

TRANSFORMATIONS OF RELIGIOUS PERFORMATIVITY: SACRIFICIAL FIGURES IN MODERN EXPERIMENTAL THEATRE

Sharon Aronson-Lehavi

This essay examines three modern experimental theatre performances, created in different cultural contexts, places, times, and styles, in which a Crucifixion scene is reenacted. The examples analyzed below, Lothar Shreyer's 1920 expressionist ritual-performance *Crucifixion (Kreuzigung)*, Israeli playwright Hanoach Levin's 1981 *The Job's Sorrows (Yisurei Iyov)*, and Adrienne Kennedy's 1991 *Motherhood 2000*, belong to a broad phenomenon of modern and contemporary experimental theatre performances, in which religious icons, texts, or concepts are directly referred to and represented within a non-religious artistic context.¹ Such theatre performances demonstrate the tensions and interrelations between secularism and religious cultural heritage and reveal the ways in which religious themes and icons remain loaded sites of meaning within a secular cultural context. Moreover, although such performances tend to express a skeptical worldview and sometimes even profanely interpret religious concepts, at the same time the artists rely on religion's cultural power and performativity, and strive for ritualistic effect.

An early and perhaps paradigmatic model of theatre that straightforwardly performs biblical episodes and religious figures and events is the late medieval genre of the mystery or passion plays. In these plays, performed all over Europe and often connected with Corpus Christi celebrations, there was a unique blend of religious, communal, and daily-life elements, so that the performances expressed contemporary aspects of identity while enacting the sacred history. The performances were composed of biblical episodes, ranging from the Creation of the World to the Last Judgment, and centering on the events of the Passion, including reenactments of the

¹ On this subject see for example Ralph Yarrow, *Sacred Theatre*, Chicago: Intellect Books, The University of Chicago, 2007; Elinor Fuchs, "Pattern Over Character: The Modern Mysterium," *The Death of Character: Perspectives on Theater After Modernism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996; 36-51; Author, "'The End': Mythical Futures in Avant-Garde Mystery Plays," *TRI* 34:2 (2009): 116-123.

Crucifixion of Jesus. The mystery plays, which developed and matured during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries declined and almost ceased to exist in the late sixteenth century, for various reasons.² Since modernism, however, this theatricality has reappeared in different forms and contexts, for example: urban and communal *revivals* of medieval performances in towns that investigate their past as a means for constructing a contemporary urban culture and identity;³ academic and other *reconstructions* of medieval performances through which medieval theatre conventions are explored and researched;⁴ *continuations* of this theatrical form such as the Oberammergau Passion play, an almost singular example, which has been performed consecutively since the early seventeenth century, once a decade;⁵ or, finally, in ways that Claire Sponsler articulates in her book *Ritual Imports*, in which she explores medieval rituals that were "imported" to America and reappropriated in different ways by new cults and cultures that emerged since the sixteenth century.⁶

The kind of performances I offer to examine, however, are quite different and form a uniquely modernist genre of "religious theatre" that exists on the threshold of religiosity and secularism; on the verge of sacred and profane, and create what Nissim Gal and I have elsewhere termed "wholly unholy" experiences.⁷ These plays usually do not make intentional references to the medieval performances (although some of them do, for example, Vladimir Mayakovsk'y 1918/1921 *Mystery Bouffe*) but are rather products of a secular cultural worldview and belong to modern experimental forms of theatre. The dramatic technique and performative efficacy of these dramatic texts and performances depends on the ways they rework the iconic texts, figures, and events.

Whereas in the medieval theatre a meaningful and touching experience was achieved by reaffirming religious narratives through conventional structural patterns, the

² Harold C. Gardiner, *Mysteries' End*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946.

³ See for example Margaret Rogerson's *Playing a Part in History: The York Mysteries, 1951-2006*, Toronto: Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

⁴ See: John Marshall, "Modern Productions of Medieval English Theatre," in Richard Beadle, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; 290-311.

⁵ Otto Huber and Christian Stückl, *Passion Play 2010 Oberammergau*, New York: Prestel, 2010; James Shapiro, *Oberammergau: The Troubling Story of the World's Most Famous Passion Play*, New York: Vintage, 2001.

⁶ Claire Sponsler, *Ritual Imports: Performing Medieval Drama in America*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

modern texts exemplify transformations of religious and ritualistic aspects of theatre, through which contemporary discourses and aesthetics are expressed. Such theatre performances function in the way that Roland Barthes articulates the linguistic structure of a "myth today"—as "a second-order semiological system."⁸ According to Barthes, the signifiers that constitute myths "today" are not "empty" and arbitrarily linked to their signified, but rather, are meaningful units in themselves. This definition is useful because theatrical representations of events such as the Crucifixion rest on a deep familiarity with and embeddedness of the concept/event and the meanings it carries. Participants of such performances are required to take part in a double hermeneutic process, decoding the original meanings of the religious concept as well as its contemporary reworking.

Performance Characteristics of Medieval Crucifixion Episodes

There are many perspectives through which to theorize and historicize the modern theatrical phenomenon of engaging with religious texts and performance practices. The examples discussed in this article focus on a central religious concept and a very particular icon: the sacrificial figure and the Crucifixion. Before turning to the modern performances, however, I shall first suggest a few characteristics of the performativity that typifies late medieval Crucifixion episodes. This comparative methodology is useful not only because of the straightforward enactment of the event that is characteristic of the medieval episodes, but also because of the ways that late medieval theatricality itself exists on the threshold of ritual, social performance, and theatre.

One of the best known medieval episodes describing a performance of this scene is the York Crucifixion play.⁹ This famous episode is not only a *representation* of the original event, but also, like many late medieval performances of this scene, a *presentation* of the Crucifixion, a live performance in extreme detail of the process

⁷ Author and Nissim Gal, "Wholly Unholy: Religious Iconography in Israeli Art and Performance," *Performance Research* 13:3 (2008):154-162.

⁸ Roland Barthes, "The Myth Today," *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers, New York: Hill and Wang, 1972 [1957]; 109-159; 114-115.

⁹ Richard Beadle and Pamela King, eds., "The Pinners' *The Crucifixion*," *York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; 211-221. Quotations from the play are marked parenthetically, lines numbers follow page numbers in this edition.

and enactment of attaching Jesus to the cross and raising the cross. With immense effort, the four performers in the role of the soldiers succeed in raising the cross.

4 Soldier: Lift up, and soon he shall be there, therefore fast on your fingers fast.

3 Soldier: Oh, lift!

1 Soldier: We, lo!

4 Soldier: A little more.

2 Soldier: Hold then!

1 Soldier: How now?

2 Soldier: The worst is past. (218; 209-216)

At this climactic moment in the play, regardless of the foolish comment of Soldier 2, who expresses *his* relief once the raising of the cross is completed, the central icon of the Catholic belief comes to life in front of a community of believers. But there is more to it. As Martin Stevens has put it, "the cycles' central subject is the Incarnation, their mystery is Christ's Resurrection, and their climactic moment occurs when the community enacts the most formidable of all taboos, the killing of its God."¹⁰ Indeed, the performativity of this episode depends on three main factors: First, on a *representational* level this is a collective act of sacred commemoration: the theatrical gesture of raising the cross is meant to stir emotions and create an awe-inspiring experience that retells and reenacts the sacrifice of Jesus. Second, it is a *communal* event in which the spectators are in fact participants: not only as believers but also as producers and peers of those who perform the play. And third, these performances involve elements of *total theatre* to the degree of brutal corporeal enactment. The violence that the soldiers perform on the character of Jesus is complemented by the physical endurance demanded of both the actor in the role of Christ and those who are carrying out the complicated theatrical task of raising him. The mimetic enactment of

physical harshness in these episodes has the potential of exceeding "mimesis," turning into real performance of pain, echoing cultural forms of public punishment, unruly games, and "king for a day" rituals. Accordingly, in addition to remembrance and communality, these episodes also function as performative sites for the expression of strong social energies.¹¹

In the medieval episode these characteristics are all part of the performance and its social function. In other words, the performativity of a Crucifixion episode is placed somewhere between a *representation* of a holy image for purposes of religious commemoration and didacticism and a *presentation* of bodily endurance and a communal ritual of sacrifice. What about the modern cases?

Modern Performances

German expressionist playwright and theatre creator Lothar Schreyer (1886-1966), first performed his short expressionist play, *Crucifixion*, in Hamburg in 1920. In this piece Schreyer grieves the losses of World War I, turning the figure of Christ into an anonymous "Man" who is lamented by two female figures: "the Mother" and "the Mistress." The play or, more accurately, performance text was originally written, illustrated, and engraved by Schreyer on a series of colorful woodcuts, a practice typical of German expressionist artists. In 1980, Mel Gordon translated the play into English and published the translated version with a black and white reproduction of the woodcuts in *The Drama Review*.¹² The translated version of the play is also included in Gordon's *Expressionist Texts*,¹³ but the woodcuts, which include expressive symbols and colors that indicate stage directions encoded by Schreyer, offer a much fuller version of the score.

Beyond the straightforward title of the play that metonymically links the soldier, the victim of the horrors of the war, with Jesus, there are many other textual references in the play that make this connection. The Man's poetic texts tell that "wounded feet of

¹⁰ Martin Stevens, "From *Mappa Mundi* to *Theatrum Mundi*: The World as Stage in Early English Drama," in John A. Alford, ed. *From Page to Performance: Essays in Early English Drama*, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995; 25-50; 27.

¹¹ See on this subject Rene Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979 [1972].

¹² Mel Gordon, "Lothar Schreyer and the Sturmbühne," *The Drama Review* 24:1 (1980): 85-102.

men carry us," (213) and that "in the ocean depths drips the blood / in the earth's depths beats the heart." (213) The Mistress describes how "men scream. / Men go into battle. / I dance. / I sacrifice." (215); The Man: "The dark birds peck at our heart. We prepare for the last supper." (216) When the Man says that "The crucifix is empty" The Mother and The Mistress ironically comment together that "God is dead." (217) By turning the soldier of World War I into a Christ figure, and by turning "Christ" into a soldier, into "Man," Schreyer simultaneously secularizes and sanctifies this figure. Whereas Christ's sacrifice signifies redemption, the "crucifixion" in the play leads to the enigmatic and distressful final words, delivered in unison by the three characters of the mother, mistress, and man:

We wander. Dream-wander. Wide-awake wander, far.

Savior strange.

Through mankind.

Scorn blood.

Mock blood.

Hate blood.

Love damned.

Pain in the poor world.

Far in the poor world.

Awake.

World.

Awake. (220)

¹³ Mel Gordon, ed. and trans. *Expressionist Texts*, New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1987; 213-220. All quotations from the play are from this edition, marked parenthetically by page numbers.

These words reflect a world longing for, but lacking, redemption. The ironic modernization of the biblical event and the dramatic metonymy of the soldier and Christ are, however, only one part of the performance. As mentioned, Schreyer's text is much more a description of a ritual than a conventional play. The lines of the spoken texts appear as part of a carefully designed set of movements, bodily gestures, tones, and rhythm. An entire performance language, which can be decoded and shared only by participants of the event, just like in a religious ritual, is created. The score is divided into sixty six woodcuts; each includes the words and a set of symbols that indicate the characters' tone, pace, and movement. For example, the first two words of the play, "I suffer," belong to the character of the mother. According to the rich set of symbols, explained by Schreyer at the beginning of the score,, the mother's voice at the beginning should be soft but high, and her arms stretched horizontally; then she should make a full rotation right, and so on. This kind of meticulous description of movement and tone is recorded throughout the entire piece, creating a strictly formal and abstract performance text.

Schreyer's understanding of the theatre as a ritualistic and communal space is emphasized by his introductory notes to the score. On the first page of the second printing of the performance text, he addresses the reader of the score, the actor, and the hearer/viewer of the play and explains:

The reader of this score must know: The creation of this score and its symbols are as significant for theatre art as the creation of notation systems and notes for music / anyone can read the score who is capable of hearing word-tones internally and seeing the movement of colored form.

The actor of the score must know: The score can only be performed by one who is not a professional actor, who does not make a living out of the theatre, who is not a critic, who does not love self / The score can be performed by anyone who can see and hear himself, who can stand outside himself, who can follow the score without reservation, and who can live in community with the other actors.

The hearer/the viewer of the play must know: The play can only be seen and heard with a circle of friends as a shared experience, as a shared act of devotion, of a shared work.¹⁴

These guidelines are very significant for understanding the kind of performativity Schreyer aims at. He calls for a ritualistic, communal, and religious experience, which is meant to touch participants emotionally. And yet, this is a clearly modernist, non-traditional, even ironic and skeptical enactment of the Crucifixion. The play commemorates the modern sacrificial figure, the dead soldier of the war. Although the poetic and highly stylized expressionistic form of the play do not involve physical brutality, the immediate traumatic context of the war and the contemporary references to "screaming men who go into battle" turn this play into a communal and memorial event that focuses on the violent death of this modern sacrificial figure.

A second example is *Job's Sorrows* by Israeli playwright and theatre director Hanoch Levin's (1943-1998). Levin, one of Israel's worldly renowned playwrights, wrote over fifty plays, many of them existential accounts of the human condition within the context of modern Jewish and Israeli history, and often including subversive references to mythological and religious themes. *Job's Sorrows* (1981), which has also been translated as *The Passion of Job*, is very different in style and content from Schreyer's score and is a very shocking play.¹⁵ In this text, Levin combines the biblical figure of Job with that of Christ in order to create a stage personification of that displays the idea of sheer human suffering.¹⁶ However, there is a third reference woven into this figure, typical of Levin's dramaturgy, the Holocaust victim.

Reading the play, it is hard to determine when exactly the play takes place, since it mixes the biblical narrative of Job with persecutors who have been sent to him by the Roman emperor. In addition, the sudden destruction of Job's life references to motifs typical of Shoah (Holocaust) representations in Israeli culture. For example, when the executors come to Job's home, they dispossess Job of everything he owns, including his clothes, except for his underpants; as they are about to depart he calls after them:

¹⁴ Mel Gordon, "Lothar Schreyer and the Sturmbühne," *The Drama Review* 24:1 (1980): 89.

¹⁵ The play was produced in 1981 by the Cameri Theatre of Tel Aviv, directed by Levin himself. In 2011 the play was directed by the French Laurent Brethome, (*Les Souffrances de Job*), and was performed in Israel, at the Cameri Theatre of Tel Aviv.

Job: You forgot the golden-teeth!

I have golden-teeth in my mouth!

(opens his mouth)

Chief Executor: Don't be ridiculous.

Don't try to make us monsters. We are all only human beings,

We all go home to a wife, slippers, and a bowl of hot soup. (68-69)¹⁷

For an Israeli audience, there can be no mistake about the clear reference of such an exchange to the Shoah. A moment after the executioners leave, one of them quickly returns and cruelly pulls out Job's golden-teeth.

Although the play follows the biblical narrative of the book of Job quite closely, there are two significant changes. First, unlike the biblical Job who never denies God, the moment Levin's Job's sufferings begin, he does. His hypocrite friends try to convince him to believe in God despite his travails but he refuses; only when Job is reminded of his father who used to caress him he reasserts belief in God. Ironically, and typical of Levin's cruel dramatic worlds, at this point the Roman persecutors violently enter, demanding that all the Jews deny their God:

Because this is the Emperor's order: The God of the Jews no longer exists. /
Whoever believes in him are heretics and rebels. / In order to strengthen the
new belief and make things clear: / Whoever believes in the God of the Jews
will be skewered through the ass. (86)

Job's friends immediately give up their faith to save their lives, but now that Job has been remembered of his loving father, he will not, and he is therefore "skewered."

This brutal punishment turns the performance into a humiliating theatre of cruelty as

¹⁶ The combination of the two figures into one is typical of Judeo-Christian iconic interrelations. See for example Marc Chagall's 1938 *White Crucifixion*.

¹⁷ Hanoach Levin, *Job's Sorrows*, in *Job's Sorrows and Other Plays*, Tel Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Meuchad Press, 1991; 53-104. (Hebrew); Quotations from the play are from this edition and are marked parenthetically. Translations mine. See also Hanoach Levin, *The Labor of Life: Selected Plays*. Trans. and ed. Barbara Harshav, Stanford University Press, 2003.

the audience is confronted with a grotesque version of a Crucifixion episode. After the soldiers skewer Job they raise him and place the stage construct in a mortise (93). This shocking theatrical procedure is not specifically linked with the medieval plays, and yet, performatively, the theatrical process is quite reminiscent of the York episode.

The second difference between this retelling of Job's narrative and the biblical origin is that whereas the biblical Job is eventually saved, Levin's Job is left to die. Ironically, once again, when the physical and emotional pains get too unbearable, he is willing to deny God's existence, but it is too late. The soldier mocks him, saying, "Too bad. For the same price you could have died a man of principles." (99)

This play is built around the three performance characteristics mentioned above. It is a memorial and communal witnessing of a brutal killing of a sacrificial figure. The character of Job in the play is associated not only with religious/mythical figures but also with Shoah victims and with twentieth century events that left philosophical and theological questions of belief unsettled. But beyond purging a theatrical image of human suffering, it is worth questioning the value or impact of such a radical play for an audience. Once Job is skewered, the performance turns into a circus. The character named "the cynical clown" addresses the audience and forces spectators to ponder about their attraction to this kind of theatricality:

Ladies and Gentlemen, you now see a man falling down of a tall building. His hands are wide open, he rolls in the air, his broken cry is heard in space, and so, you step back a little bit so that the blood doesn't spurt on your clothes, you stand and look hypnotically at the fall, on your faces a mixture of desire and anxiety, toward the definitive and irreversible moment of a body hitting the ground. Don't ask for the reason of the fall, the lesson, or the meaning. Just look at the show: a man falls, and will soon die. (100-101)

The cynical clown articulates the phenomenological fascination of audiences, spectators, and crowds with sacrificial rituals and public forms of punishment. However, considering the multi-layered references of the play, this performance is not only a brutal enactment of violence but also an act of collective sharing of traumas. Although there is no salvation through sacrifice, it could be that such a performance

turns the theatre into a place where a community can touch, confront, and process pain. The actor in the role of Job/Christ in this play is not really sacrificed, but it is an extremely difficult task to perform this role both physically and emotionally. He is not a scapegoat but this play and performance echoes such rituals within the context of modern history.

Adrienne Kennedy's *Motherhood 2000* is a third example of the theatrical phenomenon examined here. Kennedy, an American feminist black playwright, (b. 1931), has written many plays, which are characterized by a unique surrealist language and use of religious and mythical symbols, characters, and references. *Motherhood 2000* is a short futuristic apocalyptic vision of New York City, a place that has/will become haunted by racism and violence. Written in 1994, the play takes place in the year 2000, and retells an event that happened in 1991. "Nine years had passed. It was 2000"¹⁸ (230) Kennedy, the Mother/Writer as she calls herself, tells us. This sentence alone is constructed as a timeless unit that brings together past, present, and future tenses, reminiscent of mythical structural units.¹⁹

The fact that the play "retells" a futuristic event, however, only becomes apparent in the middle of the text. The play, which is mostly a monologue of Mother/Writer opens as she explains that "I finally found the policeman who beat my son that January night in 1991." (228) Later on in the play, she recalls the letter she sent to authorities seeking legal help, in which she describes what happened: "On Friday night, January 11, my son was knocked on the ground and beaten in the head and face, kicked in the chest and stomach and dragged in the mud by a policeman. My son was stopped because he had a tail light out." (230) This description clearly analogizes Mother/Writer's son with Jesus. Her son is a modern sacrificial figure, a victim of racism. Mother/Writer's description of the violent world she lives in and of all the authorities which have been completely inattentive to her complaints about the unjust beating of her son, create a deep identification with her and with her "Rhodes Scholar son who traveled the country giving speeches for the causes of the Blacks."

¹⁸ Adrienne Kennedy, *Motherhood 2000*, in *The Adrienne Kennedy Reader*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. Quotations are from this edition and page numbers are marked parenthetically.

¹⁹ See: Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, Vol. II, trans. Monique Layton, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983; 206-231.

Ever since the brutal beating of her son, Mother/Writer was/is in search after the policeman who performed the violence. However, Kennedy creates a surprising and unsettling change in the reference to Christ, the Crucifixion, and its theatrical reenactment. Mother/Writer's futuristic encounter with Richard Fox, the policeman who hit her son, is when she discovers him running "a theatre on the steps of the Soldiers and Sailors monument on Riverside Drive at 89th Street." (228) The play the group of policemen is no other than the late medieval York Crucifixion episode. Rather than her son, it is Richard Fox, the policeman, who plays the role of Christ.

Toward the end of her monologue Mother/Writer tells how she eventually decided to join the theatre company and that luckily Fox didn't recognize her. Then, according to the stage direction, "the play appears before her." Mother/Writer is cast as one of the soldiers; Fox is in the role of the savior. The actors in the roles of the soldiers recite in Middle English quite a long part of the York Crucifixion play, for example, "Soldier: Give me this wedge; I shall it in drive" (232), or "Soldier: Yea, let him hang there still, and make mows to the moon" (233) etc. After the soldiers "draw cut for this coat" (233) and are ready to depart, the play ends shockingly. "Writer: I spoke my lines coughing, wheezing...then found my place directly before Fox and struck him on the head with a hammer." Stage directions note: "she does." "He falls." (233)

The end of the play is troubling. As Leanne Groeneveld writes, *Motherhood 2000* combines two genres, the medieval mystery play and the revenge play.²⁰

²⁰ Leanne Groeneveld, "Remembering and Revenging the Death of Christ: Adrienne Kennedy's *Motherhood 2000* and the York Crucifixion," *The Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 21:1 (2009): 65-85.

In conclusion, the three examples discussed above demonstrate ways in which religious theatricalities and performativity are transformed in modern culture and experimental theatre, and become authentic expressions of contemporary social, communal, and historical questions of identity. Rather than understanding the modern performances only as skeptic adaptations of religious and mythical themes, there is place to consider the complex range of meanings such performances rely on and construct anew.

REFERENCES

- Aronson-Lehavi, Sharon. 2009. "The End': Mythical Futures in Avant-Garde Mystery Plays." *TRI* Volume 34. Number 2: 116-123.
- Aronson-Lehavi, Sharon and Nissim Gal. 2008. "Wholly Unholy: Religious Iconography in Israeli Art and Performance." *Performance Research* Volume 13. Number 3.
- Barthes, Roland. 1972/1957. "The Myth Today." In *Mythologies*. Translated by Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Beadle, Richard and Pamela King. (Eds.) 1995. "The Pinners' *The Crucifixion*," *York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fuchs, Elinor. 1996. *The Death of Character: Perspectives on Theater After Modernism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Gardiner, Harold C. 1946. *Mysteries' End*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Girard, Rene. 1979/1972. *Violence and the Sacred*. Translated by Patrick Gregory. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Golden, M. David. 1987. "Questions of Time and Space in Performance Arts: A Case Study of the York Crucifixion." *Theatre Journal* 39.1: 1-15.
- Huber, Otto and Christian Stückl. 2010. *Passion Play 2010 Oberammergau*. New York: Prestel.
- Kennedy, Adrienne. 2001. *Motherhood 2000*. In *The Adrienne Kennedy Reader*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kennedy, Adrienne. 2009. "The End': Mythical Futures in Avant-Garde Mystery Plays." *TRI* Volume 34. Number 2: 116-123.
- Kennedy, Adrienne. 2008. "Wholly Unholy: Religious Iconography in Israeli Art and Performance." *Performance Research* Volume 13. Number 3.
- Kennedy, Adrienne. 1972/1957. "The Myth Today." In *Mythologies*. Translated by Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Kennedy, Richard and Pamela King. (Eds.) 1995. "The Pinners' *The Crucifixion*," *York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kennedy, Elinor. 1996. *The Death of Character: Perspectives on Theater After Modernism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Kennedy, Harold C. 1946. *Mysteries' End*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kennedy, Rene. 1979/1972. *Violence and the Sacred*. Translated by Patrick Gregory. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kennedy, M. David. 1987. "Questions of Time and Space in Performance Arts: A Case Study of the York Crucifixion." *Theatre Journal* 39.1: 1-15.
- Kennedy, Otto and Christian Stückl. 2010. *Passion Play 2010 Oberammergau*. New York: Prestel.
- Kennedy, Adrienne. 2001. *Motherhood 2000*. In *The Adrienne Kennedy Reader*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Lévi-Straus, Claude. 1983. *Structural Anthropology*. Translated by Monique Layton. Volume II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levin, Hanoch. 2003. *The Labor of Life: Selected Plays*. Translated and edited by Barbara Harshav. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- _____. 1991. *Job's Sorrows and Other Plays*. Tel Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Meuchad Press, 1991.
- Marshall, John. 1994. "Modern Productions of Medieval English Theatre." In *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*. Edited by Richard Beadle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rogerson, Margaret. 2009. *Playing a Part in History: The York Mysteries, 1951-2006*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Shapiro, James. 2001. *Oberammergau: The Troubling Story of the World's Most Famous Passion Play*. New York: Vintage.
- Sponsler, Claire. 2004. *Ritual Imports: Performing Medieval Drama in America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Stevens, Martin. 1995. "From *Mappa Mundi* to *Theatrum Mundi*: The World as Stage in Early English Drama." In John A. Alford, ed. *From Page to Performance: Essays in Early English Drama*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Yarrow, Ralph. 2007. *Sacred Theatre*. Chicago: Intellect Books, The University of Chicago.