time, were hugely successful, such that he often had to perform extra shows. Campbell Todd's capabilities as an amateur theatre-maker were immediately recognized on the island, and not only by his compatriots.

During the previous century, theatre in Malta had developed as a three-pronged affair. Italian opera had established itself as the most important theatrical genre, to the extent that the government had built a new opera house through local taxpayers' money, despite the fact that there was a lot of opposition from influential quarters in Malta itself, such as the Catholic Church. Opera was the only type of theatre that could be maintained as a professional venture during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The other two main theatrical activities were amateur performances in English and in Maltese. Performances in English by British amateurs started being organised soon after the start of British rule in 1800, while Maltese amateur theatre-makers started setting up their *teatrini* or small theatres to perform drama and comedy in Maltese during the 1840s. As a general rule, these three theatre-making activities stayed out of each other's way. Opera was for the higher classes of the Maltese population and for the officers in the British forces who had probably developed a taste for the genre back in their homeland. Amateur theatre in English was supported mainly by British business families and military personnel who were trying to reproduce some of the entertainment they had enjoyed in Britain. The *teatrini* established by the indigenous population were very modest theatres, usually adapted from existent buildings, and their main spectators were lower class people who had very little money to spend on entertainment.

Thus, the manner in which Major Campbell Todd was received in Malta was in many ways exceptional. Not only was he seen as a messiah by the British amateurs, to the extent that he could dictate his own rules on the community (Mompalao de Piro 1985, 5-6), but his work was immediately noticed by the Maltese theatre community as well. *Captain Reece of the Mantelpiece* was such a huge success that it was taken up by a prominent theatre producer, a certain Mikelanġ Borg, who was always on the lookout for new fashions in popular theatre and who had introduced genres like French vaudeville to vernacular theatre in Malta (Galea 1998, 70-76). The suggestion actually came from a prominent British-leaning politician, a certain Augustus Bartolo, who supported British interests in Malta through his political activities, mainly by founding and representing the imperialistic Constitutional Party (Schiavone 2009, 184-185). He defined himself as "though not a Briton a Britisher" (Bartolo 1911, quoted in Hull 1993, 213). In this case, he also used his influence as founder and owner of the newspaper *Daily Malta Chronicle* to make sure that both the original production in English, as well as the Maltese version, soon acquired the reputation of masterpieces. In truth, Bartolo was such an anglophile that he commended anything with an English flavour. He is even recorded as being one of the first ever Maltese to play football (Schiavone 2009, 185) and the benefactor of the first trophy awarded for organized football in Malta (Baldacchino 2007). It is therefore not surprising that he was so keen on this play, written by an Englishman who was living in Malta at the time and who obviously had considerable influence on the British community.

Mikelanġ Borg (Borg 1934, 80) states that Bartolo approached him, after having attended more than one performance of *Captain Reece*, and offered to negotiate with the author to obtain permission to stage the play in Maltese, if Borg's company was interested. Before long, Bartolo himself was translating the

text, and simultaneously using his newspaper to start raising awareness of the event:

> The Maltese Amateur Theatrical Society L'Indipendenza will give a performance next month, in the vernacular, of Major Todd's highly successful musical extravaganza *Captain Reece of the Mantelpiece* by the author's kind permission ("Local News", *Daily Malta Chronicle* 1910. March 8, 2).

The political implications of this short notice are obvious. By announcing a performance that was in its early stages of preparation and was not even in rehearsal yet (Borg 1934, 81) as Borg's schedule was so busy that he never dedicated more than a few weeks to a new production, he made sure there would be no turning back for the producer. By using the description "Maltese Amateur Theatrical Society" he was making a direct reference to the Malta Amateur Dramatic Society, the company which had staged the original English-language production, thereby implying that the two were of an equivalent standard as well as similar in scope. Borg himself would probably never have used that terminology, as like other Maltese amateurs, he always referred to his enterprise by the Italian term *filodrammatico/a*. The act of convincing a major Maltese theatrical company to stage an English play was itself a major coup, as these companies consistently looked at Italian popular theatre for inspiration, and even Shakespeare was filtered through Italian translations, such that Hamlet was always Amleto or Amletu in Maltese productions. This "conversion" also happened at a crucial stage of Maltese political development, with the colonisers' attempts at Anglicisation coming to a head in what is referred to locally as "the language question" with people being asked to choose between Italian and English as a language of instruction and administration (Hull 1993).

To make sure the Maltese-language staging of *Captain Reece* would be a success, Bartolo himself directed singing and dancing rehearsals, and when he was satisfied with the progress his protégés were making,

> managed to take along with him the author of the operetta himself, so that he would take a look and decide for himself whether the general proceedings met with his approval. And he approved everything and praised all the amateurs as well as the orchestra and its conductor Orlando Crescimanno.
> Major Todd was so pleased with the enthusiasm shown by L'Indipendenza amateurs in rehearsing his operetta that he offered to procure the scenery that had been used some time before by the English amateurs. And so he did. (Borg 1934, 81, my translation).

After the performances, the *Daily Malta Chronicle* dedicated many columns to eulogizing it, focusing on the ability of the actors to pull off a British characterization even though they were acting in Maltese ("Maltese Amateur Dramatic Society L'Indipendenza", *Daily Malta Chronicle* 1910, April 16, 6-7). What Borg would remember more than twenty years later when writing his theatrical memoirs was that the "English ladies and gentlemen" who had performed in the original production approved of what the Maltese troupe was doing, that the performances were attended by the best families in Malta as well as many British officers, and that the company was honoured by having the Governor himself in attendance for one of the performances.

> On Saturday the 2nd instant, His Excellency the Governor and Lady Rundle honoured the proceedings with their presence. They were met near the entrance to the state box by the six daintily attired little ladies appearing as the daughters of Mrs Gossip in the play, whilst the five year old daughter of Mr M.A. Borg in jumper and slop of miniature proportions, she being a prominent member of the Mantelpiece crew, presented Lady Rundle with a bouquet of fresh flowers tied with the Mantelpiece ribbons.
> As soon as His Excellency the Governor appeared at the front of the box, the curtain was rung up, and, to the accompaniment of the orchestra, the officers and crew of the Mantelpiece sang God Save the King. His Excellency and Lady Rundle evinced the pleasure afforded to them in the performance by remaining to the end. ("Maltese Amateur Dramatic Society L'Indipendenza", *Daily Malta Chronicle* 1910. April 16, 7)

Presumably staying on "to the end" of the performance was not usual or expected from the governor and his wife, as they would not have been able to understand the language used. At a time of linguistic upheaval, this could have been taken as

a sign that British authorities were supporting the establishment of the Maltese language as a possible substitute for Italian, which was the dominant language of cultural expression. In fact this was also partially true, as the undeclared British policy for Malta was to allow the vernacular to replace Italian, knowing that the local population needed a more important European language to communicate outside their immediate community, and would eventually turn to English when they realised that they needed a language that could serve them beyond their immediate linguistic community, as actually happened later in the twentieth century (Frendo 1994, 14).

This was a clear demonstration that contemporary English theatre could and would eventually become an accepted part of Maltese theatre culture, with Borg himself going on to produce English works which were popular at the time, such as Sidney Jones' *Geisha* and works which had been successful in England, such as Jean Gilbert's *The Girl in the Taxi*, which in spite of not being originally an English work, was considered for production in Maltese after its London run. (Borg 1934, 126) For people like Borg, a theatre-maker who was equally at ease producing Italian opera for the Royal Opera House, which he managed for a time, as adapting French farce, England had become a new point of reference. Reading through his memoirs one cannot miss the feeling that in all his adaptations from English works he did his utmost to prove that he could stage the works he chose as well as any English performers that he had seen. However, staging his works in Maltese meant that he was not trying to attract English spectators, who probably would not have been interested anyway.

This act of mimicry seems not to have impressed Major Todd or the rest of the British amateur performers in Malta. This is quite clear from the way the company he led during the few years he was in Malta developed in the following decades, remaining an all-British acting troupe more or less up to Independence, when its personnel was substituted by anglicised Maltese (Mompalao de Piro

1985, 46-71), but the best example can be seen through an examination of a production the company put on the following Christmas.

Christmas pantomime was a relatively unknown genre in Malta until Major Todd produced his *Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp* at the beginning of January 1911. Only a handful of pantomimes are known to have been performed previously, including those performed aboard naval vessels or by their crews. (Spiteri 2014, 48-49). Yet *Aladdin* "played to packed houses for no less than twelve performances," (Mompalao de Piro 1985, 12) an extraordinary figure even by today's standards for a small country like Malta. The audience consisted predominantly of British people, who thus recovered another link to the culture they had left behind when they made their way to Malta. The performers were all British as well as for at least another half a century the company would not admit Maltese performers amongst its ranks.

Christmas Pantomime itself is an intrinsically British theatrical genre, created and transformed primarily after the 1843 Theatre Regulation Act from a poor alternative to legitimate spoken theatre into a new type of theatre that fused several traditions into a formulaic genre that is still recognizable today (Richards 2015, 2-3). Its popularity with audiences from very diverse social classes made it a national theatrical institution that could be used for propaganda (Davis 2010, 101-105) and also exported to the colonies, both to serve as entertainment to British citizens serving or otherwise making a living in the colonies (Tait 2001, 67-83) as well as to reinforce British cultural superiority amongst indigenous populations.

Major Campbell Todd's contribution to pantomime in Malta was certainly an exercise in proving the superiority of the British people over the indigenous population, but it was also a cynical account of colonial relations on the island. The text Todd prepared followed all the structural and thematic features associated with pantomime and with the story of Aladdin as it had already been

established within the genre. It is set in China, but there are several references to Malta in the text, including giving Chinese police officers the names of Maltese towns. However, the main engagement with Malta and the Maltese comes in this extract in the very first scene and is spoken by the Evil Spirit, a character portrayed by Major Todd himself (Todd 1910, 3).

> I've just arrived from a place named Valletta
> Where some are good, but most might well be better.
> The capital of a great land called Malta
> When I've got time some things I shall alter:
> It is a military and naval station
> With an enormous civil population
> Which fact, the "Chronicle" gives me good grounds
> For saying, daily grows by leaps and bounds,
> And makes the only hope of their salvation
> Rest in the future on much emigration
> Strictly between ourselves I would confide
> I cannot blame them for Race Suicide (Todd 1910, 5).

The statement is a faithful interpretation of British policy at the time in Malta, which saw the islands as a fortress colony, or simply territory that had to serve military purposes. The indigenous population, beyond that which could profitably be used to service British military and naval interests, was considered not only as superfluous, but even as undesirable or dangerous. In 1911 the civilian population of Malta stood at just above 220,000 (populstat.info 2003) and had been on the increase at least since the beginning of British occupation, and this had led the government to seek ways of controlling the population, first through enforced birth control (Price 1954, 31-34), and when this failed, through encouraging emigration (Malta Virtual Emigration Museum 2013). "Race suicide," a term probably coined by Theodore Roosevelt in 1905, to describe an altogether different situation (Roosevelt 1905), but whose implication was that the birth rate is substantially less that the mortality rate, would not be something the Maltese were contemplating, but possibly something that would have made governing

Malta easier for the British. The use of this term would have been extremely offensive to the ordinary Maltese, who cherished their family above anything else and who took pride in having large families. Maltese people would have also found their mating habits compared to those of hares or rabbits ("in leaps and bounds") (Todd, 1910, 5) equally offensive.

That overpopulation was a major preoccupation for the British rulers had been amply clear since the previous century. Badger, in his *Description of Malta and Gozo*, declares that

> […] it is calculated that the whole number of the inhabitants amounts to 120,000 not including Gozo, which is reckoned at 18,000 more. According to this statement, it appears, that upon a given space of ground where England contains 152 souls, Malta contains nearly eight times the number. […]
> In the report of the late Commissioners sent out to inquire into the grievances of the Maltese, they state the cause of the impoverished condition of the island to arise from "the improvidence of the people in multiplying their number beyond the demand for their labour." Nothing can be more true than this fact; no sooner does a lad arrive at the state of puberty, than he begins to think of marriage before he has made any provision at all for maintaining a family (1838, 72-3).

Scientific Proof

The implication of both Badger's text and Todd's speech is that the locals have uncontrolled sexual passions, which makes them closer to the animal kingdom than to civilized humanity. Therefore, they have to be controlled by the rules of the superior species. During the nineteenth century a lot of pressure was made on the local population to change their marriage habits. A text contemporaneous to Campbell Todd's pantomime, R.N. Bradley's *Malta and the Mediterranean Race*, gives us a critical insight into the colonial rulers' thinking. Bradley states that the Maltese, even the cultured classes, have very little interest in sport, and this *lacuna* is attributed to the fact that they had not been affected by the Aryan civilization which had swept over Europe (Presumably, being successfully anglicised, people like Augustus Bartolo would have been excluded from this

category). It was therefore the British garrison's duty to instil in the Maltese population this interest in sport, something which according to Bradley was not happening enough because the British servicemen in Malta made little contact with the locals (309). The importance given to sport is central to the difference Bradley sees between the British race and the Maltese race:

> The playing-field is the training-ground for the *exercitus*; there one learns self-control, and that co-ordination of the faculties which is one of the developed psychological accomplishments. (310)

The Maltese are therefore lacking in self-control, and it is the duty of the colonisers to train them. However, this is no easy task, as ultimately the two belong to genetically different groups (9), and the Maltese are apparently destined to remain superstitious and untrusting, just like the Irish (290-1). The fertility rate of the Maltese is not referred to directly in Bradley's book (but see quote below), although the importance that the Maltese give to family life is, and to it is attributed the resistance to the colonial policy of mass emigration (296). However, it is a short step to connect the lack of self-control, superstition as well as lack of forward thinking, to the inability, in the eyes of the British, of the Maltese to control the size of their family. The superior British race, therefore, is entrusted with the difficult task of instilling in their colonial subjects some of the Aryan elements of civilization that had made them superior in the first place and had permitted them to conquer the inferior races. "The White Man's Burden", to use Kipling's phrase, was an arduous task indeed, as ultimately the Maltese, like other colonial subjects, were destined to remain in a subaltern position to their masters, and indeed would have to be grateful for these concessions:

> For the sake of cleverly tricking his master to the extent of threepence I have known a Maltese servant incur the loss of a post which meant not only a living for himself and his numerous progeny, but practically a position of aristocrat among his class. For threepence which he did not want he plunged himself and

> his family from comparative affluence into absolute ruin and despair (Bradley 1912, 294-5).

And the reason why the Maltese behaved in this manner and could therefore not improve their condition was, according to Bradley, the shape of their head, which was different to that of the English (295).

Campbell Todd and Robert Bradley were both in Malta in the second decade of the twentieth century, and were both writing before the onset of the First World War made Malta strategically more important than ever before and when suddenly the issue of overpopulation subsided, at least for the duration of the war. However, at the point in time when Todd wrote his pantomime and Bradley wrote his analysis of the Maltese race, Britain still considered the Maltese as an obstacle to the smooth running of her "fortress". Todd claims that most of the local population is not "good" (Todd, 1910, 5). The grounds for this statement are never explained in the pantomime, but as by default, the good people in the text are the British, it is implied that the difference between these and the Maltese is what makes the latter less than desirable. This hypothesis is strengthened by the declaration of the narrator that, given a chance, he would change many things in Malta. Malta is therefore there to be moulded according to imperial requirements, and consequently so are its inhabitants.

Todd's text is clearly considering the Maltese population as the other in a colonial situation. Quite clearly they are silent, or mute, inhabitants of a colony. Not only do they have no rights but they are even considered to be unable to speak up to demand them. As most of the local population could not speak English and the British themselves were not making any effort to learn the indigenous language, communication between the two communities was very limited. This linguistic divide, whereby the language of the colonised is taken to be a non-language has been amply theorised by Gayatri Spivak, particularly in the essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988) and in subsequent revisions. For Spivak, the

essential condition of the subaltern, or the colonised subject, is that he (or more appropriately she) is not represented. Within the colonial world-view, the world of the colonised subject is devalued to a point that it ceases to exist. The colonised culture becomes subject to the whims of the Empire, frequently portrayed as a relic of some superseded civilisation that has no place in the modern, efficient world brought about by Europeans. This is, for example, how Badger describes the Maltese musical heritage:

> The Maltese are not very rich in native musical instruments; and in their choice seem to have preferred such as are more noisy with the inhabitants of Arabia, than such as are more soft with the Arabs of northern Africa. Even these, however, are getting into disuse, and their place is being supplied by companies of blind fiddlers who are found almost in every village, and whose performances, if exhibited within the hearing of a man acquainted with the science, would certainly put him into a position to serve as an exact counterpart of Hogarth's Enraged Musician. The tambarine, a species of bag pipe, the kettle-drum, a hollow tube about half a foot in diameter with a distended skin over one surface, and a round stick tied to the centre of it which is rubbed up and down with the hand, causing a most monotonous sound (Badger 1838, 82-3).

The collocation of Maltese music within the music of Arabia has to be understood in the context that Badger had previously declared the Maltese to be "of a brown complexion" and had features "which characterize many people in the equinoxial regions of Africa" (1838, 76). When Todd describes the costumes of Maltese women, he is likewise compelled to compare them to creatures from a mysterious and exotic civilisation (1910, 6-7). What intrigues the character in the pantomime is the apparent inaccessibility of the Maltese women, hidden as they are behind their heavy hoods but nonetheless subjected to the gaze of the Western man. Although the women referred to in the pantomime are not enclosed in a harem, the clothes they wear lead the male to take a position that is stereotypical of colonial males with regard to non-western women who are beyond their reach but not beyond their desire (Betts 1995, 539). It is clear that one of the most obvious effects of colonialism (possibly also because its peak coincided with the Victorian

age) was a shift in the status of women in colonial society. While this topic has not been adequately studied in the case of Malta, it is evident that women became increasingly domesticated by being subjected to laws that saw the male as the dominant member of any household as well as cultural shifts that coerced the Maltese, both male and female, to behave in ways which were closer to the colonisers' behaviour. A case in point would be the acceptance of new courtship rituals that gave the male a more dominant role.

Conclusion

Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp is an example of the kind of Orientalist representation that Edward Said focused on in his *Orientalism.* As such it forms part of a wider body of works produced by English writers to describe a land, in this case Malta, which in become part of the British empire had to be defined anew. This process relied on the renaming of the land itself (Malta still has its St Andrews, Pembroke and Victoria), legislation, geographical and scientific analyses, but also on imaginative texts. The underlying philosophy is that the colonised subject cannot represent himself, and therefore needs the coloniser to represent him (Said 1994, 21). The apparently innocent action of writing a pantomime becomes an instrument of colonial control, as it contributes to defining what is acceptable within the colonial context. After Campbell Todd, pantomime continued to flourish in Malta, to the extent that after Independence, it became one of the main markers of an anglicised section of the population who took it upon themselves to continue performing amateur theatre in English. Representations of Malta similar to that discussed in this paper remain the mainstay of contemporary pantomime in Malta. The main difference is that the speaking subject is now the anglicised Maltese who describes the rest of the population as culturally deficient. It is indeed a measure of the success of colonial practice that the process of othering the colonial subject is kept alive by

descendants of the community that was itself subjected to this process during the colonial period. While in colonial times othering was based on perceived racial differences, in the absence of a foreign ruler nowadays it is perceived social differences (as understood through markers like language use, which part of the small island individuals inhabit, cultural idiosyncrasies and possibly political allegiances) which tend to maintain Maltese society's need to create others.

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"Mute Hieroglyphics":
Representing Femininity in the Early Stuart Court Masques

by Anikó Oroszlán[1]

While in the history of the commedia dell'arte, actresses seem to occupy a central position, there is not much said and written about early English actresses in the 16th and 17th centuries. Histories of early modern English theatre focus on male performance, however, as Stephen Orgel emphasises, theatre was a place of unusual freedom for women as well (Orgel 1996, 10). It is a well-accepted fact that large female audiences have a great impact on the development of Renaissance drama, and also, female behaviour and emotions (or, with the contemporary term, passions) were often thematised in plays. Orgel also stresses that even if Elizabethan theatre excluded women, they could take part in various forms of public performances such as civic pageants and guild plays (Orgel 1996, 11). At the same time, the travelling troupes from Italy visited not only London but also the countryside, so English spectators, every now and then, could see professional actresses on public stages.

Seeing women performing as well as beholding foreign companies could have meant the experience of otherness for the English audiences. Orgel mentions that this is parallel to the alien contexts in plays such as the French and Italian

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[1] A shorter and a less thorough discussion of this topic was published under the title *"'Actors' in 'Barbaresque Mantells': The Blackness of the Female Performers in Ben Jonson's Masque of Blackness"* *The AnaChronist* 11 (2005): 23-37.

setting in comedies and pastorals or the Spanish or Scandinavian bearings in tragedies (Orgel 1996, 12). So facing the Other in early modern theatre has several concerns, a segment of which I would like to discuss in this essay. On the one hand, women who performed were considered to be corrupt and amoral, and interestingly enough, the characteristic features attributed to them were very similar to those that described theatre as a devilish place. On the other hand, female presence on stages was saturated with the politics and the ideology of the age, especially because noble ladies as well as the reigning queen – being in an exceptional position – were able to find the occasion to show themselves in public, even like "actresses." In this essay, at first, my intention is to show those prejudices against early modern theatre that one can relate to female performers of the age. Then I aim to have a closer look at the only genre where women could present themselves in a legitimate way: the Jacobean court masque. I will argue that even if London court theatre was a secure ground to make theatre with women, for instance, imagery suggests that these performances represented male dominancy and the same biased attitude against acting that we can detect on public stages.

The question of the first women on the early English stage is one of the numerous mysteries in theatre history. It seems that there is no real consensus whether the first English female performers could be regarded as the first English actresses or not. Sandra Richards in her book, *The Rise of the English Actress* (1993), starts discussing her topic with the Restoration era, and as for the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, she only deals with examples of non-professional women players and entertainers appearing on public stages or in marketplace shows (Richards 1993, 1-5). She does not mention court plays, however; performances at the royal court and popular drama could have mutually influenced each other. Scripts were written by playwrights who worked for public stages as well, and what is more, professional actors were often engaged to

participate in court spectacles. Thus, as female performers of masques got involved in popular playmaking to some extent, they could have gathered real theatrical interests, and it is possible to examine them in relation to public performances. Also, in the former Elizabethan era, exhibiting Queen Elizabeth's body as a significant part of royal spectacles could have influenced the way female stage presence was considered.

The Jacobean court masque, as Graham Parry explains, was primarily a political construct, and it focused on the emblematic celebration of the monarchy (Parry 1981, 89). The most distinguished spectator of the masque was the King, who did not only have the seat from which he could have the best view of the stage, but at the same time, he was also in the middle of the noble audience's attention (Orgel 1975, 14). In this respect, even if the King did not play in the actual production, he was a performer and a viewer at the same time. Boundaries between stage and auditorium were erased, and the King presented himself as an essential component of the spectacle. The auditorium and the arrangement of the seats were just as well-organised as the production itself, and the whole event was composed to be a living emblem of the monarch's eternal grace (Kogan 1986, 30). In its function, thus, the court masque was similar to the royal processions and entries which showed Queen Elizabeth's body as a sight, and where she – adjusting to the social expectations that she created by herself – could have intentionally presented her royalty as a role. Stephen Greenblatt describes this phenomenon with the term self-fashioning, which is a set of constantly repeated, ideology-dependent behavioural patterns by which the individual displays himself (Greenblatt 1980, 1-9). This was a social practice that permeated early modern English culture, not only in the private (court) spheres, but also on public stages, and the metadramatic scenes in early modern plays often reflect on these manners. Later – as excellent occasions for self-fashioning – the masques in James' court gave royals the opportunity to take up roles and show themselves. Although

James I never played in masques, in *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) by Ben Jonson, for instance, he was lifted to a superhuman level, which was referred to in the plot as well as by his elevated royal seat in the centre of the space. His role – just like in all the other masques – was to overwrite the rules of nature and to make beauty out of blackness, thus solving the conflict of the play. So the aim of the performance was to stage constant and stable (male) political power.

The court masque, contrary to its explicit theatricality, is not expressly regarded as a theatrical performance in early modern literary studies. Theorists such as Stephen Orgel (1965, 1975) and Graham Parry (1981) rather interpret it as a fine art composition without real theatrical or performative value. Still, masques are worth considering from a theatre historical perspective, since – as I have mentioned before – in the strictly male-dominated theatrical space of early modern England, the court was a special territory where women could display themselves. In this way, the masque is peculiarly involved in the issue of otherness, and the main function of these private performances could have been to show the Other, which is the female performer. When approaching the masque from a theatrical perspective, one perceives uncertainty in terms of defining the genre for its mutability as opposed to permanence. As the texts indicate, authors applied Greek and Roman mythology, well-known Renaissance symbolism, and emblem books as well as the English folklore, and the concept was created in a way that the production relied on the audience's background knowledge and classical court education. The elaborate scenes and the series of Platonic allegories represented the perfect equilibrium of world harmony, and the function of symbolic scenic effects, stage designs, and the choreography were created in order to strengthen this picture. Even if staging was always carefully designed by the writers of masques, obviously, the actual performance was once-living and ephemeral by nature. So transmutation and change in the masque were not only indicated by the political content (for instance, in *The Masque of Blackness*, the

King's power to change corruptness into beauty), but also by the very fact that it took the form of performance, and the characters were played partly by courtmen, partly by professional players. At the same time, although the mythological and allegorical setting emphasised the immortality of the royals, by employing players on the stage, individuals inevitably became the image of the corrupt human being/the fallen man disapproved by anti-theatricalists.

The opposition of the rigid form and the spectacular stage realisation brings forward the differentiation between the masque-as-literature and the masque-as-performance, or, in more general terms, the separation of drama understood as a text or as the possibility of performance. In masque criticism, as Stephen Kogan summarises, there is a shift in the 1970s, when monographies on the genre by Roy Strong and Stephen Orgel started to eliminate the former bias against Inigo Jones and the – much more theatrical – Caroline masque. He also points out that although the consideration of the genre as a spectacle is essential, "without the masque as literature, there would be no permanent dramatic form and no coherent record of the politics and philosophy beneath the outward show" (Kogan 1986, 31).[2] This argument might be edifying considering recent contemporary debates on the superiority of drama and/or performance in theatre and drama studies, where performance often seems to be secondary, the Other. Although the court masque does not have a legitimate position in theatre history, I believe that by neglecting to interpret the performance side of it, we would lose much of the genre's meaning.

Although before 1660-62, there were no actresses in English public theatres, spectators, anti-theatrical writers, and dramatists had remarks on foreign female performers, and especially puritan pamphlets attacked those "hog-faced women" from Italy and France who participated in plays and entertainments (Thomson 1996, 104). Even if the admirers of the English theatre (actors and

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[2] For the overview on masque criticism up to the 1970s, see Kogan 1986, 27-31.

dramatists, such as Thomas Heywood) spoke in admiration about Italian and French travelling troupes – including women – whom they could have seen in England, puritans did not only associate actresses with whores and women of easy moral, but also with the devil (Barish 1981, 92). This was based on the general anti-theatricalist assumption that via theatre, a person can change into someone else. Self-transformation of actors was associated with deceit and counterfeiting, and since theatre targets the senses (especially the eye), performance has an effect on the spectator's sensibility, which also means that, from the transcendent spirit, their attention is directed to the flesh-and-bone body. Theatre, through the display of physicality, represents mutability and changeability, which are the characteristics of Satan's operation in the world. To analyse this context further, we might say that acting/bodily presence is the synonym of the corruption of God's established order and the true Christian's sincere behaviour. As William Prynne writes in his *Histriomastix* (1632),

> For God, who is true in selfe, in whom there is no variablenesse, no shadow of change no feining, no hypocrisie; as he hath given a uniforme distinct and proper being to every creature, the bounds of which may not be exceeded: so he requires that the actions of every creature should be honest and sincere, devoyde of all hypocrisie, as all his actions and their natures are (quoted in Barish 1981, 92).

So on the one hand, the body was associated with the instability of meanings. However, in the Christian interpreting framework, another aspect (or consequence) of physicality was lust, effeminacy and lewdness. Laura Levine in her article "Men in Women's Clothing" analyses the effeminising power of theatre and proves that as for the Puritan idea of the seemingly coherent identity, there are many contradictions concerning the understanding of the self. Attackers, for instance, describe the self as being stable and God-given, nevertheless, they constantly give utterance to their fear that it is transforming under the influence of stage plays (Levine 1986, 121). Both actors and spectators are warned that if they visit plays, they will turn into beasts and monsters; what is more, male actors who

wear female clothing will literally metamorphose into a woman. As Prynne explains the issue,

> May we not see our players metamorphosed into women on the stage, not only by putting on the female robes, but likewise the effeminate gestures, speeches, pace, behaviour, attire, delicacy, passions, manners, arts and wiles of the female sex, yea, of the most petulant, unchaste, insinuating strumpets that either Italy or the world affords? What wantonness, what effeminacy parallel to that which our men-women actors, in all their feminine (yea, sometime in their masculine parts) express upon the theater? (quoted in Pollard 2004, 290).

Identifying the transforming female body as the largest threat may have some other references. Stephen Orgel – mentioning *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* by Sir Thomas Browne (1646) – alludes to the early modern idea of the convertibility of sexes. According to this, men can turn (back) into women and thus, they will lose male potential. In this concept of early medical history, every individual starts as a woman, which is confirmed by the habits of dressing all children in skirts in their early years. Boys were only given pants when they were removed from the care of women and began to be educated as men (Orgel 1996, 25).

Another consequence of observing women on stage was the possible erotic pleasure of the spectator. One can find many examples in plays, where bawdy jokes and ribaldry were connected to performance, especially as far as city comedies are concerned. The sexuality involved in acting could definitely add to the interpretations of the physical aspects of early modern acting. One of the best-known dramatic examples is Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1606), where the main character, when seducing Celia, a married lady, applies certain performative tricks. He disguises himself as Scoto of Mantua in order to fulfil his aims. Since the scene of in the play is the corrupt Venice, which provides field for the manipulative actions of Volpone and his company, the play does not only represent Ben Jonson's aversion to performance, but also the critique of Italian manners.

It is a fact that in early modern Italy, from the 1560s, actresses were popular and recognised. At the same time, early commedia actresses were associated with courtesans of the type *oneste meretrici*, who were educated singers, musicians and poets. Kathleen McGill argues that although there is no direct evidence between courtesans and actresses, they were connected in the collective (male) fantasy (McGill 1991, 63). This is something we can also detect in the treatises of English anti-theatricalists. For this reason, in Italy, the institution of theatre was demonised by the attackers due to the presence of female bodies. Especially because early modern women had restricted access to the public sphere, there was a fear they undermine the hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church (Kerr 2008, 186).

Nonetheless, Isabella Andreini, one of the best-known commedia actresses and writers of her age, was famous for her improvisational and rhetorical talent, and this is quite remarkable in light of the fact that early modern English and Italian theatres are often contrasted in terms of accuracy in the reproduction of the text. Extempore acting is primarily considered to be a crucial part in the commedia dell'arte players' personal scenario. It was assumed that Italian actors used brief plots and sketches to develop the performance, and improvisation was rather a kind of composition which actors created from classical literary works, everyday speech, and commonplace books. In his intriguing study, Robert Henke compares orality and literacy in in early modern English and Italian theatres, and his main concern is that both traditions were competitive grounds for the two modalities. However, improvisation had different meanings in the traditionally script-based English theatre and on the rather improvisational Italian stage (Henke 1996, 27-28). Although I refrain from such a positivist binary opposition of these two theatres concerning orality and literacy, I have to add that for English actors, extemporisation principally meant disconnection from literary theatre, and improvisational acting included the composition of spontaneous rhymes, endings

of speeches, exits, punning on others' words or the mocking repetition of what has been heard. Nevertheless, in text-centred theatre, improvisation can definitely be defined as rebellious behaviour, which was especially associated with the fool or the clown character. Comic actors in the English theatre occupied a similar position to (Italian) actresses in the sense that they represented oddity and extravagancy.

The context which connects female performers to improvisation and unpredictability can be readily connected to the strategies of the English court masque. Ben Jonson, the most successful author is masques might be regarded as an anti-theatricalist in the sense that he treated players and spectacle with bias, and although he wrote for the theatre his whole life, he felt that the mutability of performance – both public and private – threatened his poetic universe (Barish 1981, 133-140). His deep suspicion towards theatricality can be detected both in his plays and masques as well as his theoretical works. He was convinced, for instance, that playgoers visited theatre in order to parade their fine clothes so as to make spectacles themselves and to compete with the play. As for the stagecraft, he was to a great extent against "painting and carpentry" (Barish 1981, 133). In his *Timber; or Discoveries*, for instance, he announced one of the most typical fears of puritan attackers of theatre, namely that the player is not able to rule the role he plays.

> Every man, forgetfull of himselfe, is in travaile with expression of another. Nay, wee too insist in imitating others, as wee cannot (when it is necessary) returne to ourselves: like Children, that imitate the vices of Stammerers so long, till at last they become such (Jonson [1640] 1947, 597).

Performance, thus, lacks the control of the individual in terms of his behaviour, so those involved in theatrical activity are characterised with untrue nature and fake identity. Although Jonson's plays were performed on stage, he tended to think of them as literary entities and reading experience rather than

theatre. Because of this, he never misses the opportunity to separate the written form and the acted one. On the 1600 title page of *Every Man Out of his Humor*, he informs the readers that the play was "first composed by the author" and contains "more then hath been publickely spoken or acte[d]" (quoted in Barish 1981, 136). As Richard Dutton claims, Jonson's career exemplifies what Michael Foucault called the emergence of the notion of the actor (Dutton 1996, 3). He refers to Jonson as a conscious literary agent, who – especially in his epistles to his plays and masques – emphasises the importance of his own superiority and controlling power (Dutton 1996, 21-32), which, when it was opposed to theatre-makers, lead to anti-theatrical judgements.

Jonson found the actor's voice and the public's ear unreliable and untrustworthy elements over which he had too little control. This prejudice against the mutable and momentary nature of the performance is perhaps the most significant aspect of Jonson's anti-theatricality, and this ambiguous attitude towards theatre is traceable in his court masques as well. With the publishing of the masques, Jonson's aim was to fix performances in a literary form, that is to "redeem them as well from Ignorance and Envy, two common evils, the one of censure, the other of oblivion", as he informs the reader in the introduction to *The Masque of Blackness* (Jonson [1605] 1890, 35). Nevertheless, here, at the beginning of his career as a writer of masques, he seemed to accept that this genre – or perhaps performance in general – is the result of artistic co-operation, and he admitted that "the honour and splendour of these spectacles was such in the performance" (Jonson [1605] 1890, 35). However, his later debate with Inigo Jones demonstrates that Jonson could never really reconcile himself to the fact that besides poetry, spectacle and acting are equally integral parts of the performance.

For Jonson, the poet-playwright, the masque was fundamentally about the verse, character, and dialogue, while for Inigo Jones – the designer and

architect who was responsible for the performance – it was about space, scenery, and spectacle. Although Jonson understood masque as literature, in fact, he could not deny that as a theatrical genre, it originated in various stage entertainments. If one considers masque as performance, it becomes clear that, on the one hand, it is changeable, unstable, and mutable by nature, on the other hand, the living experience of it cannot be repeated, reproduced and documented. Still, what Jonson always intends to achieve by the publishing of the masques – especially as far as the long descriptive passages of stage actions and directions are concerned – is to rule the "physical" part of the masque so as to make it lasting; or so as to make poetry superior to performance. Also, this was his way of arguing with Jones, who was not really a man of words. Unfortunately, we know the debate mostly from the Jonsonian side. Jones was primarily a painter and an architect, and he never even wrote a treatise. The only publication associated with his name was the *Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly Called Stone-Heng on Salisbury Plain* (1655), which was supposedly put together by his student, John Webb after Jones' death. Since then, the authorship has been debated.[3]

The tension between text and spectacle is made very clear with the distinction between the "body" and the "soul" of the masque described by Jonson in the introduction to *The Masque of Hymen* (1606):

> It is a noble and just advantage that the things subjected to understanding have of those which are objected to sense that the one sort are but momentary and merely taking, the other impressing and lasting. Else the glory of all these solemnities had perished like a blaze and gone out in the beholders's eyes. So short lived are the bodies of all things on comparison of their souls. And, though bodies ofttimes have the ill luck to be sensually preferred, they find afterwards the food fortune when souls live, to be utterly forgotten (Jonson [1606] 1890, 58).

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[3] For more details, see Handa 2006, 357-378 and Peacock 1995. For details of the debate of Jones and Jonson, see Parry 1981, 176-180.

Here, the "bodily part", which is a metaphor of spectacle, theatre, or performance, is described as "short living" and "sensually preferred", while the "soul" of the masque, which is poetry, is lasting and "subjected to understanding". Thus, the body – let that be a reference to spectacle, picture, or physical presence – in (private) theatre is, paradoxically, something that Jonson fights against. As Peacock explains, he might argue with the support of Protestant iconoclasm behind him and assumes that the crucial and trustworthy form of representation is language (Peacock 1995, 38). This is the same logic that Puritans used against theatre, with which they primarily focused on the dangerous nature of sight. As Jonson himself puts in in his *Timber; or Discoveries*:

> *Poetry*, and *Picture*, are Arts of a like nature; and both are busie about imitation. It was excellently said of *Plutarch*, *Poetry* was a speaking Picture, and *Picture* a mute Poesie. For they both invent, faine, and devise many things, and accommodate all they invent to the use, and service of nature. Yet of the two, the Pen is more noble than the Pencill. For that can speake to the Understanding; the other, but to the Sense (Jonson [1640] 1947, 609-10).

Additionally, poetry is the art of the soul, while picture is only of the body. Thus, the latter generally acquires negative connotation in the masques, and it is not only a metaphor of theatre and performance, but also, I would say, of Inigo Jones. In *The Masque of Blackness*, it says "[s]o much for the bodily part, which was of Master Inigo Jones his design and act" (Jonson [1605] 1890, 37).

This clear-cut distinction between the "body" and the "soul" of the masque is, however, paradoxical, if one takes a closer look. Although spectacle is held to be evanescent by Jonson, on stage, from a theatrical perspective, it is always there to stress what the performance has to tell the audience, it engraves the message in their mind. Counting on the spectators' visual memory, the aim of every performance is to provide them with a lasting, memorable experience, and if one recalls the warnings of anti-theatricalists, this was a real danger to the audience's morals. In other words, although poets like Jonson might have

protected against the metaphoric power of theatre, at the same time, as theatre-makers, they had to admit that spectacle was intended to function as the preservation of the experience or the lasting effect created in the spectator.

Also, this polemic has many linkages to the notion of otherness. As I mentioned before, mutability, instability as well as improvisation were female characteristic features according to Puritans. The "bodily part", that is the unreliable performative side of the masque, therefore, can be related to women (female masqures, actresses, court ladies, even the Queen): it is tempting, impressive, but illusory and deceitful. If one is attracted by the spectacle of the masque, the attention is distracted from the understanding of true poetry, which is the creation of the (male) poet. Consequently, performance becomes the symbol of female attitudes, such as allurement and seduction. Otherness, nevertheless, is also represented in another concern of the Jonson-Jones debate. Jonson, in a mocking way, frequently associates Jones (and also theatre) with a foreign land, Italy. In one of his epigrams, *On The Townes Hones Man*, Jonson calls Jones "th'Italian" who makes his way in the world by miming.

> At every meale, where it doth dine, or sup,
> The cloth's no sooner gone, but it gets up
> And, shifting of it's faces, doth play more
> Parts, than th'Italian could do, with his dore.
> Acts old Iniquitie, and in the fit
> Of miming, gets th' opinion of a wit (quoted in Barish 1981, 145).

Beside that this refers to the fact that Jones learned everything about theatre in Italy, what Jonson's biased attitude recalls again is anti-theatrical writers on Italian theatre makers. Italy as another foreign land appears as a corrupt place, where people are infected with viciousness. This maintains the same distinction that Puritan pamphlets on Italian manners also stressed: the strict separation of "us" (English) and "them" (other countries, especially from the deteriorated southern region of Europe).

This supposition is clearly manifested in Jonson's court plays such as *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) and *The Masque of Beauty* (1608). The original idea was probably to stage to metamorphoses from blackness to beauty, however, there is quite a long interval in time between the two masques. As it is documented in the text of the *The Masque of Blackness*, the chief masquer was Queen Anne, and among the dancers, there were the Countess of Bedford, the Countess of Suffolk, Lady Anne Herbert, Lady Susan Herbert, and Mary Wroth (Jonson [1605] 1890, 45). The plot is quite simple: the daughters of Niger set on a journey with their father in order to find a land the name of which ends with "tania" where the sun is hot and "forms all beauty, with his sight" (Jonson [1605] 1890, 41). The reason for the travel is the daughters' sudden awareness that their blackness is ugly. Finally, it turns out that they arrived in Britannia, and they are told that this is the land they were looking for. It is ruled by the Sun, that is King James "[w]hose beams shine day and night and are of force,/[t]o blanch an Ethiop and revive a cor'se" (Jonson [1605] 1890, 42).

The ideas to put women on stage (even if on a private one) and to thematise blackness have several implications. First of all, on Renaissance court stages, women could only be mute masquers. *The Masque of Blackness* followed this decorum properly, so the ladies wore masks, carried symbolic properties, and they could only participate in the masquers' dance. This dance at the end was displayed as the most significant part of the show, and it also involved the courtly audience. Speaking parts were most probably acted out by professional actors, and female speaking parts were played by boys. The structure of the court masque was brought to perfection by Jonson himself, when he included the witches in *The Masque of Queens* (1609) and the satyrs in *Oberon* (1611). The antimasque was performed and danced – contrary to the masquers' ballet, these were highly acrobatic and theatrical dances – by real actors, and it represented the world of

misrule and grotesque disorder.[4] It was followed by the main masque, which did not only emphasise the triumphs of the royal masquers upon the monstrous creatures committed to folly and vice, but it also showed the victory of the ideal world of poetry over popular entertainment (Orgel 1970, 3).

According to the rules of masque making, the place of female performers was in the main masque part. Although in *The Masque of Blackness*, which is an early piece, one cannot talk about the four-part structure that later masques usually have (prologue, antimasque, main masque, reveals), the black nymphs carry the characteristics of antimasque figures. In other words, since *Blackness* is admittedly and expressly incomplete in terms of plot, one might argue that it is the antimasque part of a two-part performance and that the mute female masquers are antimasque characters made very spectacular and conspicuous by the symbolic properties and the costumes designed by Inigo Jones. The speaking and singing parts were taken by professional actors, while women could only dance. Since the text in fact represented the quality of blackness as a disorder, it can be taken as the antimasque to *The Masque of Beauty*, in which the ultimate resolution comes. In this way, the black daughters of Niger connote the grotesque figures of the antimasque. According to the description of Francis Bacon in his "Of Masques and Triumphs" (1612), "they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, spirites, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets, rustics, Cupids, statua's moving, and the like" (Bacon [1612] 1908, 177). As Peacock argues, since the characters of the antimasque were played by professional actors later in the history of the court masque, the designer had more freedom to compose the setting and the costumes of these scenes (Peacock 1995, 130). The royal

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[4] As Jonson argues in *The Masque of Queens*, "and because Her Majesty (best knowing that a principal part of life, in these spectacles, lay in their variety) had commanded me to think on some dance or show, that might precede hers, and have the place of a foil, or false masque […] and therefore now devised that twelve women in the habit of hags or witches, sustaining the persons of Ignorance, Suspicion, Credulity, &c. the opposites to good Fame, should fill that part; not as a masque but a spectacle to strangeness" (Jonson [1609] 1890, 102).

performers, thus, can be associated with real actors and actresses. For this reason, criticism which targeted *The Masque of Blackness* seems to be even more meaningful and understandable – as well as the self-conscious intention of the queen to play an antimasque character even more daring – because the symbolism of blackness, strangeness, ugliness, disorder, and acting overlap. To give a characteristic example, one may notice that Mary Wroth was called a "Hirmophradite in show, in deed a monster" by Sir Denny after she published her *Urania* (Wynne-Davies 1992, 93). The term hermaphrodite was also a common word used for boy actors, moreover, curiously, it was associated with black people. The Stationer's Register in 1580 had a record about a child, who was claimed to be a "monster with a black face, the Mouth and Eyes like a Lyon, which was both male and female" (quoted in Newman 1991, 52).

The idea of the discontentment with blackness could have originated in the emblem called "Impossibile" ("The Impossible") from Andrea Alciato's well-known emblem book, *Emblematum Liber*.[5] The drawing on Emblem 59 shows two white men washing a black man, and the lines say: "Why do you wash, in vain, the Ethiopian? O forebear: no one can brighten the darkness of black night" (Alciato [1621] 1995, np). This emblem was later taken over by Geoffrey Whitney in *A Choice of Emblems* (1586). The image remains the same, and the poem emphasises that Nature is over human power, and simple individuals cannot solve unchangeable things. Since there is a reference to the washing of the Ethiopian in the text of the masque – Jonson usually relates his described images to emblems in his text – the symbolism of blackness has a clear explanation. James I, the representative of the sun, who is raised to a superhuman level – which is also signified by his elevated seat in the middle of the auditorium – has greater power than nature. Thus, the daughters of Niger receive a promise that

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[5] The work had many publications in the 16th and the 17th centuries, the first complete edition with 104 emblems was published in 1531 in Augsburg.

their blackness is going to be turned to beauty. It is especially interesting to consider that, as Jonson explains in the foreword to *Blackness,* it was the queen's special request that she wanted to be blackened: "it was her Majesty's will to have them [the courtiers] blackamoors at first" (Jonson [1605] 1890, 35). It was a common Renaissance topos that black women are ugly (Hall 1994, 192). On the one hand, being costumed as black people was popular in England at festivals during the preceding decade, and on the other hand, black-moors in public plays – such as Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* – were associated with the underworld; devils, beggars, gypsies, and other monstrous creatures, which were also synonyms of the "masterless men", vagabonds, jugglers, and all kinds of public entertainers as well as common players (Newman 1991, 80-81).[6] So, besides wanting to enhance the masque with exoticism, Queen Anne's rather provocative idea to mask herself and her court ladies as black nymphs might be ascribed to her devotion to theatre and acting.[7]

The *Masque of Blackness* was a novelty for several reasons. It was only the second occasion that Queen Anne stepped onto the stage – her first appearance was in Samuel Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, where she played Pallas Athena – and it was Ben Jonson's and Inigo Jones' debut in front of the court. Moreover, as Orgel puts it, the masque's most striking innovation was its theatricality, because it was the first time that the single point perspective, mechanical motion, and other stage effects were applied (Orgel 1970, 4). The performance evoked strong negative reactions. The most famous one was expressed by Sir Dudley Carleton. "At night", he wrote, "we had the Queen's

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[6] As Gamini Salgado argues, the "minions of the moon" were gypsies, who were thought to be the descendants of the ancient Egyptians at the age. They were known to live on the road, thus, identified with rogues living upon palmistry and other kinds of street amusement (Salgado 1997, 149-164).

[7] The same interest of theatre can be mentioned in connection with other female masquers like Queen Henrietta Maria, who wrote, directed, and played in her own masque in 1626. Also, Lady Mary Wroth, the poet-playwright was influenced by her role in *The Masque of Blackness* to a great extent. For more details, see Sharpio 1989, 187-194 and Hagerman 2001.

Maske in the Banquetting-House, or rather her Pagent" (quoted in Orgel 1965, 113). The use of this particular word "Pagent" is significant, because it has theatrical overtones, and it seems to be proved that the noble audience could have been impressed by the masque as if they saw a (public) theatrical performance. Carleton gives a detailed description of the scenery and he does not forget about the female performers. Above all, he finds it out of decorum that all their faces were painted black. It is no wonder that he took it as a scandal, since this is said to be the first recorded use of black paint as disguise instead of masks, which was more common in courtly theatre. Face-painting was among the major reasons for attacking players (Barish 1981, 103). Carleton reports the following:

> At the further end was a great Shell in form of a Skallop, wherein were four seats; on the lowest sat the Queen with my lady Bedford; on the rest were placed the Ladies Suffolk, Darby, Rich, Effingham, Ann Herbert, Susan Herbert, Elizabeth Howard, Walsingham, and Bevil. Their Apparell was rich but too Curtizan-like for such great ones. Instead of Vizzards, their Faces and Arms up to the Elbows, were painted black, which was Disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known; but it became nothing so well as their red and white, and you cannot imagine a more ugly Sight, then a troop of lean-cheek'd Moors (quoted in Wynne-Davies 1992, 88).

In another letter, he even calls the Queen and her companion "Actors" "strangely attired in Barbaresque mantells" (Wynne-Davies 1992, 88). The noble performers in *The Masque of Blackness*, for this reason, got a response which was very similar to those of foreign actresses of popular stages, since the performance used images that could be connected to popular actresses and boy-actors. The words of Carleton are very similar to the ones for which William Prynne was deprived of his ears and imprisoned somewhat later. Although it is not proved that with "Women-Actors, notorious whores", Prynne reflected to the Queen then, the statement was held to be a deep offence on the royal theatricals (Orgel 1975, 39). Orgel says that in the case of royal performers, acting was out of question, because a lady or a gentleman participating in a masque remains a lady or a

gentleman (Orgel 1975, 39). In fact, however, actors on public stages also remained actors who played parts. Instead, the crucial difference between royal and public might be that actors surely regarded themselves as actors, while there is no evidence what female masquers regarded themselves to be. Nevertheless, if one takes female performers' theatrical interests into consideration – as I referred to the cases of Lady Mary Wroth and Queen Henrietta Maria earlier – one might consider them as the first women who consciously channelled their creative energies into stage activity.

Defining the actor or the actress in the 16th and 17th centuries is a controversial issue. As Sandra Richards argues, it is not even clear whether the idea of the early modern "actress" is identical with the one that spoke dialogues on the stage, or simply a woman on stage (Richards 1993, 3). What the above mentioned statement by Orgel suggests that acting is defined by transformation and character impersonation. However, being an actor is not necessarily the question of submerging one's personality into the role. Moreover, if one takes acting in a broader sense, ballet dancers, clowns, acrobats, and the like – in whose cases, complete identification with the role is hardly imaginable – should have been classified as actors as well. So, it seems that being an actor does not depend on the enacted role or the extent of transformation. Actors are rather those who define themselves as actors and are acknowledged by the spectators as such. This appears to be the case with Queen Anne and her companion if one considers the expostulation of the noble audience. However, self-judgement of these noble players remains a riddle, since they are mute hieroglyphs both on- and offstage.

The solution of the riddle presented in the antimasque gives way to the main masque, *The Masque of Beauty*. The significant action, that is the transformation from blackness to beauty, or, more exactly, the disappearance of blackness, however, takes place somewhere between the two masques. In the latter performance, the nymphs are already non-black at their first appearance.

The unstaged metamorphoses might have been necessary not only because it was the original idea to glorify the King by emphasising the emergence of the Sun. Also, the black daughters should have been whitened in terms of their qualities of strangeness. This latter masque was, accordingly, decorous and very well received. As the Venetian Ambassador put it:

> [*The Masque of Beauty* was] worthy of her Majesty's greatness. The apparatus and the cunning of the stage machinery was a miracle, the abundance and beauty of the light immense, the music and the dance most sumptuous. But what beggared all else and possibly exceeded the public expectation was the wealth of pearls and jewels that adorned the Queen and her ladies (quoted in Janicka-Swiderska 1992, 78).

The central scenic image of this masque is the "Throne of Beauty" (Jonson [1608] 1890, 50). Around it, there are the elements of Beauty, and on the steps, there are numerous Cupids. Both the throne with the allegory of Harmony sitting on it and the steps with the Cupids were moving, and thus, symbolising the universe ruled by harmony, beauty and love. The white daughters of Niger in their dance – which was "full of excellent device and change" (Jonson [1608] 1890, 55) and ended in a diamond shape – enacted their physical and spiritual glory. As the first song tells us, the world had been lighted and moved out of Chaos, since the world and the characters of the antimasque were replaced by the main masque, and the ladies who were varied in their beauties.

Although Alciato's Emblem 59 on the washing of the moor represents the impossibility of changing nature, it seems that finally, Jonson could wash the "Aethiop" white. The foreign black ladies associated with the disordered antimasque, with physical performance and marked bodily presence were turned into white dancers in the main masque. This well-prepared and guided change is, of course, defined as a necessary and inevitable transformation as opposed to the unmanageable, chaotic misrule in the antimasques. It could not have happened otherwise, for the masque, as a politically constructed and controlled genre had to

represent the eternal and solid royal power. There is a multiple display of authority here, since from the peculiarity of the ladies, attention is directed to the king. King James staged in the masque represents the mastery, which can even alter the unchangeable. The author, Ben Jonson has a similar kind of strength: he is able to erase otherness and convert it into normal again. The oddity and the glamour of the whole event is that ambiguity and change are fundamental features in every form of theatre and performance. Therefore, even is the mute female masquers are whitened, with their (female) presence on stage – especially in the context of the all-male stage of the English Renaissance – otherness is denoted.

Beside the fact that Jonson followed the courtly decorum, the metamorphosis thematised in the masques analysed above represent his vague and contradictory relationship to theatre and performance. Also, it cannot be accidental that this uncertainty is connected to the female performers, who remained "mute hieroglyphics" as far as their intentions are concerned. We might argue if they could be considered as the first English actresses, but the consequence of their reticence or reduction to silence is that they have quite an undefined position in theatre history.

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The Music of Mozart:
Representing 'Otherness' in Film

by Marie Bennett

Composers' representation of Otherness in music is an area referenced by David Beard and Kenneth Gloag. They state that arguments have been put forward by a number of scholars suggesting ways in which composers may have portrayed or attempted to portray musically such groups as women, homosexuals, and exotics (Beard 2005, 8-11). They note, for example, the demonstration of alterity in sonata form, with the first theme regularly described as 'masculine' and the subsidiary, second theme as 'feminine'. In addition, Susan McClary argues that eighteenth-century composers viewed the minor mode as weaker and, thereby, as feminine (McClary 1991, 11-12). Such examples reveal the representation of Otherness in action. It is interesting, therefore, to consider the nuanced ways in which various spheres of Otherness were portrayed musically in Mozart's Vienna.

Matthew Head names orientalism as "one instance of Othering" (Head 2000, 3) and examines Mozart's 'Turkish' music as illustrated in both *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and the purely instrumental *alla turca* third movement of the *Piano Sonata in A Major* (K.331). He mentions the "crude alternation of tonic and dominant harmonies" and the "percussive (Janissary) cymbal crashes on downbeats" (Head 2000, 112) as being typical features. Furthermore, he argues that the movement plays with the idea of disguise and masquerade, e.g., it is the

only piano sonata by the composer that ends with a theme and variations, while the opening has a "formal strangeness" in that the "first episodic section… contains three distinct themes" (Head 2000, 120). Head explains that the representation of 'Turkish' music of the time was actually a mix of both the style of the Janissary bands and also Hungarian dance music, particularly, as noted by Bence Szabolcsi, the *tōkōrōs*, a masked dance performed at weddings (Head 2000, 67).

Other scholars have also explored this topic. Timothy Taylor, for example, states that the idea of presenting non-Europeans through a depiction of Turkish music stemmed from the success of the Ottoman Empire, maintaining that "'Turkish' music was the all-purpose 'exotic' music, with Turks being the default foreign Others" (Taylor 2007, 50). Taylor notes the research of Miriam K. Whaples, and explains that she identifies numerous musical signifiers to indicate Otherness/exoticism, including the minor mode within genres that are usually in major keys, e.g., marches. Whaples suggests that composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not attempt to make a distinction between different styles of non-Western music in their compositions: the representation was all-encompassing and stereotypical in nature. As she explains, "the eighteenth-century term *Türkenoper*" actually relates to "opera on any Oriental subject" (Whaples 1998, 4).

Mary Hunter, too, discusses ways in which Janissary music was represented within the instrumental music of the eighteenth century. She notes, for example, such "melodic '*turca*-isms'" as "repeated 'hopping' thirds", as well as "an abundance of acciaccaturas" (Hunter 1998, 46). She explains that such compositions are generally in duple time and that harmony is usually "quite static" or "eschewed altogether in favor of unison writing" (Hunter 1998, 46). Further, Hunter describes the interesting dichotomy in eighteenth-century Western Europe with regard to the *alla turca* style. On the one hand, as she explains, and in

agreement with Wheelock, "it is almost a truism… that 'the Orient', 'the Other' and 'the feminine' are inextricably tied up with each other," (Hunter 1998, 55) yet on the other hand, this style was also used musically to connote "extreme masculinity" (Hunter 1998, 57) when aiming to present men as uncouth and barbaric.

Interestingly, Mozart's own Otherness has been explored in biographies through consideration of his social skills; the topic produces polarising views. While the impact of the Miloš Forman/Peter Shaffer biopic *Amadeus* (1984) on modern conceptions of Mozart as a carousing socialite cannot be underestimated, the heritage of Mozart reception is considerably more convoluted. There is certainly evidence from his correspondence that the composer was socially busy. In a letter to his wife dated May 1789, for example, Mozart mentions some people in the city that she will know, writing that "the pleasure of being as long as possible in the company of those dear good people…has up to the present delayed my journey" (Blom 1956, 239-41). Also, some of the last letters to his wife, dated October 1791, give no indication that he is isolated – quite the contrary. In his letter of 8-9 October, for example, he explains that he "dashed off in great haste to Hofer, simply in order not to lunch alone" (Blom 1956, 261-2).[1]

However, notable biographer Wolfgang Hildesheimer makes some contentious comments regarding Mozart's relationships with others, although he provides little real evidence for his claims. Indeed, he proposes it is unlikely that Mozart had any real friends in his final years, suggesting that "human ties, as we know them, were alien to him. Nor did he need them" (Hildesheimer 1983, 243). David Feldman picks up on Hildesheimer's views,[2] but this leads to him putting forward a somewhat ambiguous argument. On the one hand, he proposes that Mozart was "perhaps the most social prodigy of all time" (Feldman 1994, 63),

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[1] Hofer was one of Mozart's brothers-in-law.
[2] Although Feldman acknowledges that he is not writing as a Mozart scholar and that he has a limited knowledge of the literature, most of his references are from Hildesheimer.

whilst also suggesting that, in some ways, the composer seemed "isolated from his fellow human beings" (Feldman 1994, 58). He does not provide any actual corroborating evidence for his claims either, so in the end his proposals are unclear and unconvincing. Howard Gardner is another writer who evokes the asocial myth and simply seems to be finding ways to substantiate his hypothesis that "like other creators whom I have studied, Mozart was a prickly character" (Gardner 1994, 42).

However, the debate around Mozart's social skills is not simply an issue of biography, as his reception clearly extends into the ways he is represented in popular culture, including film. The fictional narrative situation, however, is fluid and complex. Subsequently, Mozart is often the music one hears in filmic scenes where social gatherings large and small are occurring, a staple cliché of Hollywood depictions of upper-class socialising, as shown, for example, in *Major League* (1989), *G.I. Jane* (1997) and *Ace Ventura: Pet Detective* (1994). But there are also examples of Mozart's music being used in ways that appear to reinforce the social misfit myth, with his compositions featuring in situations where the filmic narrative incorporates a character who, for one reason or another, is shown to be markedly different – an Other. To illustrate this fact, I will analyse significant uses of the composer's music in four films that depict various misfits – outsiders because they do not fit into, or are not part of, society's 'norms.' Before doing so, however, it is interesting to explore how and why Mozart's music can be used successfully in film to represent either scenario – i.e., how it is both Othered and depicted as an elite norm – by analysing the employment of the composer's serenade, *Eine kleine Nachtmusik* (K.525), in the third of the films named above.

Mozart's music in *Ace Ventura: Pet Detective*

The narrative of *Ace Ventura: Pet Detective*, which stars Jim Carrey in the titular role, centres on the kidnapping of the Miami Dolphin's mascot, Snowflake, just

before the Superbowl final. Ace is employed to find the dolphin and, initially, he believes that the culprit could be a billionaire who collects rare fish. Ace finds out that the wealthy collector is holding a party and goes along as the date of Dolphins' employee Melissa Robinson (Courtney Cox). As we see the party venue, we hear the opening of the first movement from the Mozart serenade. (Although it is not initially clear whether the music is diegetic or non-diegetic, once the couple enter the mansion, it becomes clear that it is diegetic).

There are two particular instances in this scene where Ace draws attention to Mozart's music, such that it becomes linked to his character and his specific, eccentric behavioural traits, but is also used as background party music in the more conventional style. Firstly, when the movement reaches bar 24, Ace briefly dances along to it. This is not only an inappropriate way to behave at such a sophisticated and prestigious event, but also it is not the conduct normally expected from someone hearing a piece of classical music. Secondly, on the third beat of bar 78, Ace nudges the cellist, causing his string to twang, thereby interfering with the performance and undermining the musicians. In both these instances, Ace's actions help to bring the music to the attention of the audio-viewer.

Neil Lerner and Joseph Straus explain that one significant message coming from disability studies is that disability is something defined by particular contexts and cultures (Lerner 2006, 6). Ace's actions here provide an interesting example of this theory in practice. His behaviour is more typical of someone hearing a piece of popular music rather than that of a guest at such an elite party and is therefore deemed to be strange and unconventional. His conduct is also somewhat juvenile. What is of further interest here is that the scene provides a comic digression; it is superfluous in terms of furthering the narrative in that, if it were omitted, this would make no difference at all to the storyline. However, it

associates Mozart's music with wealth and sophistication, yet also with Ace's somewhat unusual persona.

Music from *Eine kleine Nachtmusik* is also heard later in the film. In his continuing quest to find Snowflake, Ace discovers that an ex-footballer called Ray Finkel was responsible for the Dolphins losing the Superbowl Final back in 1984. The resulting defamation and ill-treatment by fans and media alike pushed Finkel over the edge, causing him to be admitted to a sanatorium called Shady Acres Mental Institution, although he eventually managed to escape. Suspecting that Finkel may have some involvement in Snowflake's disappearance, Ace visits the hospital with Melissa. As some of Finkel's possessions are still in in a storeroom there, Ace believes that he may discover some clues that will lead him to find the missing dolphin. In order for them to gain access to the hospital, Melissa pretends that she is seeking admittance for her 'brother' (Ace), a professional footballer named Larry. Although within the narrative as a whole Ace presents as somewhat immature and unconventional, his behaviour at this point becomes even more manic, and we see him acting in an exaggeratedly frenzied fashion until the point at which he pretends to knock himself out near to the storeroom. From the start of this scene to the point where Ace feigns being unconscious, the images are underscored with sections of the final two movements of *Eine kleine Nachtmusik.*

At the beginning of the scene [c.57′ 04″] the depiction of the Shady Acres sign is accompanied by the opening of the serenade's third movement, the Minuet. Not only is the music thus announcing a connection between Mozart's composition and the mental institution, but also it is clearly non-diegetic; the mise-en-scène shows us the hospital from the outside with extensive gardens leading up to the main building, such that the music cannot possibly be emanating from inside. The music also provides continuity, smoothing over temporal changes within the scene – a typical and common purpose for the employment of

non-diegetic music.[3] The serenade is therefore clearly and deliberately being used as underscore. The third movement continues as Melissa and the hospital doctor discuss 'Larry's' condition, which is, in fact, manifestly visible. At one point, for example, 'Larry' acts out a footballing move in slow motion, followed by an enactment of the same move in reverse, much to the bemusement of the perplexed doctor. The serenade's third movement continues throughout this sequence more or less as written, with just some very minor cuts to the Trio section. In *Ace Ventura*, then, there is a clear connection between the music of Mozart and the idea of Otherness connected to mental health needs/instability and difference. Yet the music is also associated with elite gatherings. This film shows how music by Mozart can be associated with both central and marginal groups simultaneously.

Order and Otherness in *The Truman Show* (1998)

Jim Carrey also stars in *The Truman Show*, directed by Peter Weir. In this example, Mozart's music is used both to indicate both harmony and disruption. The Rondo *alla turca* features in this film alongside music from the *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra in D Major* (K.412). Weir often uses both pre- and specially-composed music within his films. For example, *Gallipoli* (1981) includes music by Albinoni, while *Dead Poet's Society* (1989) features pieces by both Beethoven and Handel.[4] As well as music by Mozart, *The Truman Show* has original underscore by Burkhard Dallwitz and Philip Glass, along with pre-existing music by Glass and the Polish composer Wojciech Kilar.

One of the catchphrases used for marketing purposes in the 'reality' television show that stars Truman Burbank (Carrey) is, "How's it going to end?"

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[3] For a description of continuity as a function of music in the classical narrative film, see Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music*, pp. 89-90.
[38] The Albinoni piece is *Adagio in G Minor*. The latter film includes music from both Beethoven's *Symphony No. 9* and the *Piano Concerto No. 5 in E-Flat Major*, Op. 73; the Handel piece is the Allegro from *Water Music, Suite II in D*.

The show, and Truman's world, has been created by Christof[5] (Ed Harris), who made arrangements for a baby to be placed shortly after birth in an enormous TV studio that is converted into a make-believe town, Seahaven; Truman's family and everything else around him is a fiction, the other townsfolk all being actors or extras. By the time we meet (the now adult) Truman, the show has become a worldwide phenomenon, with millions tuning in to watch his every move, or, indeed, merely to observe him sleeping. Christof acknowledges that Truman's world is innately fake – 'other' than reality – but justifies his social experiment by stating that "there is nothing false about Truman himself." The make-believe society of Seahaven revolves around Truman; he is the odd one out in this unreal world, being the only person who is unaware of its artificiality.

There are five uses of Mozart's music within *The Truman Show*, namely three cues presenting part of the Rondo *alla turca*, plus two short excerpts from the first movement of the *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra in D Major*.[6] This latter piece is also an interesting choice in relation to the theme of Otherness. Mozart composed four Horn Concertos, three of which are written in the key of Eb major. K.412 is thus already an Other, in that it is different in key from the remaining concertos. Furthermore, it is in two movements rather than the usual three. It was originally assumed that the work was composed in 1782 as a finished piece (Eisen 2007, 476) – initially, it was given the lowest Köchel number of the four concertos and Sarah Adams states that all four were composed "during the 1780s" (Adams 2007, 86) – but extensive investigative work on watermarks and manuscript paper by Alan Tyson indicates that the piece actually dates from 1791,

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[5] The religious symbolism represented in the name is clearly deliberate. The God-like creator Christof talks about Truman (true man) as if he is his own son. Near the end of the film, he reveals himself to Truman only by speaking to him, his disembodied voice seeming to be coming from the sky.

[6] The film also includes music from the second movement (Romance – Larghetto) of Chopin's Piano Concerto in E minor, opus 11. However, this is used when Truman talks to extra Sylvia (Natascha McElhone), who tries to tell him the truth about his existence. It also plays over some of the closing titles. The music is therefore associated with the real world rather than the artificial one.

i.e., the last year of the composer's life (Tyson 1987, 246-61). Tyson explains that the autograph score was not dated by Mozart, but that it has been assumed that the composer wrote the first movement and an unfinished Rondo in 1782, going on to complete this second movement in 1787. As Tyson states, few researchers "appear to have been worried by the absence of a slow movement" (Tyson 1987, 247), or the lack of bassoons, which appear in the first movement, within the Rondo. Tyson argues that the concerto was in fact left unfinished by Mozart, the Rondo actually being completed by his pupil, Franz Süssmayr.[7] This indicates that Mozart was intending to return to the work to further orchestrate the Rondo and add a slow movement. It would also account for the fact that the piece is not listed in Mozart's *Verzeichnüss*, i.e., his catalogue of his works. As it stands, therefore, the work has something missing from it, as indeed does Truman, who is initially incomplete because of his unawareness of the real world and the truth about his own identity.

The first use of the Rondo *alla turca* is near the beginning of the film. We see Truman at the commencement of a typical working day, leaving his house and wishing his neighbours 'good morning' before adding the mantra-like sentence, "In case I don't see ya, good afternoon, good evening and good night." Seahaven is clearly a friendly town. But as Truman is about to get into his car, a light falls down from 'the sky', landing very close to where he is standing. As Truman drives to work, the reassuring voice on the car radio of Classical Clive on Classical Drive explains in a newsflash that an aircraft was shedding parts earlier, but thankfully nobody was hurt. Clive suggests to listeners that they should "settle back and let the music calm you down" as the Rondo begins. Actually, the movement seems an unusual choice for 'calming' music; in terms of tempo and style, it would not really be a first choice of piece for relaxation. Indeed, the music quickly becomes representative of something deeper, as it turns into non-diegetic

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[7] Süssmayr is most famous for his involvement in the completion of the *Requiem*.

underscore, associated with Truman as the soundtrack to his pre-work routine – buying a newspaper and a magazine for his wife, meeting potential customers, and continuing on his way to his office – the music stopping in this first cue when we see Truman at his desk [4′ 01″ – 5′ 16″]. It appears, therefore, that Mozart's music is linked here to images of convention and conformity.

Discussing this scene, Melanie Lowe suggests that, in moving speedily from diegetic to non-diegetic underscore, "Mozart's music is ultimately a passive backdrop to the film's artificially civilized world" (Lowe 2002. 113), and she argues thereby that the "elite class" (Lowe 2002, 102) of America is shown as being artificial. However, the fact that the Rondo recurs, and that another Mozart piece is also used, means one can read more into the inclusion of his compositions than at first seems evident. It is interesting, for example, that each time we hear the Rondo, the music never continues beyond the first 24 bars, almost giving the impression that it is on a loop, or unable to evolve beyond a rigid set of parameters – something that marries with Truman's life in Seahaven; schemes are in place to make sure he is unable to leave – something he discovers as the narrative progresses – while the 'residents' of the town are given the same set positions at particular times each day, with some simply driving or cycling round and round to create the illusion of Seahaven being a busy environment. Their lives, like Truman's, exhibit a rondo-like form.

On this initial playing, we hear the first 8 bars of the Rondo with repeat, the next 16 bars with repeat, and a return to the second half of bar 8 onwards, but this time only for 8 bars before there is a return to the opening with repeat and a further playing of the next 16 bars, this time without repeat. This notable repetition of part of the movement appears to be replicating Truman's regular and recurring pre-work routine; the fact that the Rondo is heard again in two further and similar scenes seems to strengthen this idea. Fragmented across the film, the recurrences maintain a rondo-like formal principle. In addition, the musical

scoring denotes that Truman is trapped within his environment, for the web of repetitions denotes the character's incarceration – he is unable to move on. From an audience perspective, these repetitions increase our desire for Truman to get away, as musically we expect a change that will signpost his wish to escape from his stifling environment.

When we hear the Rondo for a second time, the music underscores a comparable scene [13′ 53″ – 14′ 21″], as Truman is shown once again buying a newspaper and magazine from the same vendor on his way to work. It is a shorter usage this time, and initially seems to be merely a reminder of the earlier playing; we hear just the first 8 bars with repeat and then the next 16 bars without repeat. However, this time the music stops before Truman reaches his office because, as he walks along, he passes a tramp and thinks that he recognises him. He turns back to have a closer look and is convinced that it is his father, who it was assumed drowned many years earlier.[8] Before Truman has a chance to say anything to the man to confirm this, however, the tramp is swept away by passers-by and put on a bus. Mozart's music thus precedes a moment of recognition and realisation for Truman that becomes the start of a series of events whereby he begins to comprehend that he is somehow different from the other residents of Seahaven – an Other. Furthermore, the music ceases earlier than previously because the tramp's presence initiates an intermission in the use of Mozart, illustrating that the Mozartean trap of conformity that has been created is starting to disintegrate.

The next inclusion of music by Mozart is a short section from the first movement of the *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra in D* [37′ 20″ – 37′ 44″]. Truman has been thinking about leaving Seahaven to see more of the world – something, of course, he cannot be allowed to do. His mother (Holland Taylor)

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[8] The actor who used to play the part of Truman's father has managed to sneak onto the set unnoticed.

and wife Meryl (Laura Linney) are shown sitting on either side of him, perusing some family photograph albums. The two women have clearly been told they must somehow persuade Truman not to try to leave by reminiscing about happy times in Seahaven. Meryl deliberately switches on the television before taking her mother-in-law home. The continuity announcer delivers a message that is clearly aimed at convincing Truman to stay in Seahaven, and the programme that follows is the aptly named 'Show Me The Way To Go Home.' Music from the concerto is then heard, such that it appears to be the programme's theme tune; home, musically speaking, is connected once again to Mozart and conformity. As Truman carries on looking through the albums on his own, however, something in one of his wedding photographs catches his eye. The camera closes in as he examines the photo with a magnifying glass. A sudden *forte* in the music is synchronised with the visual shot of the magnifying glass revealing that Meryl has her fingers crossed in the photograph. Truman's realisation that his marriage is a pretence is thus illustrated not just visually, but also aurally, via the close syncing of the visual editing to Mozart's music. This leads to Truman trusting his suspicions that he is somehow a misfit in Seahaven.

There is a return to the Rondo some thirty minutes later [1hr 08′ 32″ – 1hr 09′ 50″]. By this time, Truman is fully aware that, for some reason, life in Seahaven revolves around him. The music starts just after he winks at his reflection in the bathroom mirror, to illustrate that he is now aware that he is being watched. The Rondo continues as there is a visual return to Truman's familiar, typical pre-work morning routine. He gives his usual greeting to his neighbours and once again meets the male twins to whom he has been trying to sell an insurance policy. This time, we hear the first 8 bars with repeat, the next 16 bars three times, the first 8 bars once again and then the next 16 bars once. The music is by now familiar enough for us to know that it is synonymous with Truman's morning routine, yet the subtle differences each time also reveal his growing

realisation of his situation – his circumstances are not exactly the same, as he is gradually piecing together the truth about his life. Indeed, this time, Truman is merely going through the motions of pretending everything is normal, when in reality he is planning his escape from Seahaven.

There is one more playing of Mozart, once again a few bars from the *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra in D*, just after Christof realises that Truman has disappeared and orders transmission to be cut for the first time in the programme's long history. Significantly, the music accompanies the still of Truman used to replace the live show [1hr 14′ 30″ – 1hr 14′ 39″]. His image, literally trapped in a series of frames, is thus captured by Mozart's music, but the real Truman escapes – the pretence has finally come to an end. This is the final usage of music by Mozart; as it is associated with Truman toeing the line in Seahaven, it is not appropriate that it should be heard following his breakout.

Glass's 'Anthem – Part 2', originally composed for the film *Powaqqatsi* (1988), accompanies the scene (from around 29′ 30″) during which Truman becomes convinced he is being watched. It is also the music heard when Christof announces "Cue the sun" [1hr 17′ 09″] in order to make it easier to discover Truman's whereabouts after he has escaped unseen from his house. When sailing – he assumes – away from Seahaven, Truman survives the atrocious weather programme Christof generates and eventually manages to reach a door marked 'exit', at which point Christof finally speaks to him, believing that he knows Truman so well that he can convince him not to leave the world he has created for him.[9] But Truman has the courage to leave and venture into the unknown, although before he does so, he tells Christof, "in case I don't see ya, good afternoon, good evening and good night." Truman's final words thus hark back to

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[9] This scene is accompanied by pre-existing music composed by Wojciech Kilar, from *Requiem Father Kolbe*.

his morning routine and the music used to accompany this. The question raised by those marketing the programme – "How's it going to end?" – is finally answered.

The inclusion of music by Mozart in *The Truman Show* is linked directly to the character of Truman, namely someone who gradually comes to realise that he is an outsider within his environment and that all his social relationships have been fake. Truman is an Other in Seahaven, the soloist in an endlessly repeating orchestration of his broadcasted life as, even though he himself is genuine, he is the only person who is unaware of the fact that his whole life is based on deceit. Unbeknown to him, initially at least, the people purporting to be his parents are merely actors, his life-long buddy's friendship with him is a sham, and his wife is simply putting on a performance. At the start of the film, Truman is a naïve and innocent person in this deception, but he gradually realises that he is being cruelly exploited. Mozart's music tracks his life of regularity, but, ultimately, Truman realises that the make-believe society of Seahaven is enslaving his difference and, indeed, his individuality. What is also interesting in this case is the fact that Truman is Other because he is *real*. The filmic audience therefore sympathises with him as the story progresses and is rooting for him to become a free man, in charge of his own destiny at last.[10]

Social Oddities

Considering Hunter's interpretations mentioned above, it is particularly pertinent that Mozart's Rondo *alla turca*, from his eleventh Piano Sonata, is heard almost in its entirety in the film *Wuthering Heights* (1939),[11] because the storyline focuses on Heathcliffe (Laurence Olivier), a character who is seen by many as coarse and

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[10] The Rondo also features, albeit very briefly this time, in *Mr Bean's Holiday* (2007), which stars Rowan Atkinson. The character is well-known from his TV series as being an oddball, with strange and eccentric mannerisms.

[11] Practically the whole of the third movement is played (although without the repeats). The only omissions are from the second half of bar 64 (the recapitulation of the main theme) to midway through bar 80, plus one bar near the start of the Coda.

ill-mannered and as being, thereby, someone who does not belong. He also personifies the "extreme masculinity" (Hunter 1998, 57) that Hunter depicts. When the *alla turca* is heard, Heathcliffe is no longer the stable hand he was when he left the moors and is newly returned to the area having made his fortune overseas. Yet he is still treated with suspicion. For example, he is described by Cathy's brother, Hindley (Hugh Williams), as "a rotten gypsy beggar" – i.e., the type of character 'Othered' by musical representations of the Oriental – just before the scene that features the Rondo. In that scene, invented for the film, there is a strange interlude during a ball given by Cathy and Edgar Linton (Merle Oberon and David Niven). Although they do not invite Heathcliffe to the event, Edgar's sister Isabella (Geraldine Fitzgerald), who is smitten by Heathcliffe, asks him to come as her personal guest. Greeting him on arrival, she tells him that 'Madame Ehlers is going to play the harpsichord'. During the performance, Heathcliffe stands behind Isabella and, while Madame Ehlers plays the *alla turca* movement [1hr 08′ 14″ – 1hr 10′ 12″], he stares continuously at his soulmate, Cathy, who is sitting across the room.

When we first see Cathy, she is smiling and looking around happily at her guests, but she is then drawn as if mesmerised towards Heathcliffe's constant gaze. Her expression changes and she tries to avoid looking at him, but she is pulled back to this 'exotic' man like a magnet. But what is the source of his power? His exoticism is a cocktail of Cathy's knowledge of his past, his swarthy appearance, and Mozart. We are then shown Isabella looking behind her to share her happiness with Heathcliffe, but he does not reciprocate, instead continuing to keep Cathy in his sights. Cathy is shown looking from Heathcliffe to Isabella and back again, after which she sighs, looking down and away. She doesn't need to say anything, as her thoughts are clear; having chosen the option of a comfortable life with the reliable Edgar, she has rejected the feral misfit, Heathcliffe, but cannot help still being attracted to him. This shot is followed by a close-up of the

hands of Madame Ehlers, a character with no purpose in the filmic narrative other than to play the Rondo in this scene. She is reaching the end of the performance when the camera focuses particularly on her left (and thus 'sinister') hand pounding the final chords of the movement, but the camera is canted at an odd angle that is uncharacteristic of this style of film.[12] The angle reinforces the suggestion that the piece is representing the presence of an Other in the room, i.e., Heathcliffe, someone who stands at an odd angle within that society.

What is most noticeable when listening to the Mozart piece in this scene is the speed at which the movement is played. Marked *allegretto*, one hardly expects the performer to dawdle, but Madame Ehlers plays at approximately crotchet = 160 and even faster at times. As a comparison, in two CD recordings of the piece, one by Klára Würtz, and the other by Murray Perahia, the speed of the movement is around crotchet = 135. The excessively fast tempo makes the playing of Madame Ehlers sound wild and frenetic. The hectic speed of the *alla turca* therefore intensifies the film's evocation of the untamed character of Heathcliffe.

The scene's audio contrasts markedly with the visuals: there is little movement at this point, not just because the guests are listening to the performance but also because of the contained exchange of looks between the two protagonists. The musical turmoil instead represents emotion behind the social masks, as the music is also marking Cathy's dilemma, for, although she has chosen not to be with Heathcliffe, she is still attracted to the 'exotic', as shown by the fact that she cannot help but look at him while the music is playing. This evokes Edward Said's observation of the East as "an idealized object of desire" – desire personified here by Heathcliffe and revealed by the music of Mozart (Taylor 2007, x). One can also suggest a link to Head's proposal that the movement plays on the topic of disguise. Heathcliffe's elegant clothes are really a

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[12] David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson state that such framing is 'relatively rare', though used extensively in a few films, giving as examples two thrillers that star Orson Welles, namely *The Third Man* (1949) and *Mr. Arkadin* (1955) (Bordwell 2001, 218).

costume, enabling him to play the role of someone he is not. The music is thus doubly fitting at this point in the film's narrative, as the two main characters are also engaged here in acts of masking: the music unmasks what the film depicts as the primitive urges churning beneath their social decorum.

It is also interesting that no words are spoken during the playing of the movement. The film therefore narrates at this point through the choice of piece, the manner in which it is played, and the music's interaction with the accompanying visuals. In his essay on instrumental works entitled "Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?," Jean-Jacques Nattiez states that "the notion of narrative is in the first place bound up with verbal practices" (Nattiez 1990, 241). With regard to instrumental concert music, he suggests that a narrative "is not *in* the music, but *in the plot imagined and constructed by the listeners*" (Nattiez 1990, 249, original emphasis). I would argue that this clip exemplifies music and visuals being used to make a film both denote and connote plot and subtext without the need for verbal exchange, for, during the playing of the Mozart movement, much is communicated despite the absence of verbal language. Indeed, the lack of dialogue at this point draws us as audience members to listen much more closely to the piece of music while we watch the screen. The music reminds us that Heathcliffe, despite his outward manifestation, is still an Other. He does not truly belong. However, the score also narrates something about Mozart, unmasking as simplistic some of the more familiar, film-mediated tales of his sociable nature.

'Hearing' Mozart

The use of Mozart's music in the film *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter* (1968) is briefly discussed by Irene Kahn Atkins, who explains that a filmic character plays a record of a Mozart symphony to someone who can neither speak nor hear. She suggests that "it is really the audience, rather than he, that reacts to the *sound* of

the music, although he does have a definite response" (Kahn Atkins 1983. 25, original emphasis). She explains that the same piece is heard later in the film, when the character attends a concert and argues that, on this occasion, the response from the character is different, as he "no longer has the protective one-to-one relationship that he enjoyed when the music was played at home" because he is now one amongst a large group of people, which "reinforces his own sense of alienation and isolation" (Kahn Atkins 1983, 25-6). It is interesting that Kahn Atkins articulates a familiar trope about Mozart here as much as describing the character in the film, i.e., that of social outcast, someone who does not belong – an Other. Even though she does not specifically associate this fact with the composer, she links the Mozart piece to the deaf and mute character, and his feeling of Otherness.

Kahn Atkins's account of the order of what happens in this film and her recollection of the narrative is somewhat muddled, however. In fact, the first hearing of a Mozart piece in the film occurs when schoolgirl Mick (Sondra Locke) is sitting outside the house of one of her (much wealthier) peers, Delores (Sherri Vise), who is playing the piano off screen [c. 18′ 42″ – 19′ 22″]. Mick has clearly been listening there for a little while as, when Delores comes out, Mick says she liked the pieces, particularly the last one, and asks what it was. The conversation continues as follows:

> Delores – 'The Rondo from Mozart's Piano Sonata in C Major.'
> Mick – 'Mozart?'
> Delores – 'He's the man who wrote it.'
> Mick – 'Oh.'[13]

During the short, subsequent discussion between the two schoolgirls, it becomes clear that Mick is not particularly popular, as she has not been invited to a party taking place that evening. Mick later asks her parents if she can have a piano.

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[13] Mozart composed four Piano Sonatas in the key of C major. This is the Rondo from Sonata No. 16, (K.545) and the music played is roughly from bar 29 to 60.

However, they are in no position financially to afford one and have rented out one of their rooms to John Singer (Alan Arkin) in order to try and make ends meet.

Singer is the deaf mute to whom Kahn Atkins refers. A little later in the narrative, Singer sees Mick outside a concert hall at which the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra is playing. She is sitting on some stairs, listening to the music, transfixed and still. He doesn't disturb her, but takes a look at the concert programme on the poster outside the hall. The camera closes in on the piece listed after the intermission, Mozart's *Symphony No. 41 in C Major* (K.551). Mick has clearly been inspired to listen to more Mozart after hearing the movement from the piano sonata. Singer writes down the name of the work. The music seamlessly continues into the next scene, in which Mick is seen coming home from school, only to hear the symphony emanating from her house. Singer has bought the record and has put it on the record player while he sits playing chess. At first, Mick listens outside his room but, on hearing the needle sticking when the record has finished [c. 42′ 40″ – 46 ′ 07″], she asks if she can turn the record over and stay to listen. Singer again becomes aware of the positive affect the music has on Mick [c. 46′ 56″ – 47′ 58″] and there is a glimpse of a smile on his face.

The scene that Kahn Atkins references, in which Mick plays the record to Singer, actually takes place after the concert hall scene.[14] Here, the connection between these characters and Mozart as social outcast becomes even stronger. When Singer returns home one evening, he finds Mick in his room, listening to his record. Concerned that she is in the way, she leaves, but then sees that Singer is distressed and returns. She tells him that she now realises he is lonely, but had never thought about anyone else other than herself being lonely before. She explains that listening to music helps make her loneliness go. Putting the record back on, she tries to describe the music to Singer and then starts to 'conduct' what

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[14] Neither Mick nor Singer is actually in the concert hall, as intimated by Kahn Atkins. Mick clearly would not be able to afford a ticket, while there would be no benefit to Singer in attending a concert due to his inability to hear.

she hears. He copies her and there is a very poignant moment when he is still waving his hands, eyes shut, even though the music has stopped. Mozart's music creates a bond between Mick and Singer, who are both presented as outsiders due to their (individual) differences. In seeing how Mick is transformed on listening to the music, Singer buys a record of the Mozart symphony; in listening to the symphony, Mick becomes aware of Singer's lonely isolation and tries to help him by describing the music to him. Both characters are clearly Others within the community, Mick because of her poor background and Singer because he is unable to hear or speak. The Mozart depicts this, but it also plays a central role in their transformation and friendship.

Otherness of nationality and class

Michael Newton notes that film critics are in general agreement about the gentle 1949 black comedy *Kind Hearts and Coronets* being the best of the group of films known as the Ealing Comedies (Newton 2003, 25).[15] This early film employs an aria from *Don Giovanni*, 'Il mio tesoro intanto', both non-diegetically and diegetically, incorporating the music as an integral and important part of the narrative. Before the start of the film proper, we are alerted in three different ways to the fact that this music is going to be significant to the storyline. First, an instrumental version of part of the aria accompanies the opening credits. Second, the name of the aria and the opera from which it comes are shown on screen. Finally, the context of the aria within *Don Giovanni* provides a clue to the subject matter of the film's narrative: revenge.

'Il mio tesoro intanto' is sung in the opera by Don Ottavio and comprises two sections that contrast with each other both musically and lyrically. The first part consists of an expressive and flowing melody. At times, the first clarinet and

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[15] He states that the Ealing Comedies start with *Hue and Cry* (1947) and finish with *The Ladykillers* (1955); see page 24.

bassoon play the same notes as those being sung, giving added warmth to the kind words being vocalised. The violins and violas are marked *con sordino* and often have a fluid Alberti bass pattern, whilst the lower strings are instructed to play *pizzicato*, giving a lightness and delicacy of timbre. All these factors complement the overall message of the words in this half: "Meantime go and console my dearest one, and seek to dry the tears from her lovely eyes" (Batista 2012, np). Don Ottavio is referring here to his fiancée, Donna Anna, who is tricked by Don Giovanni at the opera's commencement. Don Giovanni then murders her father, the Commendatore, when he comes to her defence.

The second section of the aria has a very different tone. The lyrics state: "Tell her that I have gone to avenge her wrongs and will return only as the messenger of punishment and death" (Batista 2012, np). Here, Don Ottavio is vowing to bring Don Giovanni to justice for his heinous crime. In line with the meaning of the words, the overall effect of the accompanying music is much more dramatic and anxious. The upper strings are now marked *senza sordino*, lower strings are bowed, and there are numerous passages of repeated quavers and semiquavers played by the upper strings. In part, the first violins play the four notes of a dominant seventh chord, but inverted, descending and rising again in rapid semiquavers, adding a sense of urgency to the words they accompany. Don Ottavio, an important, but minor character in *Don Giovanni*, sings "Il mio tesoro intanto" in the opera's second act, by which time he has become aware that it is Don Giovanni who was responsible for the Commendatore's murder and thus wants to seek revenge.

The theme of revenge is key to the storyline of *Kind Hearts and Coronets.* The film tells the tale of Louis Mazzini (Dennis Price), who is due to be hanged the following day for the murder of Lionel Holland (John Penrose). The bulk of the narrative is told to us through Louis's voiceover as he writes his memoirs in his prison cell. Louis explains that his mother was a member of the D'Ascoyne

family and resident of Chalfont Castle. However, after marrying an Italian tenor named Mr Mazzini – i.e., an Other, due both to his nationality and social class – her family disowned her. The couple was very happy, but when Louis was born, the shock killed Mr Mazzini. Mrs Mazzini (Audrey Fildes) contacted her family to seek financial support to help her bring up the child, but they ignored her. Conscious of her proper social status, she only allowed Louis to mix with a doctor's two children, siblings Sibella and Graham. Once Louis reached adulthood, Mrs Mazzini again contacted a relative, this time to try and secure suitable employment for her son in a private bank, only to be rejected once more. Mrs Mazzini's dying wish was to be buried at Chalfont. When this was declined, Louis vowed to take revenge for the indignities his mother was forced to endure by systematically murdering any members of the D'Ascoyne family who stood in the way of his Dukedom. However, the murder for which he is due to be hanged was one that, ironically, he did not commit, as Lionel – Sibella's husband – actually took his own life.

"Il mio tesoro intanto" is heard in one form or another on seven separate occasions.[16] Some of these episodes are instrumental and the others have at least some text. Leaving aside the first hearing, which takes place before the narrative proper begins, all the other uses of the music are in one way or another linked to Mr Mazzini. Firstly, we see and hear Mrs Mazzini playing part of the aria on the piano, while she is talking to Louis as a young child. He stands at the side of the piano, upon which is a heart-shaped frame containing two photos, one of each of his parents. This segment leads directly to a scene showing his parents' first meeting. Mr Mazzini is performing "Il mio tesoro intanto" at Chalfont Castle and we hear him sing the first verse of the aria from bar 15; his vocal leads on directly

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[16] Kate Daubney states that the aria is the underscore used in the church for Henry's funeral. However, this is a different melody and is marked on the film's music cue sheet as "based on Mozart". (Daubney 2006, 67).

from what we have heard played on the piano. Ms D'Ascoyne as was, sitting in the audience, catches his eye and he starts to direct his performance to her personally.

The next use of the music shows the two at home as a happily married couple. Mrs Mazzini is washing up and her husband is assisting by drying the dishes, singing a little of the first verse as he does so. The remaining uses are non-diegetic. Part of the aria is next heard with a harp playing the melody and a heavenly choir in accompaniment, along with a short burst of the text from the disembodied singing voice of Mr Mazzini. The visuals at this point show Mrs Mazzini, dressed in black in mourning for her husband's death and pushing baby Louis in his pram. The final uses come in quick succession and include brief pauses where there is speech. First, Louis is again at his mother's side, but now it is the adult Louis and his mother is dying. Mrs Mazzini is holding in her right hand the same photo frame that was seen earlier on the piano. Just before she dies, she asks to be buried at Chalfont in the family vault. This scene links to Louis and a minister standing over Mrs Mazzini's grave, the underscore again pausing at times for effect. The family has refused her last request and Louis' voiceover proclaims that, "standing by mamma's little grave in that hideous suburban cemetery, I made an oath that I would avenge the wrongs her family had done her." [c. 13′ 29″ – 13′ 38″]

It is appropriate for the first verse of the aria to be linked with Mrs Mazzini, who, in marrying an Other – a poor, non-titled foreigner – becomes disinherited, disowned and discarded by her extended family. She is thus a woman in need of consolation, all the more so when her husband's sudden death leaves her in the position of having to bring up her young son on her own. The vow that Louis makes in the cemetery represents the second verse of the aria, in which Don Ottavio similarly promises to seek vengeance for Don Giovanni's transgressions. Although this part of the aria is not heard within the film, its inclusion would be

superfluous, as it quickly becomes clear that Louis has been true to his word in taking on the role of avenger. In fact, he goes far beyond restoring what would have been the status quo had his parents' marriage been recognised by the D'Ascoyne family, for even if his mother had not been abandoned, Louis would never have become Duke of Chalfont, being so far down the line of inheritance. Just as Don Giovanni's antics are accepted under the guise of comic opera, so we accept Louis methodically murdering his relatives one by one within this black comedy. Part of the reason we tolerate this is because, with the exception of Mrs Mazzini, the D'Ascoynes are all played by the same actor, Alec Guinness. They thus become a collective rather than individuals, and we don't see them as real people, but more as caricatures. As Newton suggests, "the multiplying of Guinness into all the D'Ascoynes subtly diminishes the possibility of pity or outrage around the murders" (Newton 2003, 59). Even some of their names are duplicated, with two family members called Henry and two called Ascoyne, multiplying this idea of duplication.

The other actor who has more than one role is Dennis Price, who plays both Louis and Louis' father. This in itself is amusing, but the joke is exacerbated by the fact that the presentation of the elder Mazzini is very tongue-in-cheek. His appearances are brief; we don't learn his first name, neither do we ever hear him speak. We only hear him sing, and then it is always the same aria, as if that is all he does, thereby reinforcing his status as an Other who does not belong. Furthermore, despite Don Ottavio being very much an *opera seria* character in *Don Giovanni*, Mr Mazzini's performances of the aria are comical. When we first hear him sing in Chalfont Castle, it is visually obvious that Dennis Price is lip-synching to someone else's voice. The mannerisms and gestures he uses are exaggerated – partly to impress the coy Ms D'Ascoyne. For example, he sways about at times, with his arms flailing in seemingly random fashion, with no attempt to convey the true meaning of the song's words, instead using it as a

means of courtship. The second time we hear him, he is engaged in a household chore and the final time we don't see him at all, but just hear his voice. It is for no more than a few bars, and, in true comic style, Mr Mazzini literally goes out on a high. As he gets to the word *consolar*, reinforcing one last time the fact that his wife, who is still on earth, needs consoling, he reassures us that he will be going to heaven through ending his singing with a little flourish and by taking the music up an octave.

Through using the aria to woo Ms D'Ascoyne, Mr Mazzini unwittingly becomes the reason for her alienation from her family and, thereby, the social position to which she has been accustomed. Kate Daubney discusses the music's association with class in the film. She points out that the aristocratic D'Ascoynes show their high position in society through employing Mr Mazzini to perform an operatic aria at Chalfont, but argues that, because when we next hear him singing it he is in a "suburban kitchen while drying the dishes… the music and the social status it represents are both subverted from the outset" (Daubney, 2006, 67). Thus, although they welcome an opera singer into their house as an employee, the D'Ascoynes are not so keen to welcome him as a relative, as he does not belong within their social circle.

Certainly, class is a topic of note within the narrative; social position and wealth are to the fore as part of the film's storyline. Despite her new, lowly financial situation, Mrs Mazzini makes sure that Louis is brought up to be aware of his ancestry and to behave as a gentleman.[17] Indeed, in contrast to his father, Louis has no problems mixing with the upper class members of the D'Ascoyne family, because he understands the importance of style and looking the part. His manners are perfect; he becomes the master of sartorial elegance and he is, externally at least, the last person you would expect to be responsible for a series

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[17] Jerry Palmer states that "Louis has the soul of an aristocrat as well as half the blood" (Palmer 1989, 150).

of murders. Yet in addition to all the killings, Louis has no qualms about having an affair with the married Sibella (Joan Greenwood) and indeed continuing the relationship once he is engaged to the widowed Edith. It is as if Louis is Don Ottavio on the outside – the character of whom Julian Rushton says, "his behaviour, throughout, is exemplary" (Rushton 1981, 61) and David Cairns that he is "a true *opera seria* nobleman" (Cairns 2006, 157) – yet on the inside, he behaves with the amorality connected with Don Giovanni.

However, much of Louis' success in his scheme to become the Duke is due to this ability to present himself as something other than he is. To accomplish his first murder, for example, he spends all his money on clothing suitable for a gentleman of leisure, so that he can stay at a hotel where he knows the priggish Ascoyne D'Ascoyne junior will be spending the weekend with a young woman. With his second victim, the younger of the Henry D'Ascoynes, Louis pretends that he is a keen amateur photographer, as he knows this is one of Henry's hobbies. Spurred on by his successes and spurned by his first love, Sibella, Louis later woos Henry's widow, Edith, whom he believes will make a suitable Duchess of Chalfont, by strategically choosing both his timing and his words in order to impress her and thereby achieve his goal. Similarly, one of the major characteristics of the protagonist of *Don Giovanni* is his ability to pretend to be someone he is not. For example, he tricks Donna Elvira by promising to marry her despite having absolutely no intention of doing so, and also plans to seduce her maid disguised as his own servant, Leporello. Therefore, just as deception and disguise are important themes in *Kind Hearts and Coronets*, so are they also integral to the opera from which 'Il mio tesoro intanto' is taken. The idea of Otherness thus appears to be inherited by Louis, albeit in a different form, accentuated through the fact that both Louis and his father are played in the film by the same person.

Even when used as underscore to the opening credits of *Kind Hearts and Coronets*, the music without its text still conveys meaning. There is a double irony in many ways in hearing just the music, firstly because the words are in a foreign language which most of the filmic audience would not understand anyway, and secondly because the bulk of the narrative is connected with the second half of the song, i.e., the part we don't hear at all. But this fits with the narrative, as the ultimate irony is that Louis is about to be hanged for a murder of which he is innocent, although he is actually responsible for six other deaths. With Mr Mazzini the singer of 'Il mio tesoro intanto', and Mrs Mazzini the subject of the words of the first verse, so their son Louis thus becomes the inheritor of the remainder of the aria, the Other who must avenge the wrongs.[18]

Conclusion

As Marcia Citron has stated, Mozart "has become an international commodity whose 'wares' belong to everyone" (Citron 2000, 246). The composer is considered as a commercial asset within the worlds of both 'low' and 'high' culture. For example, while a programme that includes one of the composer's works can draw in the crowds within the concert hall, it is also acceptable to sell sweets bearing the Mozart moniker; as both Bruno Nettl and David Schroeder point out, the town of Mozart's birthplace, Salzburg, has created confectionary named Mozartkugeln, promoted for sale simply through the use of the composer's name (Schroeder 1999, 1, Nettl 1989, 9). For Mozart, then, the path between the worlds of 'high' and 'low' art is a smooth one, and can lead in either direction. In film, this malleability enables his music to be equally at home as an

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[18] In an illuminating interview with Tommy Pearson for the BBC programme *Sight and Sound* on 18 March 2002, John Huntley explains that it was Ealing Studios' music director Ernest Irving's decision to use Mozart's music in the film. The director of the film, Robert Hamer, was initially reluctant, but Irving was determined and persuaded him that Mozart's music could work on more than one level. My thanks to Mervyn Cooke for sending me a recording of this interview.

accompaniment for exclusive, high-class gatherings, yet also to represent Otherness of some kind.

The examples I present above illustrate that a number of filmic narratives suggest an overlap or link between Otherness and the music of Mozart. Heathcliffe is an Other in his environment, despite his attempts to camouflage this fact, and this is highlighted through the playing of an interpolated Mozart piece. In the case of Truman, the audience – both within and outside the film – is aware of the character's real situation, while he is oblivious to the truth. As filmic audience, therefore, we become voyeurs alongside the viewers in the narrative, waiting for Truman to realise the truth of his Otherness, with Mozart's music providing an accompaniment during a number of significant scenes that highlight his regular life in Seahaven. Mick and Singer are both Others, but they find a bond through Mozart's music, despite Singer's deafness. Louis's father in *Kind Hearts and Coronets* is incessantly connected to a Mozart aria and his Otherness lives on through Louis, particularly as both parts are played by the same actor. Indeed, each film analysed here features an Other who is linked in some way to a Mozart composition, sharpening the outlines of plot and characterisation, while enhancing the idea of the composer as somehow different from the norm, and thereby feasibly perpetuating the idea of Mozart's own Otherness. Although the Otherness of the characters is not always immediately clear, Mozart's music allows the nature of their Otherness to be realised in a subtle and nuanced fashion.

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The Other and its Double:
Performance and representation revisited

by Eszter Horváth

Introduction to our subject, the Other

If I were to choose a slogan for XXth century continental philosophy, I would say: "I is another." Rimbaud's well-known metaphor is omnipresent, cited and re-cited, this elementary affirmation intruded into the field of philosophy and broke its identity. Theories of difference and multiplicity turn around and around the breach opened by it, trying to understand, to give a form to this metaphysical event, the split of identity. One could be tempted to affirm that French theory, especially, would be "constituted" as an incessant reformulation, or re-affirmation of this metaphor, chanting the eternal return of the Other. Otherness opens up identities to their multiple possibilities, identities to their future becomings. It opens up a space of metaphoricity, metamorphoses and theatricality – a space of interaction between physical and metaphysical approaches, somewhere in the no man's land shared by reality, fiction, creation and invention. Metaphoricity, metamorphoses and theatricality would be the triple discourse of becoming-other: the metaphor is the *pro-found* act of becoming something different (as difference *is* a metaphor, the very *act* of altering identities), the alterity or otherness that it vehicles is theatrical in this sense.

This kind of altering identity will be our *subject*, in its double sense, the acting subject and the one being acted upon: the subject which is subject to itself,

as a self, that is, as something fundamentally different. We'll see: a subject is *alter-native,* altered from its birth.

As an alternative constitution, multiple in itself, our subject loses its identity; its loose boundaries don't fit the strict definition of a determined identity. Indeed, it's the very status of being as a subject which is in question here. The problem of the subject is one of de-finition, as the subject becomes in-finite in the process of its alternative constitution.

Our subject is a non-essential, *self-abandoned* being, an *open-minded* consciousness, always on the move, in ceaseless metamorphosis, one cannot fix its limits, its body is de-limited: it is a *"personne",* a no-body, an any-body, impersonal and pre-individual as Deleuze would say, and any person or individual would be just a stabilized, closed representation, a poor, rigid image of the becoming self.

This person without personality reminds us Diderot's *Paradox of Acting*: it is an *actor* – and the same *personne* (this (im)personal no-body or no-body in person) is at work in 20th century avant-garde theaters beginning with the Über-marionette of Edward Gordon Craig, Meyerhold's biomechanics, the epical theater of Brecht, Artaud's hieroglyph, the after-war generation: Grotowski, Barba, Brook, Tadeusz Kantor, Bob Wilson - we could continue the list.

That split subject opens theatre and ontology to each other, and with French (and French-oriented) theory it turns out that theatre is the proper space of becoming a subject, a multiple One. A becoming multiplicity requires a free space for its becoming, that I would consider as an inter-active scene of alterities.
If the problem of subjectivity, that is, the problem of otherness, occupies the scene of 20th century philosophy, then philosophy cannot help but admit its theatricality and welcome theatre as its own other, but it doesn't happen without difficulties. Theatre is seen as philosophy's dangerous other, the field of instability, of simulation, illusion, fiction – theatre is out of Reason. I would go even farther: it's

not only "out" of reason, but it has "inner" effects on the Reason, it's the "inner outside" of the Reason, its "constitutive outside", as Judith Butler would say. Philosophy fears losing its identity in the interaction with theatre. Because theatre "itself" has no identity. It only has a dominant image, as representation of dominant values, which the scene would impose to its passive, uncritical, even "ensorcelled" public. Theatre is still seen as an oppressing cultural structure, something that at first sight needs to be overcome. That's what we can witness in the works of Gilles Deleuze and Judith Butler, whose texts are representative in this sense, as they struggle against and for theatricality, without ever succeeding in delivering theatricality from its devaluating commonplaces - hence the end of the age of representation in the texts of Gilles Deleuze, and Butler keeping her distances from performance in the elaboration of performativity.

The image of classical theatre persists as the model of cultural authority, representation of the inalterable given (the identity of being, the authority of an achieved knowledge offered as a present act, as presence of self-identical, eternal truth, law, inalterable Reason – all that the philosophies of difference would subvert in order to open thought to its differentiation, to open philosophy to an inventive thought). "Subversion" would be the way out from the culture of the One, of similitude, of well-structured, mapped bodies and pre-formed thoughts, the royal road of liberation: the event (the free act, maybe) of escaping the dangers and traps of metaphysical consciousness on the one hand and the socially/culturally determined self on the other.

It doesn't mean that subversion would imply a kind of "revolutionary change". Deconstructive theories do not target social or political changes (at least not directly), rather an ontological questioning of its possibilities – for there's no need to change a dominant social structure for an other, even different one, as it would maintain the same binary structure of "dominant and oppressed". For any deconstructive theory subversion begins with the idea of open structures, the inner

differences of cultural constructions. To put it simply: no structure can persist as identical to itself, as time introduces a difference which changes it in its very "essence": the repeated self is never the same, it's the self as another, its new present repeats, that is, changes its past identity in supplying it with a new present, a new presence. A subject which could be conscious of its fundamental alterity, who would not fear losing its identity or its stable place in the society, such a subject would be open to subversion.

Judith Butler choses the term of "performativity" and Gilles Deleuze opts for "repetition" in describing an unvoluntary activity of becoming-something (that is, something else, something different, other than before). When Butler opposes performance to performativity, and respectively, Deleuze opposes representation to repetition, they struggle against the common image of "classical" theatre, as it masks its inner reality, the evidence of "as if", of play (the most "serious" thing ever, one is tempted to say), just as if theatre wouldn't assume its "reality": theatre is the phenomenon of pure multiplicity, the evidence of multiplicity: in its space, representational dynamism, the way this space is occupied by the play of differences.

Butler stresses that a culturally determined conscious subject can never be subversive – that's why performance in the "classical" sense, as she understands it (as the conscious act of a subject who wants his act) is out of her interest. Subversion is not a question of will or self-control, it's not a voluntary liberation of itself, it's a question of openness, given by the very process of becoming. Subversion is not a "revolutionary act", we'll see, it's all about contingency. But a contingent "happening", if it's not an "act", is always an event, and we'll have to reconsider the notion of performance in order to understand this event. Performance, as we understand it, as coming to presence is never a single, conscious act of will, it's a process of quasi-conscious becoming.

We must then reconsider the very notion of representation as performance: as the "Eternal Truth" cannot come to presence (that is, repeat itself) in its metaphysical wholeness or essence, its representation will be its differentiation. Culture then turns to be a kind of representation in becoming, a kind of "coming to presence" in a performative or affirmative, that is, creative sense. Thus its structure will be destabilized by its own, inner difference.

We'll see: Performance and Re-presentation, both forms of repetition (that is, difference, always-other in itself) *are* subversive – not as voluntary acts, but as processes that unavoidably change the performed/represented: a performed/represented structure is inevitably altered by its very becoming. In the next few pages we'll try to supply Butler's theory with some Deleuzian approaches to the problem of becoming as repetition and representation. Reconsidering representation with Deleuze would bring to light the dynamism of performance as unvoluntary, free play of difference. We'll try to find the act, the free and unique, maybe "original" act masked by the iterative activity of Judith Butler's performativity and Deleuze's repetition.

The Alter-native

In Judith Butler's theory human bodies are socially constructed, but, as she puts it in *Gender Trouble*, their construction is neither a single act, nor a causal process initiated by a subject and culminating in a set of fixed effects. Construction is instead a temporal process which operates through a reiteration of norms, a process that she calls "performativity" (Butler 1999, 9-10, 163-190.). It is a constitutive constraint. Bodies appear, live, think only within the productive constraints of certain (highly gendered) regulatory schemas, constituted by and also constituting a social order.

Performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate "act," (that is, performance in her sense) but, rather, as the reiterative and citational

practice by which discursive power produces the effects that it names. Every single body is called to affirm (that is, enable and enforce) its "own" constitutive order. This (re-)affirmation is performative, as it actualizes the order. Without this re-affirmation the social or cultural order would be merely virtual, it needs to be actualized, hence the necessity of re-affirmation in- and by every-body. That's how bodies are constituted by and constituting a social order: by the very act(ivity) of (re)affirmation. Butler stresses that it cannot be an act, because an act would be conscious, that is imbedded in culture, determined. In her sense performativity would be a kind of activity without act, a kind of unconscious, machinal process of becoming some-body. In other words an *act*or, or a performer, would only be a performed, determined any-body in a well-structured society. No-body could act freely upon him/herself or upon any other body. For Butler the main question would be: what does it mean to *be* a body amongst others, if it cannot be seen as a conscious, active self.

Butler seeks to improve social constructivism as it was developed in early gender theory, because it didn't take into account the materiality of bodies. For social constructivism limited itself to criticize the psychic inscription of pre-given bodily entities, maintaining the metaphysical dualism of nature and culture, form and matter, active and passive. Judith Butler develops a kind of dynamism of bodies which would be prior to this classical dualism in metaphysics: for her there is a constitutional inter-action between the opposites as the "outside" must be seen as constitutive to any inner experience.

In *Bodies that Matter* she accepts that bodies are socially constructed, but construction in her sense involves the very materialization of the bodies (Butler 1993, 3-19). Matter is seen as a *process of materialization* , not a site or surface that would be prior to its formulation. In this process materializing matter stabilizes over time and produces the effect of boundary, fixity and surface –

that's what Butler calls matter, or materiality of the body, even more exactly: materiality *as* body.

Butler's theory has three sources: the linguistic theory of performative acts or speech acts, Foucault's theory of constitutive power, and the psychoanalytical account of the imaginary body schema. The core of her theory would be de-analysis of the regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs in their very materiality. This regulatory force is a kind of productive power, the power to produce (that is, determine and differentiate in their deepest materiality) the bodies it controls. What constitutes the fixity of the body, its contours, its movements, will be fully material, but materiality will be rethought as the effect of power.

By tracing the contours of a body one separates the space in an inner and an outer domain, thus, giving a subject its contours, that is, delimiting and defining it as a subject, means that power enables certain models, certain identifications, and forecloses some others. This means that the production of subjects requires a simultaneous production of a domain of "abject" beings, those who are not yet "subjects," but who form *the constitutive outsid*e to the domain of the subject, in other words, a psychical Other for the subject, which is not incorporated but still operative in the constitution of its body.

The abject designates a kind of "unlivable" or "uninhabitable" zones of social life that will constitute the defining limit of the subject's domain, argues Butler. In this sense the subject is constituted through the force of exclusion and abjection, one which produces a constitutive outside to the subject, which is, after all, "inside" the subject as its own founding repudiation. The subject and its abject Other are thus constituted simultaneously and bound together by their common limits. The latter is not even the opposite of the former, it is just foreclosed, present as the spectre of the subject's impossibility. It's not even an absolute outside, a neutral thereness that simply exceeds the limits of the subject, it is

constitutive because without that Other the subject couldn't be thought, it would be simply unintelligible. Paradoxically it is the Other that defines the Self.

Thus Butler conflates Foucault's theory of microphysical regulatory power with the element of prohibition in the psychoanalytic notion of identification. Her account of the dynamism of human bodies as a process of identification presupposes Lacan's separation between the Real and the Imaginary, that is "nature" and its cultural others, the unconscious/conscious, or, in Deleuzian terms virtual/actual or chaosmos/cosmos poles.

In the Lacanian theory of the mirror stage the imago plays a fundamental role in the genesis of the ego, as the body schema delineates and produces the human body through identification. The imaginary other has an impact on the bodily subject, deep into its flesh as it incorporates the image of an Other. It even defines the nature of human bodies as phantasmatic.

Following Lacan it is impossible to determine the chronological priority of the psychical image of the body or the physical body. For him the psychical body is not merely a mapping of a prior body but the condition through which bodily materiality appears and can be experienced as such. The experience of body emerges simultaneously with the idea of the body which is the very possibility of experiencing one's body. The psyche can no more be separated from a "preexisting" material body, since it actually takes part in its becoming, it has its formative effects.

As Lacan puts it, the productive moment of the imago is a response to an organic insufficiency in man's natural reality (Lacan 1977, 1-7.). Thus human ontology is an ontology of lack, but this lack is the very possibility of human autonomy (or to the becoming human as such) as it propels humans from nature into culture (society, law, culture). A human is born when the identification with an image of a stable body organizes the presubjectal into a subject.

Lacan operates a kind of ontological turn: a subject as a body has no reality, as it is constructed, thus phantasmatic. The Real is the instance who disturbs this imaginary world of sensorial illusions, deconstructing any determination. Fundamentally different from any "foundation", or determination, or other closed structure, it can be understood as pure Difference, as Deleuze would say, something like his *chaosmos* which persists in the fissures of the *cosmos*. The Real would be the Other of the self-structuring social Other. Then, there are two Others in the process of identification: the constitutive, determining, incorporated Other, and the absolute outside, that is the Real.

The Real would be the source of any subversive change in the order of the Imaginary, it would introduce a "time out of joint", when a given structure loses its stable identity, when it differs from itself. This undetermined interval, that identity insistently seeks to foreclose, that is the point where we can start reconsidering performativity and representation as cultural structures.

As the existence of this gap, this hiatus in its constitution implies the instability of the structure, its contingency, that's the exact point of the space/time where difference takes place and subversion becomes possible.

As any structure, social performativity has an inner and even constitutive critical point. It becomes problematic in its very constitution as *reiteration*, that is, as a temporal dynamism of difference. If bodies are constituted by the dynamism of differentiating matter in time, then time brings its difference in the process, hence the possibility of subversion.

That this reiteration is necessary is a sign that materialization is never quite complete, that bodies never quite comply with the norms by which their materialization is impelled, as Butler mentions (Butler 1993, 3). A body is different.

The instability of the structure opens up a possibility for rematerialization, where the force of the regulatory law can be turned against itself. A body in

Butler's sense is nothing but a sedimented effect of a reiterative or ritual practice, but it is also by virtue of this reiteration that gaps and fissures are opened up as the constitutive instabilities in such constructions. Performativity as repetition is a power that undoes its own effects of stability. A body has always the possibility to exceed or escape the norms, it can never be wholly defined and fixed. A body is something that can always retrace and displace his contours.

Thus subversion becomes possible from inside the law, inside culture. That means that any "sedimented", passive being holds the possibility of subversion as it bears difference in its very materiality. As an effect of repetition, *body is made of difference*, I would say. That's why any-body matters.

We need to reconsider the subject as differential, and the dynamism of matter as the constitutive play of difference. This differential subject would be as an open consciousness, able to welcome its constitutive outside as its alter-native. Then, every created entity (body) would be an alter-native for (as) itself.

Virtual and actual

Bergsonism, as Deleuze understands it, provides us with an alternative for Butler's theory of materialization. The idea of a dynamic materiality, where matter itself is invested with a subversive dynamism will help us understand the importance and the functioning of the "gap" in the matter which makes difference. Butler proceeds from culturally determined bodies to their process of materialization; it's a Kantian approach. Deleuze, following Bergson, takes the opposite way, he proceeds from matter to culture.

As a first step, Bergsonism abolishes the difference between matter and its perception, it postulates a continuity between matter and its sensorial perception. Bergson's *Matter and Memory* introduces us to a world, where there's nothing but images: an existence placed half-way between the 'thing' and the 'representation', a "self-existing image", as he puts it. In this sense the development of matter

(even in its Butlerian sense, as materialization) would be nothing else but the interaction of images.

Matter is not something shown or mirrored in images (perceived as such by a mind), matter *is* an aggregate of images. Matter is by itself and in itself as one can perceive it: an image, a series of images. Perception on the one side and memory on the other are our modes of access to matter. Both located at the point of intersection of mind and matter, they reveal the complicity of mind with matter. In matter, the images are oriented according to their own connections, their own milieu of other images; but the same images can be directed toward an organizing central image, the image of a body which perceives them. The difference between matter and perception is not the difference between an object and a subject capable of perceiving matter, subject would be just a peculiar sort of object (image), one that can be seen as central to the others, as it's provided with a perspective, thus capable to organize the rest of the matter.

My body is one material object (one image) among all the others, but it has a peculiarly privileged relation to action: it is the central organizing site through which other images are ordered. In perception my body doesn't intervene in the direct communication between images. There is still no obstacle to their direct interaction. A perceiving body just reacts to the impulses of its outside. Governed by the imperative to act, perception is *actual*, and always present. It leads me, as a body, to my outside, to the other images in space.

But with memory everything changes. Memory constitutes a different dimension of space-time. Instead of memory being regarded as a faded perception, as its commonplace representation dictates, it must be regarded as ideational, or *purely virtual*. Memories are not ours, they are independent from us, they constitute a past which is not personal, but objective. They are images in time; they form the dimension that Bergson calls *duration*.

A present perception and a past recollection are not simply different in degree (one a faded, diminished version of the other) but different in kind. Memory is the domain of past experiences, experiences which are still "real", which exist as such, in duration, "virtually". Memories are real, *as* virtual. They have no connection to the immense materiality of present images, they are connected to only one of them, a central image, the living, conscious one, our body, which can *actualize* them, *if it wants*. Actualizing memory would be a matter of choice, an individual act of the body. A body becomes conscious by its capacity of actualization.

Perception and memory are not attributes to our body. According to Bergson (and Deleuze) they don't belong to us, it's just the opposite. Perception places our body in space, memory places it in duration, a fundamentally different dimension of existence: our body belongs to the space-time, where the axes are perception and memory. Placed in the intersection of perception and memory we are the origin of our world.

Thus, every lived present of a conscious body splits into a dual-sided actual and virtual, one of which has actual effects, the other of which joins and adds to the past. A body becomes conscious in assuming this duality, being virtual and actual at the same time. Consciousness, as the inter-action of the two dimensions is nothing less than an ontological event: the ontological difference of Being and Existence doubles itself in the conscious self.

The fold

Matter is organized in folds, a folding materiality. Its folding/unfolding process creates something like an inside and a narrow breach through which it can communicate with its outside. A fold is an almost closed interiority.

Deleuze will use the image of the Leibnizian monad to describe this phenomenon: a metaphysical point, a quasi-closed interiority, that can perceive its

exteriority through a narrow window as the light penetrates it and projects the exterior world onto its inner walls (Deleuze 1993, 3-41). Thus a monad is constituted by the intrusion of the exterior, which is incorporated as an image, or as a series of images, a constitutive one since it makes up the very materiality of that inner space called monad. Despite its intrusive constitution, the monad is not simply a passive object which would bear the traces of this original aggression: it comes to birth by the very act of intrusion, and becomes active. A monad is the image of its exterior, but an active image as it organizes its unlimited outside within its own limits, creating a double of it. A monad is an elementary subject, its inside is subjective, as it has a perspective of its own. Perspective is even invented by the monad, one could say, it's a novelty brought to the world by the monad: it sees and doubles the world from its specific point of view – that's the difference that a monad makes, the difference that it *is*.

The incoherent amount of external images will be organized and unified in a coherent image, and by that coherence that inner space of the monad becomes spiritual. Space thus differentiates with(in) the monad into a spiritual and a material field. Physics and metaphysics would then be the outside and the inside of the same ontological fold. The monad is the point of indiscernibility, spiritual and material in one, physical and metaphysical at the same time: it is the body of ontological difference. For Deleuze the fold would be the rule of the process of organizing the matter: a spiritual automaton, *camera obscura*, a difference-making machine as it splits the matter of being in a double creation, an objective, automatic development doubled by its active reorganization: its re-affirmation, or re-creation.

Dionysus and Ariadne

Deleuze creates an ontology of difference: Being is a matter of moving, folding/unfolding matter, which is differentiated by his own movement, repetition

as an activity without act, we could say, incessant re-affirmation of Being. Deleuze's notion of differentiation is creation, but without any will or intention to create. Creation is the free play of difference. It's by this differential movement, a repeated movement of automatic differentiation, that Difference creates the world, its physics and metaphysics. Objects, bodies are differentiated, that is, altered differences. Altered, as they got a form, they became something, objects or persons: bodies, which were delimited in their becoming by the movement of matter that circumscribed them.

Difference is a temporal instance, a matter of time, one could say. Space would be a mere product of differentiation. As differentiation takes place, and produces bodies, it constitutes space as a structure for the created bodies, as a web for the process of becoming. But the constitution itself is a temporal process. Bodies are produced in time, as multiplicities of time synthesis, as a kind of condensation or sedimentation of temporal singularities, individual moments (Deleuze 2009, 104-114). Following Deleuze there are three kinds of synthesis, that is, three types of bodily constitution in time:

Habitus

The first one would be the automatic, unreflected, unfiltered collection of the independent moments, which result in the present moment, actual present, experienced as such – it's the time of our habits. It is first of all physical, material, it consists in contracted sensations. Deleuze describes it as a passive synthesis because it is not an activity of the spirit, rather an activity that happens in the spirit, and it determines the subject as passive, receptive. This synthesis is a kind of contractile contemplation which constitutes the organism before it constitutes the sensation. It constitutes the self as one who is only what one has – a dissolved self as Deleuze puts it, a mere modification in the machinal activity of difference.

Mnemosyne.

The second synthesis is the time of the memory, the pure past, which is not a passed present, rather the Foundation of the past, the ground on which the moments can pass, a passive, stable socle of memories. It's a past that does not exist, even never existed as such, but which insists - as the Proustian, spiritual time of memory. We cannot say it was, and it surely no longer exists, but it consists, it insists, it *is* – it is the in-itself of time, temporality as such.

Dionysus.

The third synthesis of time would be the form of ontological repetition, pure movement of a free mind, out of joint, unlimited: the movement of Nietzschean eternal return in its chaosmic entirety, the affirmation of Being. For Deleuze it is the synthesis of the future, the unpredictable, informal becoming.

These three syntheses would coexist in a conscious being, obviously, at different levels of existence, in different proportions, with different effects on the body. The first two syntheses are passive, they don't imply any consciousness yet, just some kind of impersonal, dissolved self. Passive syntheses are sub-representative, even if they (as the human subconscious) may be subordinated to the representation that organizes them according to his choice in forming a conscience. Habits and memories can only be the "object" of conscious representation. But the third one calls for a conscious double. Dionysus needs Ariadne. Deleuze needs an active synthesis, which he considers to be a kind of representation (Deleuze 2006, 175-194).

Dionysus is the god of affirmation, god of unlimited becoming, without rules, without restrictions, actor of the absolute play of differences. But as such, his repeated affirmation is informal. Without a form, without a body, his affirmation wouldn't be effective; his affirmations would be purely virtual. In order to make a *real difference*, he needs his Other.

Dionysus needs procedures, forms, definitions, reason and existence. That's why he chooses Ariadne, daughter of king Minos, who charged her of the labyrinth of the Minotaur. She ends the Dionysian myth of the Minotaur by the simplest (and most elegant) solution ever, as she opens the most complicated labyrinth of the world by the linear logic of the thread, the purest reason possible. She is a simple, reasonable, finite being – she is the opposite of Dionysus, thus his other. Dionysus espouses his ontological difference in order to double his Eternal Being with a unique existence. Their marriage is the ontological link between Being and Existence, that is, the double affirmation of the world: affirmation as infinite repetition, the eternal return of Being, and affirmation as its finite, existential representation.

Repetition and representation, then, can be understood as the ontological *activity* of difference *actualized* as an existential *act*. The only active syntheses (that is, existential form) in the Deleuzian system would be then representative. Representation in the Deleuzian system is the active synthesis which subordinates all unconscious movement to the identity of the actual. It is repetitive consciousness, representative repetition, a double of the ontological repetition, the double of the pure movement of difference. It is active in so far as it makes its choice between the various coexisting levels of temporal existence, in order to make a representation. According to *Difference and Repetition* representation is the becoming-active of the passive self. A determined self or closed identity will become active only by virtue of representation. In other words, the existence of representation attests that a body is not a mere product of ontological (or at a second level) cultural repetition, but it takes active part in the self-constitutive activity of differentiation.

Concluding remarks

Deleuze and Butler are amongst the first theorists to reconsider corporeality in the discourse of the Other: corporeality as a space of interaction between a multiplicity of forces, corporeality as a kind of dynamics of becoming a body, corporeality as the matter of discourse. Their alternative readings match the material and constitutional procedures of becoming a body, the virtual and actual sides of becoming – because one doesn't have a body, they stress, one becomes a body, perhaps even more bodies. One or multiple, it's always a matter of representation. Bodies matter as representation. Bodies perform themselves as representation. They act upon themselves in order to come to presence as bodies. A body in its deepest reality appears to be a mere fiction that realizes itself, it comes to presence as representation of its corporeality. Butler's anthropological and Deleuze's ontological approaches are complementary in evaluating theatrical procedures of bodies that come to presence as alternatives for themselves, as multiple bodily identities. Corporeality seems to be theatrical as such, as it implies doubling, a double process of becoming a body.

Deleuze's Dionysus throws a light on the representational process of materialization. A body is matter in representation, double from its constitution. As materiality is seen as folding matter that operates forming an interior Self and an exterior Other, Deleuze links the Self and the Other in the process of becoming a body, that is coming to presence as a body in the act of representation: Ariadne reaffirms, thus reformulates the creation of Dionysus, and a body becomes conscious by this secondary act reaffirmation. Ariadne gives a body to the ever changing matter handled by Dionysus. The bodily constitution is thus representational, theatrical from its very beginning, as the body gains consciousness in the *act of actualizing* its infinite materiality, *performing* itself as actual.

A conscious body is a complex being, it takes place as an interaction of different dynamisms of difference. "Differentiation and differenciation"*,* or "different/citation" is the name of the double movement of difference. When the actual meets the virtual, a conscious body is created − but created as creative, since it is a being that actualizes the process of its own becoming, in other words, it understands (or misunderstands) it. A conscious body doubles the movement of his becoming with an image of his origin: a representation, an image of what it is, how it understands itself. Even if it's false, simulated, or phantasmatic, the image created by the conscious is a product of his own, the image of himself is the product of an active understanding of its own constitution. His performance doubles the ontological performativity of difference. The representation of the self is the double of its constitution, a stabilized and limited image of it, one would say − but the act of "imagination", the activity to produce images, takes a constitutive part of this constitution. A conscious body is different, that is, active. A conscious body is an *actor, as it acts upon its constitutive differences*. A body acts performing itself as representation of its materiality from the very beginning of its being*.* That's why a *body comes to presence as an actor*, representing its own materiality: it acts upon itself, doubling itself in the process of representation. As an actor it holds an active part in the activity of becoming, in the play of differences, in the development of doubling interiorities (inner/outer, self/other, natural/cultural, etc.). The body plays a constitutive role in the incessant metamorphosis of matter, the main role in the theater of life.

Theater in this sense is not a mere metaphor − unless one takes metaphoricity for seriousness. Entering in the details of Deleuzian ontology one can find out that metaphoricity, metamorphosis and theatricality are always in interaction, quite often interchangeable. As related forms of differentiation, of the play of differences, they always imply each other, giving actual forms for the

dynamism of the never ending process of materialization, that is of becoming bodies.

Obviously "all the world's a stage", but a dynamic one: each representation gives an alternative for its whole structure. This alternative stage would be open to the Real, in its Lacanian sense, not only to the reflected realities of the world. Thus every-body is called into representation in the theater of matter: everybody matters in the theater of being and existence, as every single body calls into presence an alternative for its actual world. No reflection, no imitation, no illusions, no games of truth: this theater is open to creation and invention.

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