Dolls and Puppets:
Contemporaneity and Tradition

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ed. by **Kamil Kopania**

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Introduction

The book you hold in your hands is the last of the collection of three volumes I have edited and published over the last three years. They are devoted to broadly understood issues relating to dolls and puppets, their history, theory and practice. My aim was to gather scholars from all around the world, from different countries, universities, museums and research institutions, representing different scholarly attitudes, employing different methodologies and viewing the subject from different angles, who would analyze selected aspects related to the history of dolls and puppets, as well as to their place in contemporary culture. The response was, to say the least, highly satisfactory. Almost fifty scholars came to Białystok, Poland, and presented their papers at the conference *Dolls and Puppets as Artistic and Cultural Phenomena,* organized in 2014 by the Department of the Puppetry Art of the Aleksander Zelwerowicz National Academy of Dramatic Art in Warsaw[1] and the Institute of Art History of the University of Warsaw. As usually happens, not all speakers contributed articles to the conference proceedings, but at the same time, many scholars who had not participated in the conference expressed their interest in the project and answered my call for papers for the planned publication. In the end, I managed to gather over forty articles, written by authors from Belgium, Canada, Chile, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Iran, Poland, Portugal, Serbia, South Africa, Switzerland, Turkey,

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[1] The Department of the Puppetry Art is located almost 200 km from Warsaw, in Białystok, in northeastern Poland. This is due to the fact that Białystok has had a strong and vibrant artistic milieu of puppeteers associated with the Białystok Puppet Theatre (Białostocki Teatr Lalek) as well as other theatres operating in the city and the region of Podlasie. Their achievements and efforts resulted in the creation – and now further development – of the Department of Puppetry Art there.

the United States and Great Britain. It seemed reasonable to me that given the number and variety of articles, three separate volumes, covering different thematic areas, should be released.

The first volume – *Dolls and Puppets as Artistic and Cultural Phenomena (19th – 21st Centuries)* – published in 2016, contains studies in the fields of art history, theatre history, and cultural and social history, analyzing long-standing and rich practices of using dolls and puppets as a metaphor, as artistic material or as a vehicle for expressing an artistic sensibility or various sets of beliefs and opinions in the past 120-odd years. The second volume – *Dolls, Puppets, Sculptures and Living Images. From the Middle Ages to the End of the 18th Century* – published in 2017, offers articles proving that dolls and puppets have constituted an important component of religious practices and the daily life of the aristocracy and lower classes, as well as a substantial mode of expression for artists in medieval and early modern times. The articles gathered in *Dolls and Puppets: Contemporaneity and Tradition* are concentrated mainly on three issues: 1) contemporary puppetry, 2) dolls and puppets in European collections, 3) dolls in ethnographic contexts. As an added delight, the reader will find two articles in the field of art history and film studies. I hope this volume will encourage you to look into the two previous books. Let dolls and puppets always be with us!

Pia Banzhaf – **Queen's University at Kingston, Ontario, Canada**

The Ontology of the Puppet

The majority of articles in this volume colourfully illustrate the current scholarly approaches to puppets. Whether we study puppetry at the intersection of areas that encompass puppets as metaphors in performing and visual arts, literature, and politics; puppets in certain time periods of art history or ethnographical context; puppets in the practice of one specific artist or company; or puppets as educational and therapeutic tools, we apply taxonomies[1] to puppets and puppetry that are derived from our many respective disciplines. Despite this cornucopia of approaches, however, we still fail to sufficiently illuminate the fundamental reason for the fascination and the dread that puppets can arouse, which may explain the particular place puppetry has held for millennia in the fabric of cultural expression. Whether watching puppets as an audience or studying them from a scholarly perspective, the features that immediately jump to mind are their inanimate and animate aspects. This dichotomy is especially pronounced in the modernist Western gaze. It is this modernist way of perceiving, which attempts to separate culture and nature and compels us to tidily sort people and things into different boxes, that has come to dominate the scholarly world in more areas than we would care to admit. Based on Cartesian principles,

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[1] These taxonomical approaches evoke the fictitious taxonomy in Jorge Luis Borges' essay "The Analytical Language of John Wilkins" (1942), which he claims to have found in a taxonomy in a Chinese encyclopaedia referenced by Fritz Kuhn under the title "Celestial Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge." Here, Borges writes, "all animals are divided into 14 categories: In its remote pages it is written that the animals are divided into (a) those that belong to the emperor, (b) embalmed ones, (c) those that are trained, (d) suckling pigs, (e) mermaids, (f) fabulous ones, (g) stray dogs, (h) those that are included in this classification, (i) those that tremble as if they were mad, (j) innumerable ones, (k) those drawn with a very fine camel's-hair brush, (l) others, (m) those that have just broken a flower vase, (n) [and] those that resemble flies from a distance" (141).

but dating back to Plato, this gaze effectively separates the material body of the puppet from the animate figure, keeping them separated in our minds. Our perception, however, betrays this dichotomous view of the world, as I will show in this paper.

Since our human nature urges us to make sense of observable things we encounter, be they cultural manifestations or natural phenomena,[2] we cannot simply refuse to make sense of the phenomenon of the puppet. In the absence of a plausible reason for the human fascination with puppets and for the undeniable urge most of us feel to accept the puppet as an animate entity, Samuel Taylor Coleridge's phrase about the "willing suspension of disbelief" continues to hold currency. The invocation of "poetic faith," which requires a conscious and willing "leap of faith" on the part of the spectator is, however, akin to throwing up our hands and crying out, "It's magic!" While there is certainly little wrong with magic per se, invoking magic as a scholarly research result is probably out of place. I believe we can do better than that, much better, in fact. By moving beyond a Platonic world view in which ideas are more real than things, beyond a view that separates body from mind, and ultimately replaces the Cartesian dichotomy of "I think, therefore I am" with a position that embraces the materiality of existence, we may gain a better understanding of the "essence of the puppet" that has eluded us so far.

To do so, I suggest leaving behind the shores of modern Western thought and travelling to unfamiliar terrain in puppetry research. To explore this terrain we train our searchlight on the anthropological study of animism, embodied cognition, conceptual blending theory – part of the cognitive branch of traditional semiotics – and, finally, cognitive psychology. The analysis of the short film portrait of a puppet-maker and his workshop will help ground the argument in contemporary puppetry art practice. In the end, we will be able to exclaim, "It's magic!" once again, but with a difference, as we will have gone backstage at the magician's convention. And you may be surprised to find out who the magician is.

Consider as an example how, in 1975, the comparatist[3] Leonard Barkan uttered the still prevailing view that nature and culture are separated by an abyss

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[2] Think of the famous plastic bag scene in *American Beauty,* written by Alan Ball and produced by Sam Mendes in 1999.

[3] Since this paper draws on a variety of disciplines and readers may not be familiar with some of them, I am adding, wherever possible, the field of research to the names of the scholars I am quoting. I would ask for the reader's forbearance if I have not accurately captured the breadth, depth, and development of the research of these scholars. It is not my intent to pigeonhole anyone, only to give readers a little background on the perspectives taken.

so deep that primitive and modern man appear to be different species. "In the life of the primitive man, the self, and hence the body, is the only wholeness which can be grasped" (8). If "being" and "being aware" were indeed identical, would this necessarily preclude the ability to grasp anything outside of the own body? Barkan continues, "Anthropomorphism is, *faute de mieux*, man's only cosmology" (8). Unlike "modern man" who has to resort to taking a premeditated "leap of faith," "primitive man" apparently does not know any better, and, as a consequence cannot but animate, anthropomorphize, and even ensoul the world around him. Barkan contrasts "primitive man" with "modern man" in "sophisticated times" (8). He adds that during these "sophisticated times," culminating in the Renaissance, society was concerned with "defining, limiting, and interpreting this union of man and cosmos" (9). In the end, the human body became "invested with allegorical significance" (9). However, Barkan misses a crucial point when he fails to examine the meaning of "limiting the union of man and cosmos." For him, "modern man" is purely about the subject, and seems capable of existing in a vacuum without natural or social environment, unencumbered by relations.

I am of course not alone in being wary of the assumption that "modern man" does not animate, anthropomorphize, and ensoul. Indeed, philosopher and sociologist Bruno Latour's argument that we have "never been modern" has been widely discussed since the nineties.

The notion that the world of objects and the world of subjects are separable, in any other than an analytical sense, has been an illusion from the start. [...] human beings everywhere impute personhood and agency to entities which according to official modernist doctrine ought to be classified as objects (need I mention our favourite trees, houses, cars, teddy bears?). (Latour 22)

In "Exchanging Perspectives: The Transformation of Objects into Subjects in Amerindian Ontologies" (2004), anthropologist Eduardo Batalha Viveiros de Castro points out how Western concepts of the separation of culture and nature are based on the idea of the human evolving from the animal, thus increasing the distance between culture and nature that mark the level of sophistication humans have attained. For their part, Amerindian ontologies turn this view on its head. Instead of humans evolving up the ladder of Darwinian Evolution, so to speak, [f]or Amazonian peoples *the original common condition of both humans and animals is not animality, but, rather, humanity* [italics in the original]. The great separation reveals not so much culture distinguishing itself from nature as nature distancing itself from

culture: the myths tell how animals lost the qualities inherited or retained by humans. Humans are those who continue as they have always been. *Animals are ex-humans (rather than humans, ex-animals)* [italics in the original]. (465)

Without a doubt, this view clashes with the Western understanding of our origins. Viveiros de Castro goes on to say that Western folk anthropology considers humans to have an original animal nature that must be tamed by culture, we remain animals at heart, having been wholly animal (465).

According to the Amerindian cosmology, shamans are people with the special gift of seeing beyond their species boundaries, who are able to connect the two worlds:

> *Amerindian thought holds that, having been human, animals must still be human, albeit in an unapparent way. Thus, many animal species, as well as sundry other types of nonhuman beings, are supposed to have a spiritual component that qualifies them as "people." Such a notion is often associated with the idea that the manifest bodily form of each species is an envelope (a "clothing") that conceals an internal humanoid form, usually visible to the eyes of only the particular species and of "transspecific" beings such as shamans. This internal form is the soul or spirit of the animal: an intentionality or subjectivity formally identical to human consciousness.* (Viveiros de Castro 465)

The role that Viveiros de Castro accords to the Amerindian shaman strongly resonates with the view certain puppeteers take. They adopt techniques that enable them, they maintain, to act more effectively as conduits for transmitting energy through their puppets. They seem to practice a kind of interpenetration of self and other that Amerindian myths speak of (Viveiros de Castro 464). Shamanistic rituals involving puppets have been documented in a variety of cultures across the globe, be they Inuit or First Nations in Canada, as well as the peoples of Mali (Preez 166), China (Chen and Clarke 351), and Korea (Foley 198), to name but a few examples. Without a doubt, the most widely known shaman-puppeteer is the Dalang of Indonesian shadow puppetry (Rubin et al. 235). We can safely assume that Barkan would have believed "leaps of faith" quite unnecessary for perceiving the agency of inanimate objects in these societies.

The modern world however frowns upon shamanistic practices, regarding them as childlike and primitive, infused with irrational and magical thinking

that, by all appearances, has been proudly left behind. Until recently, this view likely contributed to the frequent attitude of condescension toward puppetry artists, even in the performing arts community.

At this juncture, we have to ask ourselves what it would be like to live in a world that is inhabited by non-human "people." Would the world not become a cacophonic bell jar if every stone, tree, and bird communicated with us? In her study of the Nayaka society, anthropologist Nurit Bird-David observes that the tendency to animate things is shared by humans. However, this common tendency, I suggest, is engendered by human socially biased cognitive skills, not by "survival" of mental confusion (Tylor 1958) or by wrong perceptual guesses (Guthrie 1993) (78).

Evidently, the Nakaya identify the non-human "people" situationally and do not confuse elements of their world. This situational (embedded) identification of the (in)animate extends, no doubt, to those puppeteers who self-identify as shamans.

Anthropologist Tim Ingold formulates similar thoughts on the relational aspects of animacy. To him "[a]nimacy [...] is not a property of persons imaginatively projected onto the things with which they perceive themselves to be surrounded. Rather [...] it is the dynamic, transformative potential of the entire field of relations within which beings of all kinds, more or less person-like or thing-like, continually and reciprocally bring one another into existence. The animacy of the lifeworld, in short, is not the result of an infusion of spirit into substance, or of agency into materiality, but rather ontologically prior to their differentiation" (Ingold 68).

Bird-David goes on to discuss the evolution of human cognition:

Recent work relates the evolution of human cognition to social interaction with fellow humans ... Cognitive skills have accordingly evolved within and for a social kind of engagement and are "socially biased" (Goody 1995). We spontaneously employ these skills in situations when we cannot control or totally predict our interlocutor's behavior, when its behavior is not predetermined but in "conversation" with our own. We employ these skills in these situations, irrespective of whether they involve humans or other beings (the respective classification of which is sometimes part of reflective knowing, following rather than preceding the engagement situation).

Another point Bird-David raises below makes me wonder, whether the increasingly common artistic choice of employing visible puppeteers

is related to the concept of "fellowship" as she calls it. Do contemporary audiences have a greater need for guidance in accepting these strange beings into their fellowship? The manipulation of theatrical artefacts by visible human puppeteers complicates matters further, as it also points the spectator directly toward the notion of technological essence and lack of self-propulsion.

Bird-David emphasizes that the recognition of a common essence is not necessary for a conversation. In fact, [we] do not first personify other entities and then socialize with them but personify them *as*, *when*, and *because* (ital. in orig.) we socialize with them. Recognizing a "conversation" with a counter-being – which amounts to accepting it into fellowship rather than recognizing a common essence – makes that being a self in relation with ourselves. (78)

As Latour points out, modernity itself, through the new socio-technical networks unleashed by its dualist epistemology, continually generates ever more obvious examples of "hybrids" or "quasi-objects" that contain both subjective and objective aspects, spanning the divide between culture and nature (Hornborg 1).

It is my contention that further speculative investigation into the complexities of puppetry with our traditional humanistic tools is unlikely to yield any new insights concerning the effect of the puppet. However, joining traditional as well as new methods of inquiry from the humanities with empirical methods opens possibilities from which new insights will emerge. Empirical research into the perception of moving objects, robotics and the uncanny, as well as semantic linguistics employing neuroimaging technologies, promise to give unparalleled insight into the grip of the puppet on the spectator's imagination.

To delve into the perceptual processes and insights into the ontology of the puppet I would like to introduce the work of the New York City-based puppeteer Eric Sanko. An Escheresque portrait of Sanko as puppet-maker in his workshop, directed and produced by Christopher Sturman, Graeme MacLean, and Amy Lipkin masterfully introduces questions about the essence of puppets, the ontology of fellow beings/objects in the world, and why puppets – contrary to popular belief – do not demand a wilful suspension of disbelief. I invite the reader to view the results in the full short film *Creepy Beautiful: Erik Sanko and his puppets* on Vimeo.[4]

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[4] Christopher Sturman and Graeme MacLean, directors. *Creepy Beautiful. Erik Sanko and his puppets,* short film, shot and eited by Jett Cain, produced by Amy Lipkin (New York: Nørth Sea Air, 2013) (accessed

Figure 1. *Creepy Beautiful: Erik Sanko and His Puppets.* Screenshot.

Figure 2. *Creepy Beautiful.* Screenshot.

Figure 3. *Creepy Beautiful.* Screenshot

Figure 4. *Creepy Beautiful.* Screenshot

In the film, we hear before we see. It opens with a dark screen and a female voice reading a shortwave station[5] broadcast with static in the background. This broadcast sets the mysterious tone for the entire four-minute film. The dark then gives way to the view of a white head with an elephant trunk-like nose in close-up, and then the camera pans the workshop area, revealing a workbench with a chair and various not-yet identifiable objects. The first movement we see is the slight swaying of feet **(Figure 1)**, dangling from above, presumably belonging to a non-human figure. This image still manages to conjure up the truly uncanny image of a hanged person, unleashing a number of emotions in the viewer. But, as if to alleviate the horror, the camera points upward and we spy a host of figures hanging from the top of the frame. They are all string puppets, with their feet swaying in the air, a natural position that reassures the viewer that there is no reason for alarm. Still, we get an unsettling feeling, even though the feet do not belong to a formerly living body and, therefore, cannot be dead. These figures are not meant to represent dead puppets. But why does the scene feel uncanny all the same? After all, they are inanimate objects.

In the next sequence, one puppet is shown at a workbench in front of a newspaper with a crossword puzzle and an espresso cup in puppet scale, suggesting familiar human occupations in a parallel world **(Figure 2)**. Clearly, however, the aesthetic goal is not to create a puppet that looks entirely human. For starters, the head and hands are fashioned out of patina-coated white plaster and the nose is exaggerated into a point and turned upwards. Furthermore, the strings are clearly visible. For all intents and purposes, the figure is an animated caricature.

Other puppets are shown absorbed in their work, which, upon closer observation, brings a new twist to the scene, for they are producing their own kind – puppets **(Figures 3 and 4)**. With this

on Feb. 22, 2015). The film was the official selection for the "Puppets On Film," annual festival of the Jim Henson Foundation, New York, NY, Oct. 25-27, 2013. http://vimeo.com/65002877

5   Several times, we hear the voice-over repeat "Yankee-Hotel-Foxtrot" – from the NATO phonetic alphabet – followed by a sequence of numbers. This sound section is taken from a recording of shortwave radio broadcasts *The Conet Project: Recordings of Shortwave Numbers Stations*, released by the techno label Irdial. The identity of the broadcasters using shortwave numbers stations is shrouded in mystery. The Kronos Quartet of San Francisco, with which Sanko occasionally collaborates, has incorporated a live reception of Conet numbers into one of its recordings.

realization, any reassurance felt by the viewer is quickly turned on it head, confirming the initial impression of an unsettling place.

While the first puppet with the cup seems to enjoy the same activities as humans, faintly resembling an odd-looking person, the puppet-making puppets bring the focus to the "puppetness" of themselves. The viewer is left juggling several perceptions at this point in the film, some of which I will analyze below.

The next shot shows us a puppet in a leather apron initiating interaction with a human puppet-maker at a workbench, also wearing an apron **(Figure 5)**. As if commenting on anthropologist Bird-David's tenet that by interacting with each other we accept beings into our fellowship, both puppet and human interact with one another, leaving us in the dark as to who is accepting and who is being accepted into their odd fellowship. Without ever revealing the human puppet-maker's face, Sanko's portrait is exquisitely vivid. Instead, we get a glimpse of his whole body, including the head, in the puppet figure that resembles him sitting on the bench. The work scattered about on the bench, in various stages of completion, makes it superfluous to show us the human puppet-maker himself.

Figure 5. *Creepy Beautiful.* Screenshot

To my mind, however, the key frame in the film is when the puppet-maker bends down to interact with the puppet in the apron, taking the puppet-making tool offered to him. As he takes his attention away, the puppet on which he has been working – an inanimate object in the process of being repaired or created – shows us its animacy **(Figure 6)**. When the puppeteer returns to his work, the puppet becomes inanimate again. The puppet does not need to convince us of its animacy. Indeed, it reveals that it only is feigning object-ness to the puppeteer, inviting us into complicity with a wink and sharing the secret knowledge that it is "really" alive. To me, this is an iconic image of the cognitive playfulness that excellent contemporary puppetry can achieve while calling into question the "leap of faith."

Figure 6. *Creepy Beautiful.* Screenshot

Figure 7. *Creepy Beautiful.* Screenshot

This image is followed by two puppets interacting with each other **(Figure 7)**. The small one seems to be agitated, while the other seems calm, inclining its head as if listening intently.

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Furthermore, the small puppet flails its arms and legs erratically. While its movements are more dramatic than those of any human counterpart, they clearly evoke emotions that we can relate to.

If we were to analyze Sanko's puppets with the traditional tools of puppetry taxonomies, we could say they are short-string marionettes. We could talk about the material, the control mechanism, their dress, the time and place they were created and played, and the fact that this particular puppet performance was filmed and never intended to be a live show. This approach, as important as it is in its own right, does little to acknowledge the ever-present question about the ontology of puppets, along with why we ascribe puppets an inner life, motivations, and intentions. While scholars continue to grapple with these questions, they have tried to address them through a semiotic approach for the most part.

Acclaimed writer and filmmaker Roman Paska, the former director of the Institut International de la Marionnette (Charleville-Mézières, France), thinks of puppeteers as illusionists or "primitivists." It is unclear how he would relate the primitivist with Barkan's primitive man when he says: "Primitivism differs from illusionism in consciously directing audience focus back and forth between the outward sign and the inner process of simulation" (41). Paska goes on to note that the ontology of the puppet is a situational and relational one, but that the "puppet primitives … [discard] the pretense of realism [and] take [the puppet] for the inanimate object (dead thing) that it is," adding by way of contrast that "illusionists hope to produce an unbroken series of such moments so that the puppet seems always alive" (41). Conscious fragmenting by the puppet primitives is opposed to the creation of the illusion of wholeness. This seems diametrically opposed to Barkan's thoughts on the worldviews of primitive and modern man. Concerning the perception of the (in)animacy of puppets, theatre historian and semiotician Henryk Jurkowski speaks poetically of the "opalescence" (141) of the puppet and "its opposition to human beings" (141). Prague Circle theatre semiotician Otakar Zich believes that our perception of puppets oscillates between "living beings or … non-living puppets … we can perceive them simultaneously only in one way" (quoted in Proschan, "Puppet" 551), while anthropologist Frank Proschan talks about an oscillation between reality and illusion ("Puppet" 551). Folklorists Thomas A. Green and W. J. Pepicello speak of how the "semiotic codes … afford puppetry a flexible semiotic system through a balancing of ambiguating and disambiguating devices" (qtd. in Proschan "Semiotic" 147), and to performing arts scholar Matthew Cohen puppets are material objects

that confuse materiality and imagination (123). We should not, of course, forget the prevailing double-vision hypothesis put forward by Steve Tillis (19). As the literature attests, there are many more variations of the processes involved in creating effective puppets and attempts to explain the same.

If we are honest however, most of these explanations, even the most eloquent ones, can be summarized in the following scenario: Take a puppet-maker, puppeteer, and a puppet in a theatrical setting **(Figure 8)**, add an audience, and some kind of magic is sure to happen. Call this magic illusion, opalescence, or double vision, a confusion of materiality and imagination, or invoke Coleridge. *Et voilà*!

Figure 8. Canadian puppeteer Ronny Burkett

What I find problematic are not the explanations themselves, but the fact that they are treated as theories, when they are really little more than descriptions or untested hypotheses, one might even say. We continue to add more hypotheses to these, as if we were convinced that they could not possibly be verified or falsified, and as if the scientific method had never been invented. The primary research method in the humanities is, of course, qualitative, and we construct complex ideas that are discussed, accepted, criticized, rebuffed, or rejected, and sometimes all of the above. In contrast, the natural and social sciences work with quantitative research methods allowing for hypotheses to be tested. The results have to be falsifiable before they become a theory that is only replaced by another theory of grea-ter explanatory power than the previous one. And here, I believe, lies the crux of the matter, with the study of the effect of the puppet, in that we cannot move beyond conjecture as long as we do not embrace quantitative research. To be sure, there are huge strengths in qualitative research. By no means do I suggest abandoning the methods of qualitative research and falling into the trap of scientism, but we are fortunate that current discoveries in the natural sciences and questions into the perception of puppets are converging in interesting ways. Without a doubt, this can only enhance the prevailing research not only in puppetry, but also in robotics and autism spectrum research. Employing both qualitative as well as quantitative research approaches can liberate us from the reiteration of similar arguments cloaked in a variety of expressions. That having been said, acceptance in the humanities for the inclusion of findings from cognitive and neuroscientific research remains controversial at best. I would argue that research into

the still-unexplored field of the spectatorship of puppetry, with its abundant opportunities for investigation, holds much promise, as the reader will see.

Consider what cognitive psychology has revealed about the perception of animacy and inanimacy. Psychologist Rochel Gelman's cognitive developmental research has shown that the animacy-inanimacy distinction is based on a core organizing, ontological principle, aspects of which are usually acquired early in infancy across all cultures (90).

Psychologists John Opfer and Susan Gelman distinguish between featural and dynamic cues:

> There are two broad classes of perceptual cues that could indicate that a given entity is either animate or inanimate: *featural* aspects of the object (e.g., whether or not it has a face; the texture of its contour), and *dynamic* aspects [ital. in orig.] of the object's motion (e.g., whether or not it propels itself, whether or not it moves in the direction of another entity, whether or not it moves contingent on the movements of another). Some cues are arguably a combination of featural and dynamic information (e.g., a person's gaze has both characteristic static features [e.g., shape and configuration of eyes] as well as characteristic motion properties [contingently following the gaze of another]). (Opfer 216)

It appears that in addition to specific types of motion implying a hidden energy source (i.e., self-propelled motion), the relationship in space and time to other objects – thus displaying a form of intentionality – provokes the perception of animacy.

Psychologist Peipei Setoh's research has shown that at eight months infants can already distinguish between animals and other objects (1). Young infants have biological expectations and apply the so-called innards principle, expecting that a self-propelled object, which displays clear signs of agency, possesses an inside.

Experiencing agency and contingency in objects leads to the attribution of mental states, as the seminal experiments by psychologist Fritz Heider, no doubt influenced by Gestalt psychology, with Marianne Simmel, a psychologist with an interest in cognitive neuropsychology (1944), and Albert Michotte (1963), an experimental psychologist, revealed in separate experiments. Cognitive neuroscientists like Sarah-Jayne Blakemore et al. (2003) were able to confirm and expand on the initial findings of Heider, Simmel, and Michotte with more sophisticated research methods.

Participants in the first experiments of 1944 ascribed mental states like intentions and goals to abstract geometrical figures. While the behaviour of these figures was described in human terms, it is unlikely that the figures were also ascribed human personhood – personhood yes, but not necessarily human personhood. The limited options that language offers to talk about objects that "behave" in certain ways does not imply that the shapes are seen as representations of humans.

With the proliferation of personified robots as objects in our environment, be they toys, personal aids, or characters in fiction, research has begun into the animacy-inanimacy distinction with respect to robots. While "[m]etabolism, *life span*, *sexual reproduction*, *ancestry*, *culture*, and *consciousness* for now distinguish us from robots," as computer scientist Karl F. MacDorman writes [6] (485; ital. in orig.), preliminary findings suggest that when the persona of a robot is embedded (Severson and Carlson 1101), it will be perceived as "neither alive **nor** not alive," functionally similar but structurally different to that of a human, and may inhabit a new ontological category (1101). For psychologist Rachel Severson and developmental cognitive neuroscientist Stephanie Carlson,

[p]ersonified robots are understood as possessing a unique constellation of properties, such as perception, intelligence, feelings, volition, and moral standing, while simultaneously being understood as mechanical rather than biological. (1101)

Peter Kahn, psychologist and director of the Human Interaction with Nature and Technological Systems Lab (HINTS), identified five categories gathered from questionnaires filled out by forum users on the interaction with a robotic pet (547):

a) technological essences (refers to status as artefact)

b) life-like essences (refers to status as animate)

c) mental states (capability for intentions, desires and feelings)

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[6] MacDorman was instrumental in the English translation of Masahiro Mori's 1970 essay "Uncanny Valley." As he states in an online article in *LiveScience*, the new translated version of Mori's essay (2012) still does not sufficiently capture the meaning of the Japanese term "shinwakan," used in the original, but certainly goes a long way toward a more accurate translation. The term "Uncanny Valley" has stuck, though, as it had already become familiar to English readers. See Jeremy Hsu, "Robotics' Uncanny Valley Gets New Translation," *LiveScience*, June 12, 2012 http://www.livescience.com/20909-robotics-uncanny-valley-translation.html (accessed on Feb. 9, 2015).

d) social rapport (capability for engaging in social interaction)

e) moral standing (whether robot is moral agent).

A new ontology seems to emerge from the combination of these categories: an artefact that is seen as "neither alive **nor** not alive" with limited social rapport and very little moral standing.

So far, no comparable experiments come to mind that have been conducted on puppets. Still, by applying the above categories to puppets from an introspective viewpoint and from our knowledge of current literature, we could try to argue that puppets are perceived to have

artistic/technological essence (refers to status as theatrical artifacts)

life-like essences (refers to status as temporally animate)

mental states (performing evocative descriptions of intentions, desires, feelings (Rozik 44) and actions

social rapport (capability for engaging in social interaction with puppets or human others)

moral standing (whether puppet is moral agent, depends on the role the puppet fulfills in a play, similar to robots that are or are not seen as moral agents)

Unlike robots, however, puppets are not self-propelled, a key feature in the perception of animacy.[7] They may lack self-propulsion, but they still exhibit biological motion for the most part. There seems to be a family resemblance, but do they truly belong in the same ontological category? Are they *simultaneously* perceived as neither animate *nor* inanimate, in the same way we may see robots, as Steve Tillis puts forward in his "double-vision" hypothesis. Or, to formulate it differently, is it possible to hold two contrasting images in our minds, given one unchanging visual stimulus?

Ambiguous figures have fascinated scholars and lay people alike over the past centuries, like the candlestick that reverses to the silhouette of two faces, the Boring[8] figure which can be seen as a young or an old woman, or the famous

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[7] Of course stop-motion animation complicates this question, as no puppeteer is visible. On the other hand stop-motion is specifically made for film. We already assume that film animates humans and objects alike.

[8] Named after the experimental American psychologist Edwin Boring. See Jack Botwinick, "Husband and Father-in-Law – A Reversible Figure," *The American Journal of Psychology* 74 (1961): 2.

"duck-rabbit" image[9] **(Figure 9)**. They are wonderful examples of unchanging visual stimuli with contrasting image perceptions. How do we perceive these images? And can we perceive two images simultaneously? To the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein "seeing" is always "seeing as" (205), an interpretative act that precludes seeing the same stimulus as two different things. Research into the visual perception of ambiguous figures is ongoing, and most research results currently support Wittgenstein's view by suggesting that we cannot hold two contrasting views **(Figure 9, Figure 10a** and **Figure 10b)**.
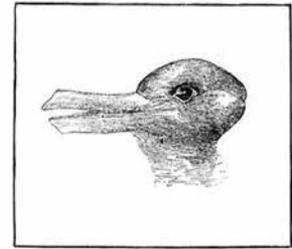
Figure 9. Duck-Rabbit. Illustration.

According to Jürgen Kornmeier and Michael Bach – two scholars with an interest in visual perception from a neurobiological and psychological perspective – the prolonged observation of an ambiguous figure begins with an initially stable perception before it slowly destabilizes and, after an instant of maximal instability, a process of disambiguation leads to a new transiently stable perception before the process begins anew (16). As this process is influenced by bottom-up (sensory input) and top-down factors, times may differ for the described processes to take place. Interestingly, no new visual perception emerges, making it a bi-stable perception (16). Obviously, the stimuli used in current laboratory experiments do not replicate complex stimuli like puppets in a live performance, manipulated by a puppeteer, but I would still speculate that the basic principles are similar. This means that those views, according to which puppets are perceived through an alternation/oscillation of the animate and the inanimate, could be regarded as being supported by a falsifiable theory. We thus may be able to suggest that puppets are in fact perceived as "alive *or* not alive," just not simultaneously.
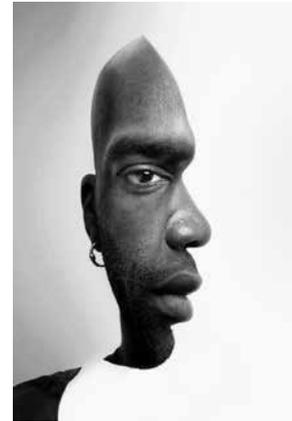
Figure 10a. *Ambiguous figure.* Photograph.
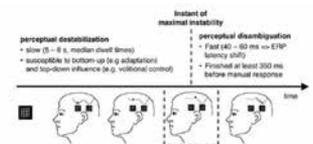
Figure 10b. Destabilization and disambiguation of ambiguous visual information. Illustration.

We may want to go a step further. Understanding how we process perceptions is only one aspect of understanding how we interact with the world, how we understand our surroundings and the objects that populate it, how we make up our minds about their respective ontologies, and how new categories are formed. We also need to take into account how these perceptions

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[9] The image "Kaninchen und Ente" (rabbit and duck) was first seen in a popular nineteenth-century German satirical magazine. See "Welche Thiere gleichen einander am meisten?" [Which animals look most alike?], *Fliegende Blätter* 97, no. 2465 (1892): 147.

are met by the top-down cognitive processes and in turn become percepts and concepts.

The conceptual blending theory formulated by the cognitive scientists and linguists Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (2002) offers a convincing cognitive model of how new concepts could emerge from a blend of differing or even contrasting conceptual frames – like animacy and inanimacy – and how a new ontological category, that of the robot that is "neither alive nor not alive" could emerge. Fauconnier and Turner coined the term "double-scope blending" to describe the human capability "of integrating two or more conceptual arrays as inputs whose frame structures typically conflict in radical ways on vital conceptual relations" that require higher-end cognitive functions involving cognitive empathy (Fauconnier 521). A novel frame structure emerges that displays characteristics not found in either of the initial inputs. This could explain Severson and Carlson's suggestion for the robot as a new ontological category.

It is tempting to think of the puppet in the same terms. Using the conceptual blending theory, we could say that when an essentially inanimate object like a puppet exhibits the behavioural characteristics of an animate object, our minds are challenged to blend two conflicting conceptual fields with each other and a novel frame structure emerges. But in the case of the puppet, I doubt that the concept displays new characteristics.

It is my contention that puppets are firmly rooted in two ontologies. That is to say their ontology is in fact dichotomous. This engenders a state of cognitive dissonance and ambiguity in the spectator. Compared to therapeutic robots (like NAO, PROBO, and KASPAR[10]) who, according to Severson and Carlson, are supposedly simultaneously perceived as "neither alive nor not alive," as spectators we attribute agency to a puppet and then next we don't. We see one image *or* see another, animate *or* inanimate, and are equally convinced of the truth of each visual input, except for that moment of maximal instability. This fits the cognitive neuroscience definition of ambiguity, which contrary to common usage, is defined by a state in which the mind is equally convinced of the truth of two perceptual inputs. As research into the perception of ambiguous figures has shown, our visual perception does just that.

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[10] For more on robots in ASD therapy, see Kerstin Dautenhahn et al, "KASPAR: A Minimally Expressive Humanoid Robot for Human-Robot Interaction Research," *Applied Bionics and Biomechanics,* vol. 6, no. 3-4 (2009), p. 369-397; Simut et al., "Children with Autism Spectrum Disorders Make a Fruit Salad with Probo, the Social Robot. An Interaction Study," *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, vol. 46, (2015), pp. 113-126.

Research into the perception of robots has exploded in the last couple of years, but still has barely scratched the surface. The possible implications of the emergence of a new ontological category for robots are vast and may lead to a recasting of the animacy concept and help with understanding the ontology of the puppet more fully. The current concepts will undergo transformations. Philosopher Mario Bunge writes that concepts cannot be true or false, but can only be "exact or fuzzy, applicable or inapplicable, fruitful or barren" (Bunge, 49) and so it is my hope that the concept of the robot as an emerging new ontological category and the puppet as an object that is firmly rooted in two ontologies may prove to be productive. In fact, an artistic artifact that is unmistakably planted in two opposing concepts is a wonderful creative tool as Erik Sanko's work demonstrates.

Based on hypotheses put forward in qualitative research coupled with findings in cognitive psychology and neuroscientific research, I believe we can say that, unlike robots, which are perceived as "neither alive n*or* **not** alive," puppets are perceived as "alive *or* **not** alive." The ensuing perceptual ambiguity[11] of this black and white or on/off perception is the driving force for both the puppet's poeticity and uncanniness. This, to me, is what defines the unique ontology of the puppet. To consider ambiguity as a key component to the perception of puppets is obviously not new, but contrary to previous research I suggest that it is not the puppeteer who creates an illusion, or the spectator who willingly suspends his disbelief. Rather, the effect of the puppet is produced in the spectator as an involuntary perceptual process. When a highly ambiguous figure is visually perceived, processes are set into motion to disambiguate the figure. In the case of the puppet, this ambiguity cannot be resolved. Thus the essence of the puppet reveals itself in the interstice of its opposite poles, in a particular tension, in the gap at the moment of maximum destabilization. It is viewed as fully alive or fully inanimate at different times. In order to disambiguate the visual stimulus, the audience employs strategies like a prolonged gaze and a general increase in cognitive processing **(Figure 11)**. The audience becomes captivated because the mind is activated
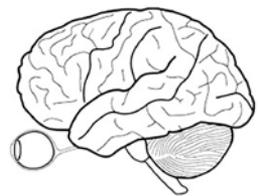
Figure 11. Magicians: Brain Puppet and brain sketch.

[11] For more on the artistic goal to create perceptual ambiguity see Robert Pepperell, "Connecting Art and the Brain. An Artist's Perspective on Visual Indeterminacy," *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 5 (2011): 31-42.

in a highly specific way. In the end, there is no need for precarious "leaps of faith" or the "suspension of disbelief." All we need are neurons lighting the firework of perception, as if by magic.

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The Study of Reception Process of Children Aged Six to Eight Years, in Theatre, Based on Reception Phenomenological Approach

Introduction

Stories have always been tools for adults to describe different phenomena to children. Theater provides a representation of these stories, their visualized versions. Put differently, when stories are converted to plays, they are represented in dramatic versions, along with other elements (music, motion etc.). However, we might ask whether this type of representation can give us a comprehensive version of the story's reality, of its imaginary world, or not.

According to Xeni (2011), a play is an interpretation of the real or imaginary context of the story of which it is a representation. Through this representation, theater contributes a special reading of the story, something different from what the storyteller performs. The storyteller leaves the child in the unbounded space of his/her imagination and only confines the child's mental picturing by means of the descriptions in the story. But things are different in theater. Through the act of representation on stage, a particular perspective is depicted before the child's eyes. It first presents all children with a similar perspective, which they interpret individually with regard to their background, maturity and the dominant context of their society.

In short, Theater shapes the story and brings it closer to reality; however, on the other hand, it bounds it within a certain set of images, which are mostly imperfect and just contain some markers of that reality. For instance, in representing the scenery of a forest, a castle in Mt Caucasus, the witch's gingerbread house in the story of Hansel and Gretel, an actress in beautiful

dresses with two wings playing the role of the kind fairy, and many other examples, it is impossible to completely depict these places or characters in their real dimensions on stage; visual elements and codes are employed to picture them before the audience, who must reconstruct a more complete image in their minds. This representation functions as a frame within which the child envisages the world of the play. According to Schonmann (2006), the child receives the spectacle on stage as an observer and, overtly or covertly, reacts according to his/her personality, growth level and experiences.

But how does the child engage in this process? This is what we are looking for in this research. Accordingly, I will first provide a review of Reception Aesthetics theory and then describe the path the child is supposed to go through while watching the play, by studying the gaps and blanks, omissions and highlights, schemas and corrections, and by further examining the elements Iser identifies in his theory of Text reception. And, since growth stages play an important role in determining the amount of data storage available to children, the present study will consider the ages 6-8.

Reception Aesthetics

One of the most important approaches that endeavors to describe audience reception processes is Reception Aesthetics Theory, which is based on phenomenology. Like many other philosophical theories, phenomenology has contributed to the study of literature. Wolfgang Iser and Hans Robert Jauss developed Reception Aesthetics theory at the University of Konstanz. Before the emergence of phenomenology in literary studies, audiences' response was studied in a different manner, with the writer assigned overall responsibility for it, but the founders of this school proposed a new standpoint which does not regard the audience only as a passive receiver, but rather as an active agent in the reading process and in creating the sense of the text.

According to Iser, the Reader-Text relationship is mutual and dialectic; on the one hand, the text offers a role to the reader and, on the other hand, the reader has his/her own inclination. Since none of these two can be ever completely subdued by the other, there exists a tension between them. The text can give some clues of meaning production to the reader, according to which the reader can step forward on the path of reception.

Iser believes that the importance of the work is not hidden in the meaning sealed inside the text, but rather the meaning extracts what is hidden inside us.

The followers of the Constance school consider an artwork to have two pivotal points: creation and Reception. Like creation, reception has its own process and system. They believe that when the audience encounters a work, its meaning is formed through a complex process. They also state that what occurs in the audience's mind is of the greatest importance. Put differently, they study the confluence of the audience's mind and the literary work, their mutual influence on each other. Accordingly, depending on the significance of the reading of the text, a special position is assigned to the audience.

The reader understands the text based on his/her own personal experiences. The norms which form these experiences evolve through the reading process. The way the audience experiences the text is a reflection of their inclinations; in this regard, the text functions as a mirror.

This new standpoint has attracted many critiques and led theorists to redirect their attention from features of artworks' production and creation to reading, reception and audience. This has been regarded as the main achievement of the school that arose out of phenomenology. Although most questions posed in this school are related to literature, most of them are also applicable to other types of art, including children's theater.

Gaps and Blanks

One important part of Iser's theory regarding the audience's interference and participation in creating meaning and their reception of the text relates to the existence of gaps and blanks in the text which allow them to enter the work. He discusses in his book, *The Act of Reading,* how the Text is a complete system of processes. The system includes a space for the reader to reconstruct the text. These spaces are gaps, which contain blanks- the reader must fill them in (Iser, 1978).

Gaps allow the reader to give life to the story and determine its meaning. Iser believes that these blanks give the reader an opportunity to reveal those elements which are hidden in the text. The gaps attract the reader's attention, making it reconnect with the text.

These blanks cannot be filled by the text itself. We need another system to fill them. The reader links these spaces in different ways by bridging the gaps and filling them and thus connects with the text, .i.e. the text-reader relationship spins around these gaps. The structure of blanks makes the reader think about the text.

Following Gombrich's ideas mentioned in his book *Art and Illusion*, Iser proposes that, when we see pictures or listen to a speech, it is difficult to distinguish what the text gives us from what we add to the text. It is the observer's (audience's) task to guess what is presented from among these different shapes, forms and colors." (Iser, 1972)

In other words, we are always adding unwritten parts to the text; but if the audience does not feel obligated to fill in these blanks, they will stay void, no connection will be made, and the work will lose its spirit. These gaps acts as stimulators which make the audience act during their reading and propels them towards discovering what is hidden inside the text. What Iser proposes here relates to the text, but our main objective here is to transfer these concepts to the field of theater and, especially, children's theater.

Gaps in Children's Theater

In addition to the existing gaps and blanks in a story which we will not discuss at length here, including those due to the weaknesses (flaws or mistakes) in the artistic construction of imaginary and fiction realities, sometimes encompassing many details, depending on the performing technique, and sometimes limited to the abstract employment of few elements, the audience encounter usually generates a group of gaps and blanks in the play. These gaps are the breaks between the phenomena on stage and the familiar real or imaginary word in the child's mind. This occurs, for instance, when a stage set aims to visualize a wooded forest, using an adult actor playing the role of a child (the same age as the audience), a few trees, animal sound effects, a man playing a rabbit, etc.

There exist gaps and blanks between all these things and a child's saved mental images; if they remain blank, no connection will be made and the play will seem meaningless to him/her. The child will get impatient, cease to tolerate the work, and will not believe the events on stage, a failure for which the artist is held accountable. However, if the play succeeds, children will actively follow along. They start filling in the blanks and bridging the gaps through their mental activity and resolve the defects so that they can see more than what exists on stage. They enhances the small number of trees on stage and add other trees to it, eventually picturing a dense forest in their minds. They also enhance the stage clothes and tools and complete the witch's house, bedroom, etc. This process often occurs in puppet shows. The child must first fill the gap between living or lifeless puppets and then follow the

play. Hence, according to what Iser's theory states, when we produce an artwork for children, we should always think of the limited data storage they have and arrange the stage elements so that they are able to fill the gaps and blanks. Very abstract and alien images or hard and strange words would disconnect them from the stage and whatever takes place on it, because they cannot fill the gaps.

The Strategy of Reading

Iser considers the most important task of the audience to be their strategy of reading: here, he follows the Polish philosopher, Roman Ingarden. "The strategy of reading" is a process which Ingarden regards as essential for the audience when reading a text. The audience always predicts the semantic world of the text based on their assumptions and forms several hypotheses at the same time. If a hypothesis is proven, new hypotheses will be formed and text investigation continues. Ingarden calls this process of hypothesizing "the strategy of reading." Reading goes on as a chain of main and secondary hypotheses. Iser (1972) enhances this notion and states that, as we continue reading the text, we incessantly observe and evaluate the events in line with our expectations of what will take place in the text and alongside the background of whatever happened before. However, unexpected events make us reformulate our expectations and reinterpret the meaning we assigned to the previous events.

Children, Hypothesizing and Strategy

This task may seem complicated. How do children perform such a task during a play? Obviously, what children do while reading stage images and events varies. Undoubtedly, neither an adult audience nor a child audience engages in this strategy-making process deliberately; but, entering the fiction and drama atmosphere, they do it inadvertently. Generally, since children are much closer to the world of imagination, they more easily become mesmerized and find their first strategy, which is the belief in the imaginary world. Next, they ground other strategies on this strategy, based on the belief in elements of the play, its characters, places and events. When the child accepts false and fanciful stage trees as the real trees in a forest, he/she steps toward making a strategy and travels to the forest following the play, trusting his/her hypothesis. There, he/she can accept a man in the role of a rabbit

and get to know the rabbit's life story. Whenever something unsettles his/her mental hypothesis and causes his/her assumptions to disintegrate, if he/she can reconstruct this strategy and change, he/she will stay connected; but if it is difficult, complex or impossible for him/her to do so, he/she will become disconnected from the story. The play's director, cast, and crew should have this in mind and try not to put the child in tricky situations.

Omission and Highlighting

According to Iser, when attempting to develop a cohesive concept of the text, the audience selects some of its elements and puts them into cohesive wholes. By omitting certain elements and highlighting others, each audience member treats some of them as objective and tangible in a certain manner. To create an integrated fantasy, he/she picks different perspectives from inside the text or moves from one perspective to the other. By doing this, the audience aims to reduce complications and creates an integrated structure in their mind.

Omission and Highlighting in Children's Minds

Other tools which Iser mentions are omission and highlighting. To complete the play, while following the play, children do not pay attention to extraneous elements and omit them; at the same time, they highlight some other parts of it. Usually, overabundant details can make them confused. They learn their strategy from their imaginary games; although they can use most parts of the house, they choose only a corner or a small part of the room to play and turn it into an imaginary house, a house they design based on their own mental pattern. Younger children, even though they cannot speak very well, talk to each other or their imaginary characters by making sounds similar to adults. They do not need words in their world, only the main frame, indicative of talking, is enough for them and they leave the rest to the mind.

Something similar also happens when they are watching a play. They just pick and highlight the main elements their mind regards as necessary to recall the essential images and omit and disregard all the rest. Consequently, following the artists' guidance, realized through lighting and other techniques, children just highlight certain parts of the stage and do not pay heed to the rest, passing over it.

Schema and Correction

Iser also mentions two other concepts, from Gombrich's book *Art and Illusion*: "Schema and Correction"; these enhance his own method. Schema functions as a filter through which we can group data. He believes that objects have diverse scaffoldings or armatures which designate their nature. The existence of schema is essential, because, by applying it, we can discover our path from among the unlimited diversities of the changing world and whenever something new is observed and perceived, schema undergoes a correction process (Iser, 1978).

Our minds tend to categorize our experiences and our brains reduce and perceive objects from among masses of data. The structure of schema is based on equilibrium and exists in opposition to complexity. Iser asserts that any artist has several conventional schemas, through which he/she accesses the world. But when he/she receives a new piece of information not included in his/her schema, he/she should correct them; this is the second step mentioned by Gomberich. Accordingly, a new schema is made and a new perception is developed.

A schema allows the world to be represented, while correction improves the audience's response to the represented world. Schema functions as a pattern through which we perceive things when we meet the world around us. In psychology, schema is regarded as an aid to the human being in its ability to receive data by means of the senses. However, the schema of a text forces the audience to verify concepts as facts, to recreate and rearrange them. Iser (1978) declares that when text schemas are interconnected, an imaginary subject can start forming, and gaps help conduct this action.

Children, Schema and Correction

Children also have conventional mental schemas which are based on their experiences of realities, books, films and perhaps previous plays they have seen or, in other words, their experience of the world around them. When they encounter the phenomena on stage, they use these schemas as a framework for identifying stage phenomena and put them into these frames; but, as they come across a new phenomenon, different from what they have in mind, they begin to form a new schema. When a rabbit is played by a man, the child sees this as strange. In the child's mind, a rabbit is an animal, whereas this is a human who is capable of speaking, so the creature on stage

is both known and alien and is not compatible with any of his/her mental schemas. So he/she needs to have a new schema, in which a rabbit can talk like a human. He can understand the character within this schema. When the stage phenomena are too strange and too far from a child's experiences and resources, he/she cannot understand them. Children's level of experiences, resources and perception of diverse phenomena vary at different ages. The quality of these capabilities is highly influenced by the social and cultural milieu in which they have been fostered. Therefore, being aware of these aspects of the perception process can be very effective in producing plays and controlling the gaps in the work.

Conclusion

The present paper attempted to introduce several important theoretical topics regarding artists involved in children's theater in order to assist them in providing and producing better art works and help them to build a more profound understanding of their relationship with their audiences. Following this objective, it discussed the main reasons for disconnects and conflicts experienced by the audiences of art works and showed that, by not considering the resources of the child's consciousness and by employing unlimited fantasy, it is possible to lose the audience, because if the child does not fill the play's gaps by means of his/her mental patterns, imagination, and presumptions, the child-stage relationship can become disconnected, resulting in dissatisfaction.

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"Help me to see – beyond": Dolls and doll narratives in the context of coming of age[1]

Introductory remarks: Some essentials of dolls and puppetry

Dolls are more than inanimate objects and puppetry is definitely more than simply child's play. Dolls and puppets are capable of guiding children and adults alike towards gaining new knowledge and/or reliving forgotten wisdom about mankind as well as about the clandestine power and magic of the "language of things" in the sense of Walter Benjamin.[2] Dolls as ancient objects inherently possess a kind of language of their own. As "ambassadors […] from the world of things"[3] they carry inside themselves a specific "language of dolls"[4] – writing and telling magical and poetic stories of their own that call for decipherment. The language of dolls and puppets contains bewildering messages that unfold their unforeseen impact in the everchanging context and course of human development. On the one hand, dolls and puppets can be perceived and treated as arbitrary objects, being simply toys for children, containing nothing beyond an apparently plain and innocent surface. On the other hand, they function as a magic wand for acquiring knowledge about 'whatever holds the world together in its inmost folds' as Faust exclaims, the dramatic figure of a desperately striving scholar created by the famous German writer and poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

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[1] Grateful thanks go to Robin Lohmann who helped with the English version.

[2] Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings. Volume One: 1913-1926*, ed. by Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 62-74, 63.

[3] Yoko Tawada, *Spielzeug und Sprachmagie in der europäischen Literatur. Eine ethnologische Poetologie* (Tübingen: Konkursbuch Verlag, 2000).

[4] Kenneth Gross, "The madness of puppets.", *The Hopkins Review* 2 (2009): 182-205, 187.

Besides the magical dimension that dolls and puppets refer to, playing with dolls can help children to learn significant lessons about identity and alterity, about self and otherness, about empathy, and, crucially, about themselves in relation to others. Dolls can guide children 'to see' and to see 'beyond', they can become an epistemological tool of holistic learning, communication, creativity, fantasy, coping skills, and so forth. Puppets and dolls are complex 'beings' and go beyond their simple positivistic aspects. Regardless of how innocent they may appear, they definitely possess a particular form of uncanniness, a sense of morbidity, of in-between qualities, of an ambiguousness that triggers ambivalent feelings. In a way, dolls are hybrid characters, kind of 'border liners' and beings that are neither alive nor dead or – in a puzzling and sometimes scary sense – that are both: alive as well as dead.

The interactive encounters between dolls and human beings and their resulting relationships often turn out to be intriguing and complicated. What actually happens between dolls and humans? Walter Benjamin, for example, praises the capacity of the Swiss author Gottfried Keller who captures the unique quality of such relationships by describing how "the object returns the gaze of the observer."[5] Christopher Bracken critically comments on Benjamin's remark and interprets in a more explicit way what, in his opinion, Benjamin obviously wanted to convey: "Before we turn our gaze to things, things are looking for us, because if things did not 'seek' the gaze seeking them, it would be impossible for people to find them."[6] In a slightly different vein Kenneth Gross points to the somehow unconscious, yet, interdependently connected processes between dolls or puppets, respectively, and humans by claiming that "they are what we project onto them; they also project onto us."[7] They represent the idea of an automatically subliminal relationship. In any case, dolls and puppets contain surplus values and spill-over powers. It should not be overlooked that they are not only cultural artefacts that refer to long forgotten magical spheres, but they can also be read as subtexts on hegemony and domination. Or more specifically, they can be a means of hegemony and domination when it comes to telling girls and women how to look, how to behave, and how to feel. The 'doll's house drama' by the Norwegian writer Henrik Ibsen may give some insight into such infiltrating processes.

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[5] Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, 56.

[6] Christopher Bracken, "Review article. The language of things: Walter Benjamin's primitive thought." *Semiotica* 138 (2002): 321-349, 335.

[7] Huq Husna, "The power of puppets. Professor Kenneth Gross explores the theatrical power of puppets to 'bring a part of us back to play.'" *Rochester Review* 74 (2012): No 5. Accessed August 21, 2014, http://www.rochester.edu/pr/Review/V74N5/0304_inrev_puppets.html.

Due to their enigmatic character, dolls can serve many functions in many domains: art, literature, spiritual contexts and religious practices, fantasy and magical spheres, articles of daily use, robotics, artificial intelligence, media, virtual games and, last but not least: toys. In fact, the focus of this contribution will be on dolls as toys – toys as artefacts and toys coming alive as historical and contemporary literary characters in doll narratives. Although the significance of dolls and doll play for children will be looked at, special emphasis will be put on the role dolls play when it comes to saying farewell to the childhood. Therefore, the main focus will be on activities like leaving dolls behind, abandoning them or letting them die and even burying them. The analysis of these apparently strange and weird encounters and actions can give some insight into the challenging and sometimes irritating and unsettling developmental phase of growing up. Thus, while feeling the need to say good-bye to the realm of gaily-spent childhood days might on the one hand lead to sacrificing the doll, on the other hand, such an act could also be an attempt to appropriate one's own childhood while coming of age.

Dolls and doll narratives in human development

Since the dawn of mankind, dolls have been used as ritual and sacrificial objects, idols, fetishes and other symbolic substitutes in the context of celebrations, worship, spiritual encounters, conjurations, execrations, rites of passages and phases of individual development.[8] Within the ontogenetic process of socialization and the development of complex relationships between self, other, and socially defined expectations cultural artefacts like dolls contain a significant, yet somehow hidden agenda. This is mainly a feature of the "human appearance" that constitutes the doll's status as a unique object. As cultural artefacts and personally meaningful objects, dolls play an outstanding and particular role in child development. As a favorite toy object for children, dolls serve multifunctional needs and can be used both instrumentally as well as symbolically. From a developmental psychological perspective, dolls (and other comfort objects made of cloth or soft material like security blankets, napkins, teddy bears and so forth) serve as "transitional objects"[9] which represent the bond between the child and its attachment

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[8] For more details see: Insa Fooken, *Puppen – heimliche Menschenflüsterer* (in collaboration with Robin Lohmann) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 64-73.

[9] For further considerations on the significance of „transitional objects" see: Donald W. Winnicott, "Transitional objects and transitional phenomena: a study of the first not-me possession," *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 34 (1953): 89-97.

figure, mostly the mother. While using objects in this way a transitional space emerges between the child's own inner psychic reality and the external one. This unique and open space is not clearly defined but has "in-between" qualities that encourage playful explorations and negotiations between the inner and the outer world. All these processes and dynamics enhance further development while allowing the child its first steps into autonomy and separation while still being attached to significant others at the same time. The meaning and functions of transitional objects and transitional spaces are not restricted to child development but can be found throughout life- long development, especially in times of transitions and upheavals. On the one hand, dolls as transitional objects are capable of providing emotional security, reassurance and consolation. On the other hand, they also challenge the child and other individuals to explore and synthesize their inner and outer worlds. In that way, dolls serve as important companions, tutors and counterparts in the process of identity formation being, in a way, objects as well as agents of socialization. Via their particular kind of materialization, looks and appeals, dolls send out specific messages, mostly to girls. As a gender-affiliated toy, they also carry messages for boys, albeit different ones. Therefore, the dolls that are available to children in a given culture and society give them an idea of the gendered world around them. They tell them what is appropriate and what is unacceptable to dream of or how to look, think, behave or feel as a girl or a boy.

The particular significance of dolls and puppets within the context of child socialization not only holds true for the materialized toy object but also for doll narratives in picture books and children's literature. As literary characters, dolls are suited for animation by children and adults alike. They turn into living beings, embodying and expressing observable and hidden human features – looks, attitudes, thoughts, longings, fears, and so forth. Lois Rostow Kuznets argues that when toys come alive in stories written for children they turn into subtle "narratives of animation, metamorphosis, and development."[10] Regarding "literary toys" in general, Kuznets points out some recurring motifs that can be applied to dolls as well as to literary characters after "coming alive"[11]:

> – Dolls (and puppets) as literary characters experience anxiety
> about what it means to be an independent human subject
> in a world of hegemony embodying "all the temptations and

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[10] Lois Rostow Kuznets, *When toys come alive. Narratives of animation, metamorphosis, and development* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

[11] Kuznets, *When toys come alive*, 2.

responsibilities of power" as well as the issues of surrender and pervasive vulnerability.

– Dolls (and puppets) partially inhabit a secret, sensual, hidden, mysterious, uncanny world and know liminal forms of existence as well as baroque excesses.

– Dolls (and puppets) touch the crucial topos of divinity and creation, thus challenging moral concepts and philosophical issues about human hegemony and creativity.

Furthermore, many motifs that appear in doll narratives go along with developmental tasks children have to cope with in the course of coming of age and gradually leaving the realm of childhood behind. Thus, in this contribution, special attention will be given to aspects of psychological and developmental transformations within the context of real life doll-child relations and interactions as well as in doll narratives in children's literature. The question is: What do children learn and recognize about themselves and their life aspirations during their interactions and reciprocal negotiations with dolls and what will happen to the dolls when it comes to the issue of children's growing up and leaving childhood behind? As we learn to read and understand the "language of dolls," one of the answers can be found in the stories about "Minchen, the wise doll" by the German author Emma Biller, who wrote doll-tales and so called "memoirs" of dolls, supposedly written by dolls themselves, for children, over a period of more than 30 years.[12] Minchen, the wise doll, knows all about the ambiguous facts and secrets of life, about the times of love, danger, farewells, beginnings, responsibility, fun, and playfulness. Thus, Minchen tells her young readers: "Big girls have to study so much and by doing this they become bright: but they have no more time to play." She continues and concedes to the girls: "Soon, we poor dolls appear silly to them and finally they stop loving us – for them, we are not living beings any more."[13] On the other hand, Minchen also possesses truth and knowledge beyond the apparently plain surface of dolls. In one of the stories a young "doll mother" confides Minchen's wisdom to some of her girl friends and corrects their "misunderstandings" of the doll messages: "By the way, I would like to tell you a secret. A very wise doll, called Minchen, has written her memoirs, and in it she confidentially told us that dolls chat and

[12] Emma Biller's full name was Emma Wuttke-Biller (1833-1913); she started her career as author of doll-tales in 1864 with the book „Lida's Puppe" and published her last book „Im Puppenparadies" in 1912.

[13] Emma Biller, *Minchen, die kluge Puppe* (Leipzig: Spamer, 1881), 137.

get along among each other much better than with us; they are even allowed to poke fun at us."[14]

In fact, the picture entitled "Lalki" (Dolls), painted by the Polish painter Witold Wojtkiewicz (1879-1909) in 1906, seems like a congenial illustration of these complex and potentially ambiguous relationships between dolls and their human counterparts and about the lessons dolls might be able to teach girls while coming of age.[15] **(Figure 1)**

Figure 1: Witold Wojtkiewicz, *Lalki / Dolls*

Two different realms are discernible. The upper sphere, portraying a group of girls and/or women with ladylike manners, appears to be an emotionally frozen doll-house. This kind of constricted female human world seems sharply cut off from the wild and burlesque underworld of dolls who are engaged in some kind of frolicking and carnival-like activities. What could be the message of the underground dolls to the girls and women above? Maybe their answer could be read as follows: "Girls watch out! Do not suppress your core, inner vitality but stay in touch with your playfulness and emotions, especially when you are coming of age!"

Leaving dolls and doll play behind in order to grow up – Empirical and literary historical data

A look at empirical data regarding the question of when and how children say good-bye to dolls and stop doll playing points to the end of the 19th century. In 1896, the psychologists G. Stanley Hall and A. Caswell Ellis conducted an empirically based "Study of Dolls"[16] which included a corpus of more than a thousand descriptions of children's doll playing behavior plus ethnographic and literary material. According to their questionnaires and collected data, the "doll passion," as they called it, was strongest between eight and nine years of age and regular doll play continued, mostly among girls, until the age of 13 or 14.[17] As expected, doll play was not that typical among boys who abandoned

[14] Emma Biller, *Die Puppenfamilie. Kleinen Mädchen erzählt* (Stuttgart: R. Thienemanns Verlag. Anton Hoffmann, 1883), 119.

[15] Witold Wojtkiewicz (1879-1909), *Lalki* (1906). National Museum in Warsaw. Accessed August 30, 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Witold_Wojtkiewicz?uselang=de#mediaviewer/ File:Wojtkiewicz_Lalki.jpg.

[16] A. Caswell Ellis and G. Stanley Hall, „A study of dolls." *Pedagogical Seminary* IV (1896): 129-175; G. Stanley Hall and A. Caswell Ellis, *A study of dolls* (New York and Chicago: E. L. Kellog & Co, 1897).

[17] see also: Harvey C. Lehman, "A study of doll play in relation to the onset of pubescence." *Pedagogical Seminary* 34 (1927): 72-76.

it earlier than girls, at about the age of nine, because it was then considered "girlish" by adults as well as by their peers. Nevertheless, about 25 percent of the study data referred to doll-playing behavior in boys, although boys seemed to prefer exceptional dolls like clowns or those with exotic or special ethnic looks much more than the ordinary, "normal" dolls girls liked to play with. Furthermore, boys also favored animal dolls, which were treated with fondness and tenderness far more often than dolls imitating human form. The affection of boys for toy animals is, in fact, still observed today. Obviously, it seems to be generally accepted and acceptable for boys to express their needs for cuddling and caring with stuffed animals and plush toys without having to fear being embarrassed, whereas human-like dolls continue to be a more or less forbidden play object for "real" boys.

The data of this historical study contain all kinds of information on dolls and doll play and readers learn about the onset as well the termination of doll playing behaviour. By that, the latter aspect is one of the central questions of interest in this paper: Why and when do children stop playing with (their) dolls? In the answers from the study of 1896, the children themselves as well as their parents and teachers commented that quite a few of them liked other things better, many felt "too old," "too large," "too busy," some were ashamed. For these reasons they gave their dolls away or they were made to stop playing by adults and by peers. Hall and Ellis argue: "[…] with the dawn of adolescence, the doll passion generally abates. It is then realized more distinctly than before that dolls have absolutely no inner life or feeling."[18] But this kind of explanation might be too simplistic and too rational as we also hear about older girls who went on playing with dolls with great pleasure, despite possible embarrassment. Most of them solved this conflict by deciding to play rather secretly. Therefore, doll play seems not only a touchy issue for boys, but also at least potentially highly ambivalent for girls at the onset of puberty. When it comes to either deciding to end doll play and thus expelling oneself from the paradise of childhood and accepting the resultant regret and sorrow, or to continue playing with dolls which might be accompanied by a bad conscience and feelings of embarrassment and shame, girls are somehow trapped between their own needs and social norms and expectations. For example, Hall and Ellis refer to letters and diaries of Jane Carlyle that give some insight into a girl's inner struggle while dealing with this conflict. Jane ended doll play because it had been intimated to her that "a young lady reading Virgil must make an end of doll-play."[19]

[18] Hall and Ellis, *A study of dolls*, 43.

[19] Hall and Ellis, *A study of dolls*, 42f.

She therefore transformed this request into a drama performed on an imaginary stage. She decided that her dolly should die like Dido, the ancient-archaic queen (who figures prominently in Virgil's Aeneid). She built a funeral pyre, the dying doll turned herself into Dido, spoke her last sad words and stabbed herself with a penknife. Immediately after the girl had enacted this dramatic scene, the real doll accidently caught fire and thus, Dido, or the real doll, was no more. In that moment Jane's affection for her doll blazed up again, she shrieked, wanted to save her doll but could not, and ended up bursting into tears.[20] It is noteworthy that a key role was typically assigned to dolls in the process of identity transition from girlhood to womanhood while becoming ready for marriage in many (ancient) cultures. It proved to be a significant transitional phase that was celebrated as a normal formative rite of initiation. For instance, in order to express that they were ready for marriage, adolescent girls in ancient Greece sacrificed their favourite doll as an oblation to one of the Goddesses – Hera, Aphrodite or Artemis.[21] Thus, the social expectation is that a girl's dolls have to be given away or sacrificed in order for her to become an adult woman.

Death of dolls and abandonment of dolls – markers of the end of childhood

The death of dolls constitutes a remarkable phenomenon in the course of developmental transformations from childhood to adulthood. About ten percent of the answers in the historical "Study of Dolls" by Hall and Ellis refer to burials, funerals, and the death of dolls,[22] though, curiously, parents often were not comfortable with such rituals. But for the children themselves – girls as well as some boys – they represent forms of negotiation with some aspects of gender roles as well as "political" conflicts with parental authority. We can discern some kind of preconscious dealing with the developmental issue of how and when childhood is over and people having to decide on the meaning of dolls in their own lives. As Miriam Forman-Brunell states in her text on "The politics of dollhood in nineteenth-century America": "Girls' funeral doll play [...] revealed far more evidence of resistance than of accommodation to newly formulated prescriptions and proscriptions."[23] Dolls and doll play turned out

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[20] Hall and Ellis, *A study of dolls*, 43.

[21] For more information on cultural aspects see: Emmy Lehmann, *Die Puppe im Wandel der Zeiten. Schriftenreihe des deutschen Spielzeugmuseums Sonneberg* (Leipzig, Thüringen: Urania, 1957).

[22] Hall and Ellis, *A study of dolls,* 27f.

[23] Miriam Forman-Brunell, "The Politics of Dollhood in Nineteenth-Century America," in *The girls' history*

to be a complicated issue for girls, especially for girls of the bourgeoisie, as they had to construct "their own notion of girlhood"[24] and had to decide between either remaining attached to the realm of childhood or having to face and cope with the upcoming expectations of womanhood. For example, the later famous psychoanalyst Karen Horney found herself in a typical and significant inner struggle at the age of fifteen when she started her diary on the 24th of December 1900 with the following reflections: "Christmas Eve is almost over [...]. Mother has fulfilled all my wishes with her customary kindness. In addition to you, my dear Diary, I found a Negro boy (doll) that I had ardently longed for. I want to play with dolls again, although I'm already a 15-year-old *Backfisch* and am being 'Sie'd' in school."[25] The "Backfisch" refers to being adolescent and to be "Sie'd" means to be formally addressed by adults as an adult and no longer as a child or adolescent. There is some discussion as to whether such an ongoing desire of adolescent girls to keep on playing with dolls binds them to the "myth of a specific femaleness and motherliness," as Susanne Regener[26] claims, or if such behavior demonstrates an amalgam of the urge to conform as well as to subversively rebel at the same time.

As can be inferred from more recent doll research data, still playing with dolls when no longer a child does not seem to be a significant cause of inner struggles in adolescent girls anymore. Yet the crucial role of the *Barbie* doll should not be underestimated when it comes to the point of abandoning dolls as childish relics from a developmental period that has been overcome. In fact, *Barbie* can sometimes make girls develop a critical stance as far as gender-role stereotypes are concerned. All of sudden, the notion of playing with *Barbie* can have a reverse effect, with *Barbie* no longer being a means of preserving the idylls of childhood, but becoming an object of aggression that has to be rejected because of its stale promises as a fashion doll and sex symbol. For example, a project in art education revealed evidence of the inner struggle and ambivalence of girls in the course of coming of age. The work of one of the students presents *Barbie* laid out in a coffin with a slip of paper pierced through her breast saying: "Mom told me I have to grow up, ultimately."[27]

and culture reader. The Nineteenth Century, ed. by Miriam Forman-Brunell and Leslie Parks (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 222-241, especially p. 223.

[24] Forman-Brunell, "The Politics of Dollhood," 223.

[25] Karen Horney, *The Adolescent Diaries of Karen Horney* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), 17.

[26] Susanne Regener, *Das verzeichnete Mädchen. Zur Darstellung des bürgerlichen Mädchens in Photographie, Puppe, Text im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1988), 175.

[27] Iris Kolhoff-Kahl, „Mensch - Puppe. Vom Verhältnis des Menschen zur Puppe." *Kunst + Unterricht* 311 (2007): 4-9, 8.

Dolls, these fascinating and bewildering objects, suggest many possible pathways out of this in-between developmental stage, the liminal or marginal land beyond childhood and before adulthood or womanhood. Again we see that dolls can serve as a marker of either still belonging to the familiar sphere of childhood or of having to transcend it and set out for the new and unknown world of growing up. For some girls it feels like a curtain dropping behind them, excluding them from the former world of dolls and play. On the other hand, there are also ways of coping with this challenge, and sometimes dolls can help children, especially girls, to clarify how they want to move forward. Some children seem to be able to manage and balance the ambiguous complexity of this situation with all its confusing expectations and feelings of ambivalence. It is not by chance that Hall and Ellis arrive at the following conclusion after extensively studying the meaning of dolls for children: "The subjective and the objective, and will, feeling and knowledge are strangely mixed. One child had tried all her life to keep her doll from knowing that she was not alive. Dolls are buried without dying, fed without eating, bathed without water, now good, now bad, now happy, now tearful, without the slightest change, the child furnishing the motive power, and all its moods being mirrored in *alter ego*."[28] In a way, this quotation gives an idea of how it can look when the fascinating and wonderful ability of make-believe-play with dolls and other symbolic objects and the capacity for fantasy and magical thinking can be carried on into adulthood, allowing access to one's own playfulness throughout life-long development.

Literary examples from different historical times

Although the following examples of doll narratives in children's literature were published more than a century apart, all of the stories illustrate the interplay between doll play and its challenges and possibilities on the one hand, and processes of the juvenile subjects' identity transformation, on the other. The following analysis looks at *Minchen, the Wise Doll*, the previously mentioned book written by Emma Biller in 1881 and the *Nesthäkchen* series by Else Ury first published around 1918, in comparison to *Doll Bones*, written by the American writer Holly Black and published in 2013.

[28] Hall and Ellis, *A study of dolls,* 50.

Traditional doll narratives - Minchen, the Wise Doll, and Nesthäkchen

Prior to the publication of Emma Biller's writings, several doll memoirs already existed in a well-established tradition of doll literature and doll-tales offering guidance to girls and instructing them about adequate female behavior such as obedience, good housekeeping, mothering, and being a caring wife. Some of these doll stories were highly normative-affirmative, whereas others sometimes presented subtle criticism between the lines. However, most of these books were in fact full of prescriptions and proscriptions, instructing girls that, above all, they were supposed to acquire proper female behavior in the role of being a good doll's mother. Yet what happened when all these tasks were properly accomplished during childhood? With the onset of puberty, girls were gradually given to know that all these tasks were only

Figure 2: H. Braun, "The doll Nanni fell into water"

a rehearsal for the next upcoming developmental step – becoming a devoted wife and a good mother. They were therefore expected to close the curtain on their childhood practices and abandon doll play in order to grow up. Sometimes, the topic of this apparently necessary detachment from the affectionate bond between dolls and girls appeared even earlier, as education and school attendance became more and more significant for girls in the doll stories of the late 19th century and early 20th century. Therefore, the transition from playing with dolls to learning at school became a major developmental task that sometimes called for gradually leaving dolls, as well as the play culture of the childhood years and the related intensity of emotions and fantasy, behind in order to enter the realm of adult rationality. Minchen, the wise doll, knows about this upcoming separation and alarms her doll peers about the impending alienation. She has observed that dolls were given away, put into boxes, drowned in waters and wells and had to suffer all other kinds of unhappy fates.[29] **(Figure 2)**

In a way, girls of a middle class background obviously had to pay a price for saying farewell to their childhood universe and had to give up the pleasures of animating and "dollifying" all kinds of objects. Somehow they had to "forget" about their genuine competence in using their imagination and vivid playfulness in order to be perceived as fully adult women. Only occasionally do we find some kind of counter-evidence: in the context of the wise doll in Minchen's story, the death-bound and almost drowned doll was saved and

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[29] Braun H., Illustrator, „The doll Nanni fell into the water" (coloured print after a water colour) in Emma Biller, *Minchen die kluge Puppe* (Leipzig: Spamer, 1881), ii.

recovered through some inner strength. Thus, the doll narratives of Emma Biller both match as well as subversively undermine the rigid rules of conduct that were prevalent at her time.

There is another famous series of girl's literature called the *Nesthäkchen* (baby of the family) series, written by Else Ury,[30] that also addresses the issue of having to leave dolls behind in order to come of age. The first volume tells of "Nesthäkchen and her dolls" and describes how Nesthäkchen, alias Annemarie, the youngest child of Doctor Braun, ardently plays with her doll family. The third volume tells of Nesthäkchen's stay on an island in a children's sanatorium.[31] Her favorite doll Gerda accompanies Annemarie but suffers a bitter fate in the end, because she drowns in the North Sea in the turmoil of a large crowd leaving the island as a result of the outbreak of the (First) World War. This time, it is not the transition to school or puberty that brings the serious side of life into the arena, but rather an act of war. Else Ury describes Nesthäkchen's misery with sympathy: "No, not Annemarie fell into the water, but somebody else suddenly lay in the waves of the Sea – the doll Gerda. […] My doll – my Gerda ―――." But, obviously, nobody cares about a drowning doll in a moment like this and the author comments rather lapidary: "This was the first sacrifice that the war claimed from Doctor's Nesthäkchen."[32]

Looking again at Emma Biller's doll-tales published during the long period from the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, we see a gradual change as she begins to address some of the important issues of her time. Yet, as far as gender roles and belief-systems about femininity and masculinity are concerned, we find rather strict convictions about fundamental gender differences with a high preference for female core characteristics. Traditional gender differences were definitely affirmed and male dolls, with their behavior and rather restricted range of social roles, were not appreciated very much. In any case, a clear-cut gender role division of life, work, and labour is advocated. Thus, a bridal doll, shortly before her wedding with a Hussar, teaches Minchen, the wise doll, the relevant lessons and explains the irrevocable gender differences, the different virtues and competences of each gender: "Look, Minchen, I think we as dolls turn brighter and better if they form us as girls; male dolls just do not turn out well […]. You see, we as female dolls are housewives or cooks or pupils […] we always have something to do, we learn something and get brighter. But what does a male doll really

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[30] Else Ury (1877-1943) was a famous German author of children's books who was killed in the Auschwitz concentration camp despite her enormous success and the popularity of the "Nesthäkchen" series.

[31] Else Ury, *Nesthäkchen im Kinderheim* (Berlin: Meidinger's Jugendschriften, 1918/1925).

[32] Else Ury, *Nesthäkchen im Kinderheim,* 183.

do? If my hussar is told to go to the drill ground, he factually is stuffed into a closet or put into a corner. But with his face against the wall my hussar has no chance of getting brainy."[33] Although we can see a twinkle in the eye of the bridal doll, her message remains affirmative. On the other hand, Emma Biller's dolls and doll narratives reveal more and more evidence of a gradual emancipation from traditional stereotyped female behavioral standards. Dolls cope with ongoing social changes and deal with persisting as well as changing life circumstances; they comment on different socio-economic conditions of families, children, and women, on the significance of education, on diverse life opportunities and on the pros and cons in relation to issues such as marriage, divorce, and widowhood. Thus, obviously, dolls need not be merely "silly" things that one should leave behind in order to develop, but rather they have the potential to offer guidance to girl readers for the upcoming challenges of their future lives. This means that dolls do not have to be abandoned, and that the relationship between dolls and girls can be negotiated in a new and innovative way allowing girls to preserve the dolls' unique assets and functions.

A complex and mysterious doll narrative of the 21ˢᵗ century – **Doll Bones**

More than a hundred years later, Holly Black's rather sinister book *Doll Bones*,[34] a story of three friends and the Great Queen, a bone-china doll who curses people who displease her, provides insight into the new, complex interaction of the mysterious language of doll objects, identity transformation processes, and human friendship in the course of coming of age at the beginning of the 21ˢᵗ century. At first glance, this complex doll narrative that catches the uncanny atmosphere of fantasy associated with hidden and secret forms of existence, does not have much in common with the rather innocent and straightforward doll-tales of girls' literature of about a hundred years before. In times of globalization, new social media, and puzzling social roles, the challenge of coming of age is obviously associated with various aspects of personal insecurity and the ambiguities of the external world. Yet, although the world has changed, it is still adults' definition of proper behavior, their expectations and prescriptions, that somehow interfere with the longings, and hopes and fears of the younger generation. Thus it is natural that doll narratives are still seen as a good and appropriate means of connecting with

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[33] Emma Biller, *Minchen, die kluge Puppe,* 98.

[34] Holly Black, *Doll bones* (Eliza Wheeler, illustrator) (New York: Margaret K. McElderry Books / Simon & Schuster, 2013).

the inner world and psychic processes of young readers in the awkward and wild years of adolescence. And, again, in this modern coming-of-age-story, questions as to when childhood ought to end are interwoven with the issue of abandoning dolls and letting them die.

The storyline goes as follows: Zach, Poppy, and Alice are twelve years old and have been friends almost forever. They have played an ever-changing game of pirates, thieves, mermaids and warriors – in a realm reigned over by the mysterious Great Queen. With their entry into middle school, this idyllic world of shared fantasies is endangered, as is their friendship. Zach is forced by his father to give up make-believe play. He reluctantly complies and starts avoiding his former playmates. Alice seems to be better able to cope with this situation and wants to move on and cope with the incipient developmental changes but Poppy does not understand what is happening with her friends. She has dreams about the Great Queen and the ghost of a girl who claims to find no rest until the bone-china doll queen is buried in her empty grave. Poppy convinces the other two to engage one more time in an adventure before their childhood is over and it will be time for them to move on. Although each of the three is dealing with personal issues and family matters, it is the fate of the doll that finally decides them one more time. The doll's story and her fate distracts them from all the other ongoing concerns in their real lives and gives them an excuse to have one final adventure.

What lessons can be learned within this context of dolls, mystery, and ghosts? The three young protagonists learn a lesson about friendship and truth, and a lesson about accepting change while keeping bonds. As boys often seem far removed from the sphere of dolls, it is interesting that the doll narrative presented here focuses on Zach, the only boy among the three friends. He has to find his own new role and male identity in a gendered world. The reader is mainly guided by Zach's observations and thoughts on what is going on. Zach, who is told by his father that it is time to stop playing with girls and start growing up and play basketball with the boys, rejects his father's dominance. He is rebellious: he does not want to take orders, but rather wishes to find his own way. Furthermore, he is quite disturbed and wonders why he has butterflies in his stomach whenever Alice is around, so, it also a story of nascent infatuation. However, it is also a story of the various possible and intriguing functions of dolls, of male doll playing and of the mysterious doll queen. It is the death and burial of the Great Queen doll that encourages the children and allows them to recapitulate, validate and take possession of their own childhood experience within their developing identity as they turn

to new developmental tasks. It is a farewell to a fascinating and intriguing doll character and to a time of intense emotions and bonds that need to be overcome and unraveled in order for the children to move on as individuals while still staying attached to each other.

This doll narrative of the 21st century is a coming-of-age novel that takes place within an ambiguous and uncanny context of fantasy and imagination, of spooky chills, graveyards, mystery, ghosts, and even murders. The doll play in which the three friends engage allows them to experiment with possible alternate selves and alter egos. It is a rehearsal of forthcoming developmental tasks and challenges. And above all, it is a story of future strength and hope. Sometimes, things, places, people and dolls have to be left behind but not necessarily abandoned. In the case of a consensual farewell, there will be something new – playful and promising.

Concluding remarks: Dolls can help "to see beyond"

Looking at present day children's preferences and interests, one can easily get the impression that dolls are outdated toy objects and outgrown as a narrative topic in children's literature as well. Yet, although the focus on dolls might have declined over recent decades and they may have lost their former primary status as favourite toy objects, there are also some hints of a possible revival at least in puppetry, doll narratives and even in dolls beyond the stereotyped *Barbie* scheme. Although the children's books introduced here were published more than a hundred years apart, they share a focus on the coming-of-age topic within the context of doll narratives. What are the psychological subtexts and messages of these doll narratives and why are they still worthwhile? One of the answers could be this: by playing with dolls and puppets and engaging in doll narratives, we open a transitional space, a kind of laboratory in which self-assurance is possible and the search for one's own true self can take place. Dolls and puppets trigger and allow fantasy, playfulness and development. They encourage children, adolescents, and sometimes, even help adults to be, and stay, emotionally attached to beloved objects while becoming psychologically autonomous. They allow human beings to integrate and preserve their own "inner child" and manage ongoing processes of identity development. "Help me to see – beyond!"[35].

[35] Circe Maria Marques, "Dolls in the pedagogical context of early childhood education – let's play with 'different' dolls," in *Puppe – Boneca – Doll. Toys, elementary education, and social discourses in Brazil,* ed. by Insa Fooken and Robin Lohmann (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2013), 87-111, quote p. 98.

This plea might be a subconscious appeal of children and adolescents while playing with dolls, listening to and reading doll stories, and watching puppets and puppet shows. Given that unique person-thing relations and a genuine language of dolls exist, the answer of the dolls and puppets whispered into children's ears and human hearts could be the following: "I do not tell you what is right or wrong and leave it up to you to untangle life's ambiguities and tolerate the resulting ambivalent feelings, but yes, I promise: I can help you 'to see beyond' – beyond the surface and right into the intriguing 'in-between' of the inner and the outer worlds."

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How Puppetry can Assist Pastors in Obtaining a Greater Understanding of their Liturgical Practice

1. Pastors and puppets

Four pastors are standing around a large table. In their hands they each have a puppet. It is a simple table-top and each rod puppet has a colourful foam ball for a head, a single arm, and a dresslike garment representing its body. It has been designed to be animated by a single puppeteer. They are breathing – the puppets that is – at different tempi and with different intensities. The pastors are urged to animate rather than manipulate, meaning that they should aim at breathing *with* the puppet rather than breathing *for it*; they should try to avoid merely moving the puppet up and down to simulate the air going in and out of the inanimate creature and instead focus on animating the breath from the wrist rather than from the elbow or shoulder. It is not about making the puppet breathe, it is about breathing with and through the puppet out into the world. It is about stepping in the background as a puppeteer and assuming the role of a guide subtly conducting attention and energy rather than being the center of attention.

Why have these pastors been equipped with puppets? What is the point? Are they to become puppeteers and conduct the Sunday service solely through puppets? The short answer would be no, the purpose is not to turn them into puppeteers and the puppets are not supposed to be brought into the liturgical space of the Sunday service. Instead, the thesis is that *puppetry, used*

as a didactic tool, can aid the pastors in obtaining greater awareness of their own bodily performance and function in the liturgy and give them the opportunity to see the church service as a co-present, performative event in which the relationship between readings, sacraments, hymns, music and human bodies moving around in the space of a church constitutes the service as a whole. The focus of this article will be to investigate what the function of the puppet is; what it contributes to the process of performative learning; and how the practice of puppetry relates to both theater anthropology and liturgical theology.

In a traditional Danish church service, the pastor normally conducts the service. He or she is responsible for selecting hymns and prayers and delivering the sermon, and is the primary liturgical celebrant throughout the entire service, highlighted in the sacraments. Although the congregation is invited (and expected) to sing along during the hymns, to stand to hear the scriptural readings and to come forth at communion, it is clearly the pastor who has the biggest role in the celebration of the service. All too often the congregation become mere spectators and there is very little awareness of the impact of the bodily performance of both pastor and congregation. I claim that the service is a co-created celebration of the faith of the congregation, not a series of solitary actions by the pastor. Everyone present in the church is involved in creating the service, and everyone is responsible for making the service their own – that is to say, making it a celebration of their belief and their relationship with God contextualized by the dogma of the Church. Doing that as part of the congregation can be very difficult in a service tightly dictated by pastor, liturgy and tradition. It is not solely the responsibility of the pastor to change this, but that idea is nonetheless my starting point as it is much easier to open up the liturgy and the service to the participation of the entire congregation through an increased awareness of the pastor's bodily performance. My hope is that an increased liturgical performative awareness will open the ritual to congregational involvement and participation, bridging the gap between the (often) rigid traditions of the liturgical ordo and the faith of the congregational members in a way that actualizes the ritual actions in the modern context while at the same time not compromising the fundamental teachings of the church. It is not about revolutionizing church doctrine. It is not even about changing the liturgy. It is about changing the way the celebration of the liturgy is approached.

A liturgical animation-theater laboratory

In the fall of 2013 I conducted a liturgical animation-theater laboratory. Four Danish Lutheran pastors participated; together, we set out to investigate whether puppetry as a didactic tool could aid the pastors in obtaining a greater bodily awareness that could be transferred to their liturgical practice. It was a *laboratory* inspired by the tradition of theater laboratories,[1] setting out to investigate bodily performance through a collaborative process where the participants' experiences would help shape the exercises. This was, however, constricted considerably by the fact that the participants had no prior knowledge of the collaborative principles of said tradition, and it therefore often seemed more like a traditional teaching situation, where I, as the group leader, took over the process and guided the participants through it. However, there was a continual investigation of what was beneficial for each individual participant: which exercises worked best, and what could be done to ensure that a strong transfer of the skills acquired through puppetry to the performance of the liturgy took place. It was an *animation-theater* in that the puppet exercises had a constant focus on the animation process itself, namely, the act in which the puppeteer brings an inanimate object to life by offering his/her energy and focus to that object, and were never intended to evolve into an actual puppet show. And it was *liturgical* in the sense that everything we did in one way or another had a relationship with the pastors' liturgical practice – and in the way the puppet exercises were intended to develop the pastors' bodily awareness and ability to administer their performative energy and focus or the actual liturgical exercises (where no puppets were present) designed to increase the transfer of the skills acquired through puppetry to the liturgical practice of the Sunday service.

The laboratory itself was designed with three meetings of two and a half days set approximately one month apart. The first meeting focused mainly on giving the participants basic puppeteering skills, while the second and third meetings had an increasing focus on liturgical exercises using the methods and skills learned through puppet exercises. The participants were asked to keep a diary between the meetings, reflecting on whether and how they found the animation theater training useful in their daily liturgical practice, if they were able to transfer any of what we had worked

[1] Erik Exe Christoffersen, *Teaterhandlinger. Fra Sofokles til Hotel Pro Forma* (Århus: Forlaget Klim, 2007), 446-447.Mirella Schino, *Alchemists of the Stage. Theatre Laboratories in Europe.* Icarus Publishing Enterprice, 2009.

with to the liturgy, or if it was all just fun and games.[2] Before the first and after the last laboratory session I visited all four participants in their local congregation and participated in Sunday services. The main purpose of the project was not so much to create a measureable "before and after," but rather to create an ongoing development in each of the participants affecting how they view and conduct the liturgy, which may or may not be visible to the naked eye. The main purpose of the preliminary observation was for me to get a sense of the starting point of each of the four participants, how their liturgical performance was perceived by me as a congregational member and to give me a chance to spot individual strengths or weaknesses which could be explored through the laboratory. My visits to the churches after the last laboratory meeting were intended to follow up on their individual progress outside the safe environment of the laboratory and to observe if they had been able to incorporate any of what they had learned through the meetings.

Below I will give a short theoretical outline consisting of key points from the world of puppetry, theater anthropology, performative ritual theory, and liturgical theology. It will focus on how the different fields may be able to assist each other in the investigation of research questions. Next, I offer an analysis of two examples from the laboratory focusing on how the pre-expressive principles of theater anthropology are essential to the animation process and whether and how this can be transferred to liturgical practice. Lastly, I will summarize the key functions traced through the analysis and reflect on how puppetry may be able to make liturgical performance and celebration greater priorities in liturgical theology.

2. Theoretical overview

This part of the article will focus on the theoretical plurality that made me want to investigate whether puppetry, as a didactical tool, might be a fruitful method.

The theater anthropology principles of *the extra-daily action, the sats, the opposing actions, the luxury balance* and *the score;[3]* are all principles that assist a performer in attaining a greater performative presence. As a puppeteer, you have to stay in the background, and transport your energy to

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2   This proved to be a difficult task, and there were always two or three of the participants who had forgotten about the diary. The evaluation of their process therefore was done in plenum at each meeting.

3   Eugenio Barba, *The Paper Canoe – A Guide to Theatre Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1995), 13-35.

the puppet, to allow the puppet to send energy out into the world. For me, this is a very important notion, as it is very close to what I understand as the position of the pastor in the liturgy: he or she should not be the center of attention in the liturgy, but rather its "puppeteer" – not in the sense that s/he will be dictating the course of actions or will be manipulating the liturgy to fit his/her own desires, however[4]; the pastor should instead be the guide of the collective presence of the congregation through his or her own bodily presence.

In my work as a puppeteer, it has always seemed to me that pre-expressive principles, especially the breath, are very important to the animation of the puppet.[5] When you breathe *with* the puppet, as opposed to *for* the puppet, your energy becomes the puppets' energy, thus projecting your own bodily actions into the object outside your body, making it possible for you to observe yourself and your own movements. Penny Francis writes that "(t)he puppet is an entity which absorbs its operator's energy and is thereby able to convince the spectator of its vitality. It is a matter of transferred, not duplicated, kinaesthetic. If the puppeteer is projected 'into' the puppet character, it cannot but be the cynosure, it cannot make a wrong gesture; it cannot produce the wrong voice."[6] The fact that the energy of the puppeteer is transferred rather than duplicated is important in that the energy projected into the event of both the animation process and the celebration of the liturgy should not be different from its source. The puppet and puppeteer become one, the latter stepping into the background, while his or her presence and energy remain in the puppet, just as should be the case with the liturgy and the pastor. If you invest yourself fully, offering your energy to the inanimate and to the stipulated actions of the ritual, the actions will become organic and open themselves up to the spectator or congregational member.

I claim that the mere act of moving around with the puppet can be described as an extra-daily action: an extra-daily action is a directly recognizable action, but it follows a different set of rules than the actions in your everyday life[7] and therefore demands a different kind of energy and focus. This is a ritualized action in the understanding of Humphrey, Laidlaw,[8] and Bell,[9]

4   Penny Francis, *Puppetry – A Reader in Theatre Practice* (Basingstocke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 93.

5   Cariad Astles, "Wood and Waterfall: Puppetry training and its anthropology," in *Performance Research: A Journal of Performing Arts*, 14:2, 2009, 59.

6   Penny Francis, *Puppetry...*, 28.

7   Eugenio Barba, *The Paper Canoe...*, 34-35.

8   Caroline Humphrey & James Laidlaw, *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual – A theory of ritual illustrated by the Jain rite of worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

9   Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

and a performative state in the understanding of J.L. Austin:[10] the purpose of the action is not the result, but the correct execution of the action. Ritualized actions are meaningless[11] in that they are removed from their original meaning, thus creating a gap between action and intension, a vacuum calling for a new ascription of meaning. This qualitative alteration creates an energetic tension, which generates an intensified presence. By energy I mean the physical energy that goes into the execution of an action, and by presence I mean the human awareness in that moment. The extra-daily technique is achieved through reduction;[12] that is to say, a reduction of the concrete action in such a way that even the smallest movement demands a large investment of energy. Large and energy-consuming actions are reduced to tiny movements, but which still, however, need to contain the same amount of energy. This could also be reversed, so that small movements are magnified whilst containing their original energetic value. This is the exact reduction (or magnification) that faces a puppeteer. To get the puppet to move its arms or head in a controlled and somewhat realistic manner, you have to reduce your own movements, thereby compressing the energy, so as to transfer the action to the puppet (as described above by Francis). The breath is a very important factor in this; to make the puppet come alive, you have to breathe *with* it. Getting the head of the puppet to turn naturally and to react with the entire body and the breath is an extra-daily action; and you have to discard your own daily (everyday) body to be able to perform the correct movements. I understand the Sunday service[13] as an extra-daily action as well, as it follows a completely different set of rules than does everyday life; the sacraments, communion and baptism, are essentially like eating a meal and washing, but in the context of the service and because of the way they are executed they become rituals and extra-daily actions. The essence is in the execution itself, not the result. This is not always obvious in Denmark, and my thesis is that introducing pre-expressive principles can optimize the performative quality of these actions. The compression of energy in the action is a key element, as it increases the presence in the moment and in the concrete action.

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[10] Erika Fischer-Lichte, *The Transformative Power of Performance – A new aesthetics* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 21.

[11] Fritz Staal, *The Meaninglessness of Ritual*, in "Numen," vol XXVI, Fasc. I: 1-22.

[12] Eugenio Barba, *The Paper Canoe – A Guide to Theatre Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1995), 34-35.

[13] The Sunday service I am referring to is that of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Denmark. The liturgy has, due to its Lutheran heritage, a predominant focus on the '*true and pure*' reading and preaching of the gospel (Confession Augustana, article 7).

Animating the puppet is a forced extra-daily action, because you are forced to relate to the inanimate object and the actions that will bring it to life instead of just focussing on animating your own body; you cannot rely on your intuition (not unless you are an experienced puppeteer, at which point the extra-daily technique has become second nature) but you constantly have to be ready to react with an acquired action. This increases your presence because it prohibits you from falling back into daily routines. If we accept that both liturgical actions and the actions of a puppeteer can be defined as ritualized and extra-daily, it is clear that a puppet can be used to understand the liturgy as a performative action: in the liturgy you are not – as in puppetry - forced into an extra-daily action. You are on your own, in your own body, which means you will have to know how to construct and maintain an extra-daily body. If I had set out to teach the pastors about the extra-daily, performative actions of the liturgy through exercises found in physical theater, they would not have been forced into this new mind-set and bodily experience. This is where the puppet can be of assistance: by using elementary puppet exercises in the preparation of the service, the minister can gain a bodily understanding of pre-expressive principles, and thereby increase the performative quality of the liturgy.

The principle of *opposing actions,*[14] the theory that you have to be able to feel the power pulling you in the opposite direction before you can execute the desired action, plays a great part in the intensification of presence, because the state of readiness created by the opposing actions is an energetically condensed state. If you for instance lift your arms, you cannot avoid feeling the force of gravity pulling them towards the ground at the same time. Herein lies also the *luxury balance,*[15] which is a permanent unstable state, where the performer is constantly altering his or her center of balance to maintain opposing actions. This particular example can be transferred almost directly to the pastors' performance of the Aronitic blessing. The pastor lifts his or her arms with open palms facing the congregation, and blesses everyone present with words from Numbers 6:24-26. In lifting your arms, you alter your balance, and engage the luxury balance through the opposing action of the lifted arms. Below I will investigate whether and how these principles can be considered a basic part of the animation process.

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[14] Cariad Astles, "Wood and Waterfall: Puppetry training and its anthropology," in *Performance Research: A Journal of Performing Arts*, 14:2, 2009, 24.

[15] Astles, "Wood and Waterfall," 19.

The *score*,[16] the frame which surrounds and borders every movement and which serves as a bodily notation of every scene, is the only guideline for the puppet's movement. The score enables the puppeteer to put even more energy and life into the puppet, by providing a structured and predetermined order of action. This gives the puppeteer and puppet a ritualized set of actions, in which the life of the puppet can be explored and the puppet and puppeteer become one. It helps the performance come alive, because the energy of the puppeteer becomes the puppet's, and because it allows the puppet to experience everything anew every single time. This is closely related to the relationship between the liturgy, the pastor and the message the pastor wants to deliver through the service. The liturgy serves as the score, ensuring a constant ordo, conducted by the pastor, but the message, the gospel, is not only the scriptural words and the preaching, but also, just as importantly, what is communicated through the performative bodily actions of everyone attending the service. The liturgical theology speaks about the necessity of rediscovering and reinstating the rule of prayer found in the ancient church: *Lex orandi, lex credendi* (The rule of prayer is the rule of the faith).[17] It means that the faith, the dogmatics and the creeds spring from prayers and liturgical practice, not the other way around. By setting the existing practice as a starting point for the dogmatics, the liturgical theology puts the performative action of the liturgy in a position to affect and determine the rule of faith. This is done not by compromising the creed of the church, but by underlining the importance of the physical actions of faith and how this affects what and how we believe.

By obtaining a greater understanding of the bodily performance of faith through the pre-expressive principles, the pastor will attain a set of practical tools allowing him or her to open the service to the participation of the congregation while still maintaining the necessary theological and liturgical ballast.

3. A liturgical laboratory using puppetry as a teaching method

To investigate the matter of using puppetry as a didactic tool in teaching pastors about bodily liturgical performance, I will present two examples from the liturgical laboratory. The first example is an analysis of a specific exercise and an investigation of what it has to offer pastors, while the second example

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[16] Astles, "Wood and Waterfall," 122.

[17] Gordon Lathrop, *Holy People. A Liturgical Ecclesiology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 102-103.

is a more general investigation of how puppets function through several situations from the laboratory.

First, I want to point out that the majority of animation exercises were done in silence. The exercises were purely physical with the focus kept on how to transfer the movements of the puppeteer to the puppet and create life. The elimination of the spoken word as a means of expression forced the pastors to express themselves through their own and the puppet's body. I will return to why the puppet is essential in this.

On making the journey the goal in itself

One of the key elements of the training became understanding how and why the journey, all of which happens between the beginning and end of an action, can be more important than the end goal. Focusing on the process rather than the end goal seemed particularly difficult for the pastors who, whenever they were given an animation exercise, were very quick to focus on the end goal and steer straight towards it. I started to wonder why this was. Was it because they were uneasy performing in front of the other participants? Were they truly unable to improvise and establish a bodily narrative? Or were they just so determined to do their very best, while at the same time overwhelmed by the experience of suddenly being puppeteers, that they had to focus keenly on the end goal so as to not forget it all together?

The wave exercise: *"You (the puppet) are standing on a beach. You should spend some time establishing where you are. At some point you, looking out to sea, notice something on the horizon. You do not know what it is. Maybe you are curious, maybe you do not care. Whatever you choose, the thing on the horizon is slowly approaching the shore, and suddenly you realize that it is in fact a gigantic wave. A wave that continues to grow the closer it gets to the shore. How you react is up to you. The important thing is that you establish where you are, that you see the wave, that the wave grows, and that you react to it."* These were the instructions given to the pastors for this particular exercise. The possibilities are many, but the boundaries are clear. The important thing is not whether the puppet is carried away by the breaking wave or flees. The important thing is whether the audience sees a clear and unmistakable reaction in the puppet when it realizes that what it sees on the horizon is an enormous wave. The puppet's reaction to the wave is a clear opportunity for a turning point. It is a shift from whatever it was doing on the beach just before to how

it reacts to the threat of the wave. This was a difficult exercise. The first few times all puppets were washed away very, very quickly. It was clearly difficult for the participants to hold the tension, difficult to let the puppet stay in the suspended situation. But as is often the case in a good story, it is not the end that is the most important part. It is not the fact that the puppet is washed away that catches the attention of the spectator, just as the final "amen" at the end of a scriptural reading or a prayer is not what is important. It is how you arrive at that final moment. Looking at the individual parts of the exercise will be helpful in circling in on what puppets can teach pastors and how this can relate to their liturgical practice. The exercise can be divided into three parts. The first is the establishing of the situation; the where and who. This part is important to let the audience know where the puppet is, what it is doing and if possible give them an idea of who this character is. It requires the puppeteer to be able to animate the puppet fluently, mastering the basic movements of the particular puppet. And it requires the puppeteer to be able to establish a sense of place through silent, physical improvisation. All the basic movements of the puppet rely on the understanding of the extra-daily quality of the animation process: you, as a puppeteer, must abandon your everyday bodily movements and engage the sats, the opposing actions and the luxury balance. The sats is even more visible in the puppet than in the human performer, as the puppeteer has to consciously animate the breath of the puppet to keep it alive, while at the same time using the principle of the opposing actions to move the puppet. The opposing actions (the notion that you are constantly counterbalancing the direction of the action, i.e. pulling back when going forward) are ever present in the animation process, as the puppeteer has to produce both movements (i.e. back and forth) at the same time to ensure the continual life in the puppet. The second part of the exercise consists of the single moment when the puppet sees the wave. Only when the puppet truly sees the wave will the audience know something has happened. There were numerous times when the pastors' puppets did not clearly indicate that they had noticed the wave, and the absence of the turning-point made the subsequent reaction incomprehensible as there was no apparent reason for the sudden terror. This brings us to the third part of the exercise: the reaction. There are countless possibilities: the puppet could freeze in complete terror; it could run around frantically trying to find a place to hide; it could flee the beach all together. No matter what the outcome, the important thing is to follow the progress of the wave. We, as an audience, can only see the wave through the eyes of the puppet, and if the wave does not rise, get closer and closer, and finally breaks (the breaking of the wave will of

course be left out if the puppet flees), we will have no chance of empathizing with the puppet, no chance of being captured by its situation. In the reaction stage, several principles become important. First of all, the sudden panic that is often dominant when trying to express the puppets' reaction to the wave demands the mastering of the opposing actions, in that the movements become more stylized and therefore need to be more distinguished and separated from one another so as not to become one very messy, lengthy movement. The opposing actions are helpful in that they can help separate actions by retracting movements and thereby creating micro-pauses between the actions. Secondly, the principle of reduction is essential in containing the overwhelming emotions of the puppet in small, physical expressions. Condensing the energy of the reaction will intensify the individual actions of the puppet.[18]

The principles mentioned in this example are, in my opinion, pivotal in the performance and celebration of the liturgy. If you are unable to access and apply the extra-daily approach to the liturgical actions they are in danger of becoming a mere repetition of daily actions; that is, routine rather than ritual. The application of the principles of the extra-daily lends a certain quality to the actions, such that every action performed within the *score* of the liturgy (the ordo) is experienced as if it was performed for the very first time every single time it is revisited,[19] while at the same time keeping a clear relationship to the doctrine of the church and maintaining familiarity with the liturgy. The exercises are not directly translatable to the actions of the liturgy, but the principles taught through the exercises are highly applicable. This transfer between the two practices was sought through liturgical exercises, where the principles learned through puppetry were applied to isolated parts of the liturgy. Alongside the physical implications of the use of extra-daily actions, the knowledge of the dramaturgical construction of a narration, consisting of a beginning, middle and an end, seems very useful in preparing scriptural readings, and making the texts accessible to the listeners through the way the text is read aloud.[20]

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[18] Eric Bass, *Notes on Puppetry as a Theatrical Art: Response to an Interview*, in Contemporary Theatre Review: Theatre of Animation – Contemporary Adult Puppet Plays in Context 2, Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999, 37.

[19] Not in the sense that the performer – be it the puppet on stage or the pastor during the service – should be surprised and full of wonder with every single action. But it is important to remember not to let routine take over, forgetting focus and awareness in one's actions.

[20] Through exercises in scriptural readings, we investigated what effect it had on the text if it was read as an independent narrative with a focus on the dramatic arc. This proved very effective.

On why the shortest route is not always the best

Returning to the research question I began this article with, we may ask what the function of the puppet is. Does introducing the puppets and then not allowing the pastors to use them in the liturgy itself not represent a major detour? Would it not have been better to teach the principles of presence and focus and the importance of the bodily actions directly without the puppet as a mediator? Why not focus solely on the liturgy and liturgical exercises?

Granted, using the puppet can be seen as a detour, and there are more steps involved in the process of first learning the practice of puppetry and then transferring the principles to the practice of the liturgy. The difficult part is understanding and mastering how to take something acquired through one practice and use the principles of this in a different situation where no puppet is present. For this very reason, it may seem a ludicrous thing to even introduce the puppet in the first place, but my claim is that its benefits outweigh its disadvantages. The functions of the puppet are many, but for now I will focus on three: The forced extra-daily action; how the puppet protects the puppeteer; and the relationship between the puppet's actions and the actions of the pastor in the liturgy.

First, as mentioned above, I claim that animating a puppet is a forced extra-daily action, because the puppeteer is constantly forced to reinvent his or her actions to accommodate the puppets pattern of movement and to bring it to life. Every single action of the puppet matters, which means that every single action of the puppeteer matters, because it is transferred to the puppet. If you are tuned in to the extra-daily nature of the puppet and focused only on how to bring the inanimate to life, there are no wrong movements, as noted by Francis above.[21] But if you lose that focus, if you start to adjust yourself for better comfort or adjust the puppet even, it will show immediately in the puppet. At one point, one of the puppets lost its nose: it was only attached with a pin and it simply fell off in the middle of a scene. Instead of staying with the puppet, the puppeteer/pastor got so embarrassed that he himself picked up the nose from the table and stuck it on the puppet. This could have worked as part of the scene; the puppet could have watched in horror as its nose rolled across the table, tried pinning it back on by itself, and, when not succeeding, turning to the puppeteer/pastor for help. But as the puppeteer/pastor reached to pick up the nose, he forgot all about the puppet and it ended up sitting lifelessly in his hand, unable to react to both losing the nose

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[21] Penny Francis, *Puppetry…*, 93.

and having it pinned back on. The transition between the extra-daily actions of the life of the puppet and its sudden death when the puppeteer returned to a daily mode of action was clear to everyone in the room. It is my theory that because the participants were not trained performers or actors, it would have proved more difficult to get them to experience the focus and presence found through puppetry and the extra-daily principles through ordinary physical-theater training. It would have been too easy to return to the daily mode of actions, because there would have been no physical object outside themselves forcing them to adapt to the extra-daily.

Second, the puppet protects the puppeteer: The puppet frees the individual from physical inhibitions, allowing each participant to it give their all, while at the same time creating a gap between the puppeteer's and the puppet's ego, thereby protecting the puppeteer.[22] Engaging in and altering the perception of your bodily actions and beginning to understand them as performative can feel very vulnerable. Using the puppet as a focus for the exploration of the relationship between performance and ritual was an advantage because the pressure was somewhat removed from the puppeteer as all eyes were on the puppet.

Third, the puppet as a didactic tool is very helpful to the teacher, as the actions of the puppeteer are transferred to and magnified in the actions of the puppet. Due to the principle of reduction, every movement of the puppeteer is transferred to the puppet in a condensed form, and in combination with the silent exercises, the actions are both intensified and magnified in such a way that problem areas are immediately visible to both audience and puppeteer. Because of the forced extra-daily quality of the animation process, it is more or less impossible to fake the "life" of the puppet. And because of the direct correlation between puppetry and liturgy through the linking of the extra-daily and ritualization as shown above, the physical actions of animation are of the same quality as those you find in the celebration of the liturgy. This gives the advantage that you can make a clear distinction between the daily and the extra-daily through the focus and life given to the puppet, while at the same time observing and correcting the performance, thereby strengthening the extra-daily, ritualized performance of both puppetry and liturgy. When, in the laboratory, we moved on to the liturgical exercises – the consecration of the bread and wine, the Aronitic blessing and the scriptural readings – it was evident that the individual use of the body revealed while

22 Ida Hamre, *Tværæstetisk læring – undervisning i og med animationsteater. Rapport og oplæg* (København: Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitets Forlag, 2004), 224.

puppeteering was reflected in the liturgical body of each participant: those whose puppets had had problems relaxing their arms and shoulders (here I am talking about the puppet, not the puppeteer), had a slightly hunched back, or communicated primarily through the use of the hand, then showed the exact same movements in the liturgical exercises, although on a smaller scale. What the puppets had helped magnify was still there, but because the participants had each seen their own actions through the puppet, they instantly knew what to correct. This is not to say that there was a direct translation between the individual animation exercise and the liturgical practice. The exercises were vehicles, as were the puppets, for achieving a greater understanding of the importance of the extra-daily, ritualized approach to the physical and vocal actions of the liturgy.

4. The function of the puppet and the reinstatement of "lex orandi, lex credendi"

Summarizing my analysis of the function of the puppet as a didactic tool in obtaining a greater bodily awareness to be used in the celebration of the liturgy, it seems that the puppet has numerous positive functions: animating the puppet is a forced extra-daily action, aiding the puppeteer in obtaining a greater focus and a stronger presence in the action; the puppet both protects and frees the puppeteer, as it removes the focus from him as an individual, shifting it to the puppet; and the otherness of the puppet makes it possible for the puppeteer to observe his/her own actions through the puppet and get a greater understanding of the impact which their physical actions have on the way the church service as a whole is perceived. It must also be mentioned that using the puppet *does* involve a detour, and it requires the participants to have a high level of abstract thinking in relation to transferring principles from puppetry to liturgy, since they are not directly translatable.

I have tried to make it clear that there is a strong link between the principles of theater anthropology and puppetry, but how about the relationship between puppetry and liturgical theology? The "lex orandi, lex credendi" of liturgical theology puts the rule of prayer, its physical performance of the ordo, as the starting point of belief and creed. This is exactly what the use of puppetry as a didactic tool is aiming at. When an extra-daily quality is added to liturgical actions, the rule of prayer is reinstated, making the physical actions of the ordo the starting point of the congregation's belief.

It is still too early to reach any final conclusions, but it seems that the methods of puppetry can be very effectful in obtaining a greater performative, bodily understanding of the celebration of church services. It may not be a suitable method for everyone – we all learn in different ways – but it is my claim that it can help a lot of pastors in bridging the gap between rigid, canonical doctrine and organic, immediate liturgy. It is about making the service, which in many cases has become mere routine, an extra-daily ritual again through the focus and presence attained through puppetry.

Pieter Bezuidenhout – **Independent scholar, South Africa**

Handspring Puppet Company: An international South African puppet phenomenon

Abstract

The Handspring Puppet Company is South Africa's most famous puppet company and over the last twenty years they have been acclaimed in local and international theater and puppet circles. Since 2007 they have caught the eye of the international theater circle with the production of "War Horse," a commission by the National Theater in London (Taylor, 2009).

Adrian Kohler and Basil Jones instituted the Handspring Puppet Company in 1981. Early in Kohler's life he was influenced by John Wright, founder of the Little Angel Marionette Theater and the Salzburg Marionettes. In Kohler's essay he highlights the influence of Lily Herzberg, founder of Unima SA, and her strong links to the Soviet bloc and Eastern European rod puppets. Kohler also stated that after watching a film on Czechoslovakian Puppetry and Japanese Bunraku Puppetry he realised "that animated figures could communicate great drama and express complex human emotions despite (and possibly because of) their artificiality" (Taylor, 2009).

It was with a production of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1988 that Handspring for the first time combined rod puppets with exposed Bunraku-style puppets. Combining these puppets with African textures later became their unique South African style. In 1992, they worked with the famous

South African artist, William Kentridge, on a production of *Woyzeck on the Highfield* and, for the first time, they combined their rough wooden carved puppets with Kentridge's shadow puppet animation. During this professional marriage of puppeteers and artist which lasted for the next ten years, they produced such productions as *Faustus in Africa*, *Ubu and the Truth Commission* and *Zeno at 4 am* based on Italo Svevo's *Confessions of Zeno*. They were given the opportunity to tour South Africa and Europe with these productions and became well-known in puppetry circles there. The 2004 Mali-inspired production of *Tall Horse*, with Yaya Coulibaly (Mali Puppeteer) was the forerunner of their famous production of *War Horse*, which won a Laurence Olivier Award in 2008. The Handspring Puppet Company's unique design and manipulation style is their unmistakable trademark. By morphing together European, Asian and African Puppet styles, the Handspring Puppet Company have become an international phenomenon in puppetry and theater circles with their unique "Euro-Afro-Asian" style (Taylor, 2009).

Introduction:

The Handspring Puppet Company is South Africa's most famous puppet company and over the last twenty years they have been acclaimed in local and international theater and puppet circles. Since 2007 they have caught the eye of the international theater and puppet circles with their production of *War Horse*, a commission by the National Theater in London. The vast oeuvre of the Handspring Puppet Company from 1980 to the present is considered to represent an important contribution to this art form. The company's contribution, beyond heightening awareness of puppetry as a form of adult theater in South Africa, consists of its innovative design, conceptualization, and use of puppets. Basil Jones and Adrian Kohler set a trend in South African as well as in international puppetry circles by introducing a unique way of using multimedia effects in this genre. They have created and manufactured puppets with strong African, East European and East Asian influences from their earliest works up to their most famous and recent work, *War Horse*.

Historical Background

Adrian Kohler and Basil Jones, together with a few other fine arts students from Cape Town University, instituted the Handspring Puppet Company in 1981

in order to produce new children's theater with puppets which reflected the realities of life on the African continent on which they lived; and to stake a claim for the puppet theater as a legitimate part of our local theater vocabulary (Taylor, 2009, 19-41).

This company only remained focused on children's theater for the first five years of its existence. From 1985 on, they started to focus on adult theater and commented on the current political environment in South Africa and Africa. Early in Kohler's life he was influenced by John Wright, founder of the Little Marionette Theater in London, also originally from Cape Town in South Africa, and the Salzburg marionette company. Both these companies performed several puppet shows in South Africa during the sixties and seventies and thus had a huge influence on Kohler, who was enthusiastic about puppet theater (Taylor, 19-41).

Another influence in Kohler's life was Lily Herzberg, the founder of UNIMA South Africa. She had strong links to the Soviet bloc and Eastern Europe rod puppets. Her ideas on puppetry and her commentary on political ideas in South Africa at that point had a significant influence on Kohler. She convinced Kohler and his parents that a career in Puppetry was possible. Kohler also stated that after watching a documentary film on Czechoslovak Puppetry and Japanese Bunraku Puppetry he realized "*that animated figures could communicate great drama and express complex human emotions despite (and possibly because of) their artificiality*" (Taylor, 19-41).

In a book entitled "*The Anatomy of a Puppet*" states that: "The term Bunraku refers to a Japanese style of performance that is a blend of the arts of puppet theater, narration and samisen music. The head of the true Bunraku puppet is carved and hollowed, sometimes with a range of moving features" (Currel, 1999, 20).

Productions

After watching a Czechoslovak production of Shakespeare's "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*" at the World Festival of Puppet Theater in France in 1985, Kohler and Jones decided to design and perform their own production of "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*" and explore interactions of puppeteers, puppets and actors on stage. For the first time, Handspring used rod puppet interacting with actors. In the design, conceptualization and use

of the puppets, Jones and Kohler combined aspects of ancient traditions. From the Japanese Bunraku Puppet Theater came the style of visible, black-cloaked puppeteers operating the puppets on stage and the giant designs of puppets based on West African characters from the Bambara and Bozo societies (Kohler, 2009, 42-150). Marie Katz writes: "There is a conscious African influence in the play injected through costume and design. The fairies do not flitter around in tinsel and soft voile dresses. Instead they are chamois clad creatures who could well originate from the dark African woods" (Katz, 1988).

The production of *Tooth and Nail* in 1989 marked the beginning of a form of puppet construction and manipulation specifically used by the Handspring Puppet Company. The main character, Saul, had an open chest construction of plywood and head carved form jelutong wood while the puppet was attached to the manipulator behind him (Episodes, 2001). The puppets' carved wooden heads and hands, showing the direct influence of Czechoslovak puppetry, are a prominent feature of this production. This style of construction and manipulation of puppets became the trademark of the Handspring Puppet Company for years to come. In a production of Chimp Project in 2000, a whole puppet was constructed like a jigsaw puzzle made from plywood and covered in fabric scrim which allowed the transmission of light and gave the puppets a ghostlike appearance (Badenhorst, 2005). This same visual style of puppet construction was also used in their award-winning production of War Horse where the puppets are made from bamboo and covered with fabric scrim. The chimpanzee puppets heads and hands were carved from jelutong, a Malaysian hardwood, and the raw texture of the carved wood was left in its original state. Jones states: "The dramatic display of the carved markings becomes more than simply a question of aesthetics; rather it is integral to the object's life under the theatrical light, providing character and facial expression to the inanimate object." (Jones, 2009, 253-259).

Pearman wrote the following in his article about this production: "Not only is the play a work of puppet mastery – as the perfection of the chimp and the human puppets' movement is astoundingly realistic – it is also a story incredibly well told and holds the audience captivated with its theatricality and suspense" (Pearman, 2000, 1).

Woyzeck on the Highveld in 1991 was an adaptation of George Buchner's play *Woyzeck*. With this production, the company began an association with

the artist and filmmaker William Kentridge. Kentridge's simple draw-erase-draw technique, using charcoal on large sheets of white paper, became a moving background in front of which puppets could be manipulated. Fairly roughly carved, almost monochrome, wooden rod puppets and ink-drawn acetate shadow puppets were made to complement the charcoal drawings of the film. The animated film was used to create the setting for various scenes, but more interestingly, also dealt with the thought and emotions of the puppets (Badenhorst, 2005). During the professional marriage of puppeteer and artist which lasted for the next ten years they produced productions like *Faustus in Africa*, *Ubu and the Truth Commission*, and *Zeno at 4 am*, where the same Bunraku and Eastern Europe style of con-struction and manipulation styles are eminently visible.

With *Faustus in Africa*, William Kentridge and Handspring Puppet Company developed their second production, underwritten by the Art Bureau in Munich and Kunstfest in Weimar. The play was a free adaptation of Goethe's *Faust* (parts I and II) and set in colonial Africa (Kohler, 2009, 42-150).

In *Faustus in Africa*, the central puppet character Faustus sells his soul to the devil in exchange for unlimited power to influence events on the African continent. The Hyena, a minor devil, continued the idea of open structure puppets as seen in *Tooth and Nail* as well as in *The Chimp Project* (Badenhorst, 2005). The character and movement of this puppet was so true to the real-life movement of a hyena that the audience sometimes were swept away from reality and did not even notice the open puppet constructions with torn scrim cloth and stockings. This visual representation of the hyena and its aesthetics are so true to the actual animal that one cannot but sit back and totally believe in the character presented on stage. The leg movement control of this puppet was also re-used later in the designing of the horse puppet Joey, in the production of *War Horse*.

Ubu and the Truth Commission was Handspring's third play developed in partnership with William Kentridge; it deals with South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, marrying the issues of state terror to the themes of Alfred Jarry's *Ubu Roi* (Badenhorst, 2005). There were three leading puppet characters in this production. The first was the vulture, who acted like a commentator on the actions and emotions of Ubu. The second was Niles the crocodile handbag, who could eat and swallow all the evidence thrown in his direction, while Ma Ubu will later sell these to the media.

The Dogs of War form an evil barbershop quartet with Ubu himself. Ubu uses them as hit-squad sidekicks during the course of the play. All these puppets were animals with very strong connections to the African continent and were constructed in the same deconstructive style as was used in previous productions. Puppets had an open wooden construction and roughly carved solid wooden heads and were finished with scrim cloth and stockings. By combining the Bunraku style of manipulation and the intricate European construction of the heads and hands with African aesthetics, these puppets, although made of different materials, such as a travel bag that acts as a body for the three heads of the Dogs of War, were very convincing as an individual entity on stage. Already one could see the very specific and unique style of the Handspring Puppet Company's productions. This style of puppetry is uniquely South African.

In the production of *Il Ritomo d'Ulisse*, Kentridge and Handspring continue their successful partnership. This was the company's first attempt at working in the opera genre. The animist opera invites the audience to a new odyssey: "to film and music, to the human voice and puppets, to the twentieth century, Monteverdi's Venice and mythical Greece" (Kentridge, 2009, 176-211).

"For those unfamiliar with the Kentridge and Handspring style, one of the most striking factors is the way in which the puppeteers work with the puppets. It's a fascinating interaction, as if the handler becomes the puppet's translator, caretaker and critic all rolled into one – watching and checking the reaction of their charges at all times" (Badenhorst, 2005). This is one of the productions where Handspring clearly used Eastern European design and concepts and rod puppet manipulation combined with the African style of raw carved puppet heads very successfully. They also combined the Bunraku style of manipulation, where the manipulators are exposed, with the traditional Eastern Europe way of manipulating rod puppets, where the puppeteers manipulate the puppets from below, hidden behind the scenery.

With the productions *Zeno at 4am* and *Confessions of Zeno*, Handspring again worked with Kentridge as director. Shadow puppets were used in both of those productions to represent the rest of the characters as well as Zeno's ideas in his mind. This production was another combination of European-style theater with Kentridge's weird African-inspired abstract shadow puppets.

On its production of the play *Tall Horse*, the Handspring Puppet Company worked with the Mali Puppeteer Yaya Coulibaly, from the Sogolan puppet troupe.

"The exchange (for Kholer and Coulibaly) was a way to mix the Handspring's highly eclectic forms of puppetry borrowed from as far as Czechoslovakia and Japan, with the Mali style. I hope the idea of setting the piece in a West African museum would allow the many objects in the story, each with their own memories, to reside side by side, despite their differences" (Badenhorst, 2005).

Coulibaly's heritage is steeped in the ancient tradition of Bambara puppetry; the oldest and richest in Africa's surviving puppet traditions. The production employed a variety of techniques, including the interaction of actors, life-sized puppets and masquerade figures. The heads and masks were carved from wood and painted in a traditional West African style while costumes were made from African printed textiles in bright colours. A giraffe puppet 5 meters high was designed and constructed by Kohler, the tallest and most technically intricate puppet that the Handspring Puppet Company had ever made. The puppet was constructed from a frame of carbon-fibre rods and it took two puppeteers on stilts to operate. The puppet was fully mechanical – its head, ears and tail could be manipulated by the puppeteers through a complex system made of bicycle brakes and cables (Badenhorst, 2005).

This production, with its many sophisticated technical and design elements, was the direct forerunner of the Handspring's most famous production, *War Horse*, which won the Laurence Olivier Award in London in 2008.

In 2006 Adrian Kohler and Basil Jones from the Handspring Puppet Company were commissioned by the National Theater in London to design and manufacture puppets for the play *War Horse* by Nick Stafford, based on the novel by Michael Morpurgo. The play would be staged in the Olivier Theater at the National Theater complex. After a few workshops in London during 2006, they went back to Cape Town to start designing the puppets. The idea was that the horse, Joey, must be lifelike in movement and an actor must be able on ride on its back (Kohler, 2009, 42-150).

To create the legs, Kohler started from the leg design of the Rhino in *Woyzeck on the Highveld* and the paw movement from the Hyena in *Faustus in Africa*. Kohler also realized that the structure of the horse would have to be similar to the structure of the giraffe of *Tall Horse*, just more complicated; for example, ear and tail movements are indicators of the horse's thoughts and emotions, and for the purposes of this specific production, it was important for the

audience to be able to read those reactions. A horse can turn its ears 180 degrees and points them forward to indicate interest, backwards to indicate fear or alarm; moving them to the side means that the horse is listening (Kohler, 2009, 42-150). For Kohler and Jones it was of the utmost importance to have their puppet capture these essential movements of a horse. The mechanics of these puppets, making use of bicycle brakes and cables, were masterpieces of engineering. In the British Theater Guide of 2009, Kevin Quarmby wrote the following about the construction of the puppets: "*War Horse* is unique in that it draws on the collaborative genius of puppeteer, scenic artist, actor, musician and choreographer to conjure living breathing mountains of horseflesh out of carved wood and gauze and leather. We are left in no doubt that they are structures, industrial skeletons part-machine par-sculpture, activated by the balletic precision of several trios of physical performers" (Quarmby, 2009).

The microscopic realistic movement and emotions these horse puppets are able to produce play a very big role in the success story of this production. Michael Billington noted in The Guardian of April 6, 2009: "The horses, as everyone knows, are brilliant. The real genius of this stage version of Michael Mapurgo's novel, first seen at the National in 2007, lies in the work of the Handspring Puppet Company's Basil Jones and Adrian Kohler. They have created, out of skeletal bamboo frames and internal hinges, the most plausible and expressive quadrupeds ever to have graced the London stage. At one point, Joey is magically transformed from a skittering foal into a bucking, rearing grown-up horse. Later a tank menacingly rolls across the stage like an armour plated behemoth. Mere humans like Kit Harington's Albert, Colin Mace's surly father and Patrick O'Kanes's sympathetic German are dwarfed by the massive technical ingenuity on display."

With this unique method of manipulation, the original Bunraku style of manipulation was still on display in their work, but Kohler and Jones morphed the puppet and puppeteer/manipulator together to become one entity. The puppeteers became the puppet's handlers or confidants. This was done with costumes, but instead of wearing black as in the traditional Bunraku style, puppeteers were dressed in costumes to become one with the puppet they are manipulating. The puppeteer became an extension of the puppet and, as Jones writes in his essay: "The audience thus experience a strong feeling of empowerment. They feel themselves to be in a new interpretation territory concerning the meaning of animals within the context of a theatrical event.

In a very real sense the puppet are stealing the limelight and sometimes the audience does not even noticed the puppeteers" (Jones, 2009, 253-269).

Roma Torre noted in the New York Times of April 15, 2011: "The true stars of this production are the animals, designed by Adrian Kohler and Basil Jones of the Handspring Puppet Company. Lifelike without any attempt to conceal the artifice, the creatures are magnificent, a thrilling synthesis of art and imagination. It was not until I stopped to think that I just cried over a horse that was actually made up of several props held together by visual handlers. This is the power and magic of great theater."

Conclusion

In this theatrical work, *War Horse*, which won the Laurence Olivier Award in 2008 in London, Handspring combined widely disparate elements in the design, manufacture, and construction, as well as the manipulation, of these puppet masterpieces. Design elements from most of their previous productions were incorporated into the *War Horse* production. If one looks back on their past work, one can clearly see how Handspring have used original influences, from Eastern European rod puppets in the construction of their puppet heads, to the Bunraku style of manipulation from Asia and the strong African influence on the aesthetic of the puppets' visual presentation. The unique technique of raw carved wooden heads and hands, plywood body parts and puppets with gauze covered bodies with realistic animal and human movement, is but one of the elements which one can see throughout all their work. A puppeteer who became an extension of the puppet, who acts as its caretaker or translator, is another prominent element that one can see in all of their productions. These major elements have become the international trademarks of the Handspring Puppet Company. The artistry of the Handspring Puppet Company consists of finding innovative ways of engineering puppet movement as demanded by each new theater production. Their social commentary on South Africa and historical situations there made them one of the major players in the South African theater community.

They have successfully morphed together European, Asian and African puppet styles to come up with a unique puppet style and identity: this fusion of elements in their design and manipulation styles, their unmistakable

trademark. True to their South African roots, the Handspring Puppet Company has become an international phenomenon in puppetry and theater circles with their unique "Euro-Afro-Asian" style.

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Bett Pacey – **Tshwane University of Technology, South Africa**

Multi-media Performance: Two puppetry productions by the Handspring Puppet Company based on Italo Svevo's *La Conscienza di Zeno*

Introduction

In 1991 the Handspring Puppet Company started an association with the artist and filmmaker, William Kentridge, on the production *Woyzeck on the Highveld,* followed by *Ubu and the Truth Commission* and *Faustus in Africa,* all based on European plays; yet with a distinct African twist. The next collaboration was a version of Monteverdi's opera, *Il Ritorno d'Ulisse.* These productions all had sources in theatrical genres, but in 2001 a shift was made to fiction with *Zeno at 4 am*, based on extracts (primarily passages dealing with the protagonist's relationship with his father and the latter's death) from the English translation of Italo Svevo's novel *La Conscienza di Zeno*. This production served as the precursor to a full-length production in 2002, *Confessions of Zeno.*

La Conscienza di Zeno

The novel (literally: 'Zeno's conscience', but translated into English as *Confessions of Zeno*) is presented as the diary of Zeno Cosini, who had consulted a psychoanalyst, initially to help cure his addiction to smoking. The doctor told him to start writing an autobiography to help in the psychoanalytical process. When Zeno discontinued his sessions, the doctor took revenge by publishing the work. This we learn from the preface, purportedly written by Dr S. The rest of the work is written in the first person by Zeno, but is not in conventional diary form, nor is there continuity of time or narrative; rather

it is structured in (sometimes fairly long) episodes or chapters, each dealing with a particular theme. It is only the last chapter that becomes a real diary, with pages relating to specific dates in the period of World War I.

After a short introductory chapter, where the reader already experiences the jumbled thoughts of Zeno, the first chapter deals with his addiction to smoking and his constant, but unsuccessful attempts to smoke the "last cigarette." In the next chapter, he moves on to his relationship with his father and memories of his father's death. Zeno then traces the memories of how he met and married his wife, followed by a chapter entitled *Wife and Mistress*, dealing with another addiction which he struggles to give up – his mistress. Next he deals with his business partnership with his brother-in-law, Guido. Finally he describes his current life during WW1 in diary form under the chapter heading *Psychoanalysis*. At a number of points during the novel, Zeno finds himself in a semi-wakeful state between sleep and reality and he also deals with some of his dreams (or, sometimes, nightmares).

The novel is episodic and fractured and deals with the very personal and innermost thoughts of the main character and thus does not provide an easy basis for a dramatic re-interpretation. Kentridge had read the novel in the 1980s and had kept at the back of his mind the idea of somehow using it in another artistic or dramatic form. This found fruition in *Zeno at 4am*. Speaking about what gave rise to the work, Kentridge said:

> *When I first read* [Svevo's novel] *some 20 years ago, one of the things that drew me to it was the evocation of Trieste as a rather desperate provincial city at the edge of an empire - away from the centre, the real world. I was intrigued how an Austrian Italian writing in the 1920s could have such a sense of how it felt to be in Johannesburg in the 1980s. In the years following, this has persisted and caused me to return to the book* […] *Zeno, the hero of Svevo's novel, has remarkable self-knowledge. But it is knowledge that is without effect. This absolute inability of self-knowledge to force Zeno to act, or at other times to stop him from acting, feels familiar. People stuck at the edge of a historical project about to implode, stuck waiting for the eruption to happen. The teasing out of our ambiguous sense of place, and the convoluted relation we have to our own sense of self, form the starting point for the work of transforming the book from someone else's text into a piece of my own making.*[1]

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[1] S. Perryer, "Kentridge's Confessions tops bill at Grahamstown," *Artthrob* (56), April 2002: np. http://www. Artthrob.co.za/02 apr/news/gtown.html. Accessed: 11/02/2014. [Photographs illustrating both productions can be viewed on the Handspring Puppet Company website at: http://www.handspringpuppet.co.za]

During the 1980s, South Africa was still in the grip of Apartheid; yet the rumblings of change were becoming louder and indeed, South Africans were "waiting for the eruption to happen" and one can see how Kentridge found this analogy with Svevo's novel. It would, however, be another 20-odd years before Kentridge's initial idea came to fruition, by which time a new order had been established in South Africa.

Zeno at 4 am

The piece begins with a musical prologue executed by a string quartet, a piece by Kevin Volans, which projects the suggestion of African music into a kind of contemporary classicism. Then the scene empties and on the diaphanous screen in the background appear the animated images of a mournful procession of shadows, accompanied by the accordion of a Johannesburg street musician. Adrian Kohler's puppet levers move through the air, slender figures of wood, aluminium, plastic, constructions of lost and found. Anthropomorphic trees, fantastical creatures, which give material form to the obsessive visions which disturb the troubled 'conscience' of the protagonist.[2]

Kentridge decided on an experimental musical theatre piece (a one-act opera, or "shadow oratorio"[3] as it was eventually termed), which he devised with librettist Jane Taylor and the South African-born composer, Kevin Volans. Kentridge also directed the production. He approached the Handspring Puppet Company to make a short shadow-puppet film to accompany the music sung by a live chorus during a dream sequence. Before the workshop process started, Kentridge, Adrian Kohler and Tau Qwelane had prepared some shadow puppets, as well as some large body extension backpacks, which would also turn the puppeteers into large shadow puppets. The first workshop was held at the Dance Factory in Johannesburg and included the actor who would play the part of Zeno, Dawid Minnaar, three soloists, including Otto Maidi, who would sing the key role of Zeno's father, a chorus and some musicians.

In a corner at the back of the stage a three-dimensional landscape was set up with a live video feed projected onto a large screen behind the downstage

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[2] G. Manzella, "The shadow of Italo Svevo. William Kentridge's Zeno at 4am at the *Kunsten Festival des Arts Brussels II Maifesto*", May 26, 2001: n.p. Translated photostat copy: Handspring Puppet Company.

[3] S. Schoombie, *Laat die skadupoppe sing* [Let the shadow puppets sing], *Beeld. Plus bylaag*, June 20:3.

performance area. The live video feed meant that the manipulators could test and modify the look of the film, being in the same room as the chorus. The visuals of the puppeteers manipulating the silhouettes developed in such a striking and interesting way, that it was decided to deviate from the original concept and rather record the chorus, and make the shadow figures a live component of the project, as it became far more interesting to watch the shadow puppet show than watching a chorus singing.

At that time a new, inexpensive digital video camera came on the market, which made live video affordable as a theatrical special effect. Köhler explains:

> These cameras have a remarkable depth of field for their size and when utilized to film our silhouettes in a landscape, suddenly real depth and perspective with the shadows became possible. Close to the camera, the silhouettes could be huge, in the distance appropriately small, and both were in focus. With this camera and a video projector, shadow puppetry was getting an unexpected shot in the arm though perhaps, truly speaking, it was silhouette theatre. What the camera filmed was black cardboard silhouette figures against a lit cyclorama.[4]

During the workshop period, the miniature film set expanded and became more versatile, for example, drawn landscapes on scrolling acetate, changed constantly as the silhouette figures passed by; locations could change by sliding in backdrops and the use of the video projector made it possible to intersperse archival footage of WW1 during the performance – this was controlled from the lighting booth.

The stage consisted of different areas, the largest area being taken up by a back-projection screen made from sheets of butcher paper, taped together to give the screen a grid-like appearance. The bottom edge touched the stage; it was not weighed down or rigid, but light, and moved gently when one walked close by. In front was the performance area with some furniture as on a regular theatre set, where the "human" action took place. The so-called 'film set,' where the puppeteers were visibly manipulating the puppets and also turned into puppets themselves, was upstage left. The repeated procession of these bizarre creatures provided a rhythm to the performance and illustrated the obsessive inner world of Zeno. Downstage left were the string quartet, and additional instruments, such as the accordion and microphones. Each of

4   A. Köhler, "Zeno at 4am," in *Handspring Puppet Company*, J. Taylor, ed. (Johannesburg and New York: David Krut Publishing, 2009), 113.

these separate areas operated independently, with: "very little physical cross-fertilization, each element 'manufactured in the moment' finally blended together only in the imagination of the spectator."[5]

In my own experience as audience member, I found that this division into separate "performance" areas caused me to split focus somewhat. I attended a preview of the production in Johannesburg, which meant that no program information was available and I had not read the novel beforehand. Having seen previous Handspring Puppet Company productions where one could follow a narrative, I initially found it difficult to follow the gist of what was going on in the production and instead focused on the fascinating technical aspects. While the essence of the production later became clear, it remained for me an ever moving, ever-changing, multi-faceted art work.

In this production fifteen rod-puppets were used, controlled from five other figures that were extensions of the human body. The puppets were made from wood, aluminium, nylon webbing and plastic board. Also included were found objects, such as a pair of pliers and a coffee pot.

According to Köhler, Volans' music "whilst being part of a movement that calls itself 'The New Simplicity,' is notoriously difficult to play. Volans wanted to make use of the Duke Quartet[6] who had played his music before and they were contracted to perform during the short tour in Europe and America,"[7] as well as during the run of the production in South Africa.

I found the final moments of the performance especially exciting and moving and this is also echoed by two reviewers:

> *Unexpectedly, the death of Zeno's father summoned life from the shadow puppets. Once flat and awkwardly moving through an uncertain landscape, the shadow puppets (with the help of actors and costumes), came to life and advanced in a procession of song and dance around Zeno and the bed that held his father. The animated figures were no longer unconscious aberrations on a two-dimensional screen, but active participants in a reality shared by Zeno.*[8]

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[5] Ibid, 117.

[6] The Duke Quartet is a contemporary string quartet (1st and 2nd violin, viola and cello) based in England.

[7] Performances were staged in Brussels, Belgium; Paris, Angoulême, Toulouse and Amiens, France; Chicago, Minneapolis and New York, USA.

[8] C. Cook, "Staging the artist's vision," *FNewsmagazine*, December 2001: n.p. http://www.fnewsmagazine.com/2001-december/defeatures4.html. Accessed: 11/02/2014.

Moens describes the final moments of the performance as follows:

> *The most beautiful moment is at the end, when Zeno's father has died and a new procession of fabulous creatures (the puppet players with grotesque masks – a tree, a telephone – on their heads) escorts him away, as if in a dance of death. This brings the ritualistic, reconciliatory and exorcising aspects of Kentridge's treatment of death and memory to a conclusion.*[9]

Zeno at 4 am provided the basic structure for a reworking as the full-length production, *Confessions of Zeno* which premiered in 2002.

Confessions of Zeno.

Many of the elements found in *Zeno at 4am* were replicated in this production, but as it was an extension depicting the dilemmas which swirl through Zeno's mind extracted from the different chapters in the novel, there had of necessity to be some changes and adaptations.

The stage set-up remained largely the same, with the projection screen placed at center stage. For this production, cheap tracing paper replaced the butcher paper used in *Zeno at 4am*, still held together by tape to form a visual grid. Diagonally at the back and at the side of the stage, at a 90 degree angle to the screen, the manipulators operated the shadow puppets by moving rods attached to the puppets' feet to project silhouettes of puppets, video-taped by camera and projected onto the screen. Drawn backgrounds, animation and sketches on acetate, such as buildings, fences and a panther rolled across the screen in front of the camera to compliment and underscore the thoughts and action. In the opening scene, with Zeno lounging on his bed in front of the screen, images of clouds of smoke roll across the screen, highlighting Zeno's obsession with smoking.

An added technique which Kentridge introduced in this production was the device of double projection in which a screen is split into two images that are initially almost identical but increasingly diverge, as a way of, as he put it "playing with the complex ways we try to structure ourselves as coherent subjects".[10] The double screen can then depict, for example, Zeno's private life and the social world with World War I approaching.

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[9] S. Moens , "A procession of ghosts". *De Morgen*, May 22: n.p. Translated photostat copy: Handspring Puppet Company.

[10] S. Perryer, "Kentridge's Confessions tops bill at Grahamstown," *Artthrob* (56), April 2002: np. http://www. Artthrob.co.za/02 apr/news/gtown.html. Accessed: 11/02/2014.

A number of extra hand-manipulated figures had to be made, delicate and small (varying from approximately 20-40 cm) and made mostly from torn cardboard and corrugated plastic board. On screen they became large enough to interact with the actors on stage and even at times overpowering them.

To engage the imported Duke Quartet for this extended run would have been extremely costly and the producer, Basil Jones, set about looking for a local string quartet competent enough to execute Volans' complicated score.

With the help of Michael Tuffin of the UCT [University of Cape Town] School of Music, he identified four young musicians. After a lot of hard work on their part and a four-day tutored audition, Volans embraced the task of tutoring them musically and Sontonga quartet was born.[11]

This quartet performed during all the local and overseas performances.[12]

My own experience of this production was different, as I had read the novel before attending a performance in Grahamstown. While I remained engaged by the fascinating visual effects, I had a far better understanding of Zeno's *angst*, expressed and complimented by the various mediums.

Conclusion

A novel, and especially one so concerned with personal thoughts and feelings, would be daunting to translate into a theatrical production; yet Kentridge's vision managed this with seeming ease. Both the productions combined a range of media and multi-disciplinary performance techniques to skillfully bring to the audience the workings of Zeno's mind and once again showed innovation in the collaborative work between Kentridge and the Handspring Puppet Company. The company has been, and remains, at the forefront of puppet theatre in South Africa, also receiving deserved international acclaim.

[11] A. Köhler, "*Zeno at 4am,*" in Handspring Puppet Company, J. Taylor, ed. (Johannesburg and New York: David Krut Publishing, 2009), 117.

[12] Overseas performances include countries such as Belgium, Germany, France, Croatia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Singapore and the Canary Islands.

Matt Smith – University of Portsmouth, United Kingdom

Hand to Hand: The dynamic situation of applied puppetry

I walk into a prison for immigration detainees, with a bag of puppets and some hopes for great happenings. I set up a shadow theatre in the education space and wait for some men to come and make puppet theatre with me. I wait for them to voluntarily participate in the workshop space that I set up.

Figure 1. Shadow puppet of journeyman puppet in London. Performed in HMP Haslar, 2015.

What right do I have to come into this traumatic space and play with puppets? What do I want to achieve from this type of practice? What power does this intervention in the prison space involve and how can I understand this power? These are some of the questions I have been asking recently as I worked in an immigration removal centre in the UK.[1] This practice provoked me to ask lots of difficult questions about how puppets are used with vulnerable groups. I describe this type of practice as applied puppetry. In the contemporary setting, a practice that works in this way has to deal with difficult and specific questions. This practice also has to deal with complex global issues, inter-subjective relations with identities and the "face to face" encounter with the other.

This article concerns the uses and purposes of puppetry in education and community contexts. The paper engages in debates about the role of the puppeteer with groups in workshops.

[1] www.gov.uk/immigration-removal-centre/overview

Reference will be made to some examples of practice and personal reflections on events, workshops and projects. The article will connect with the themes of power, globalization, ethics and applied theatre. The main question considered will be: where do we find power in the practice of applied puppetry? For many years now I have been using puppetry in a number of unusual settings to engage groups in work that can be considered applied puppetry. This work has had many different and surprising results in workshops. I am describing this work critically and developing an advanced study of puppetry as part of applied theatre for puppeteers and academics. These aims connect with my PhD thesis, entitled *Speaking the Unspeakable: Applied Puppetry in Practice.* How can puppetry be engaged as a tool in applied theatre practice?

For many years I have been promoting and valorising the term applied puppetry in relation to my practice in community and educational settings with puppets in the UK. I have advanced this term in a series of symposia and conferences, in particular the Hands On events in the UK, hosted by the Little Angel Theatre.[2] The relatively new phrase of applied puppetry borrows its conception and much of its knowledge base from the wider applied theatre field as defined by Helen Nicholson 2005, Sheila Preston and Tim Prentki 2013. Applied puppetry as a term allows the scholar and practitioner to conceptualise practices that have been known previously as community puppetry in new ways, as education puppetry and puppet therapy. The field of applied theatre and its scholarship has brought to bear on engaged theatre practice a new wave of thinking and criticism about purposeful social spaces, and puppetry benefits from this knowledge.

Figure 2. Humphrey. A puppet built in 1994 for Pickleherring Theatre. This puppet is a constant companion in the prison, with students and speaking at conferences.

Puppetry in the social space when it is used in workshops addresses issues of the biopolitical, relating to Michel Foucault's (1998) and Giorgio Agamben's (1998) use of this concept, and also postmodern ethics, relating to Emanuel Levinas through the way bodies are engaged in practice and bodies relate to each other. Without taking account of these complex issues, the practitioner of puppetry with groups could potentially work irresponsibly and harmfully. The applied puppetry practitioner needs to carefully consider the way he or she approaches diverse identities and issues of ethics and power in order to respect the participants.

[2] www.littleangeltheatre.com

In relation to issues of ethics and power, a point that has continually frustrated me in my reading of texts about applied puppetry is the constant assumption that puppets are "good for you." This general assumption about the puppet as essentially benign can be combined with a self-congratulatory assessment of the effects of puppets on individuals and groups. Early in my PhD research, I sought to challenge this positive genealogy of narratives about practice and historical accounts. My reading and viewpoint that subsequently developed was that the practice of puppetry is not always politically benign, especially taking into account propaganda, practices within mental health projects and population control theatre for development campaigns, for example. This critique of historical accounts, based on post-structural theory, influenced my assessment of what could be considered efficacious practice that took into consideration the power of the individual body and ethical practice in the contemporary context. In the context of the practice of applied puppetry, the puppet is considered in relation to the diverse identities of the group's members, because puppetry is a biopolitical practice. Puppetry affects the bodies of the people involved as audience members or workshop participants. This bio-power is exchanged and developed through the multiplicity of subjects, the geography of the space, and the discourse surrounding and involved in the practice. These elements of the context, discourse and the bodies of those involved indicate to the practitioner the power of applied puppetry and an awareness of this exchange informs effective practice. Puppets do have their own power as uncanny and metaphorical objects, but their effect on people is crucial when taking into account the context of applied puppetry.

Associated with the power of the practice are the issues of use and usefulness. The use of applied puppetry helps to further define the practice. Its use and functioning can relate to aesthetic choices, for example, shadow puppets using minimal spoken language work well with groups who speak different languages, as I have found through my own practice. The usefulness of the puppet further relates to the benefits of the practice. For any applied program to develop, it needs to be clear what the intended aims are and how they provide benefits to the participants. One important benefit of applied puppetry is that it allows for a unique inter-subjective space to develop in which the impossible can be made possible through theatre and the (usually) unspeakable is communicated in, for example, discussions about sexual health with teenagers. The impossible could include speaking truth to power and the unspeakable the narratives that are suppressed by power. So the usefulness of the puppet in applied practice relates to its function and benefits. A difficult question to address in regards to this issue of values is; who is benefitting from this

applied puppetry, the individual, the authority or both? In the environment of the Immigration Removal Centre I found myself working with and within a very specific state authority and dealing with a multitude of global identities. Puppetry in this context of a jail for immigrant detainees crosses awkward boundaries and connects with diverse traditions and cultures. At points in this setting, the puppet moves beyond the everyday power of the prison.

Another benefit of puppetry is that it helps individuals deal with the difficulty of the face to face ethical encounter with the other as presented by the philosopher Emanual Levinas (1990). The puppet diverts attention from the face and encourages hand to hand communication, which opens up a new space between people in workshop settings. In this problematic ethical space of the workshop, the practitioner can develop dialogues and conversations with the other that are not concentrated on the infinitely demanding space of the face to face. This shift from face to hand relates to my practice in that the puppet in the workshop invites the immigrant detainee an opportunity to communicate beyond borders in the context of the prison. The puppet offers a creative opportunity to work with the other ethically, but does not totally avoid the face to face. This diversion from the face to the hand and the puppet does not solve the problem of the other through the face but does alter the relationship of bodies and identities. This inter-subjective shift can open up positive spaces amongst groups and individuals, even though the demands of ethics still prevail. This I found to be the case while working in the prison.

Figure 3. Master of ceremonies puppet. Made by immigrant detainees in HMP Haslar Immigrant Removal Centre. 2015.

Recently, as well as developing the puppetry in immigrant detention project, I have developed workshops in the context of academia that open up new spaces for dialogue and discussions, often around complex issues; and this was the purpose of the workshop connected to this article and presentation at the Białystok conference[3]. So my practice is attempting to use puppetry to open up new dialogues and relations between individuals and avoid pacifying participants/subjects/others through the power of the puppets' performance. In workshops, when participants make and perform with puppets, this 'hand to hand' communication can open up space for dialogue. Alternatively to the dialogical form of workshop puppetry, the puppeteer can also use the singular

[3] International Conference *Dolls and Puppets as Artistic and Cultural Phenomenon,* Białystok, June 23–25, 2014. The conference was organized by the Institute of Art History of the University of Warsaw and The Aleksander Zelwerowicz National Academy of Dramatic Art in Warsaw – The Department of Puppetry Art in Białystok.

direction of didactic puppetry. This form of social purpose of some practices in historical accounts indicates that puppetry can be an affective force, but often with ideological agendas and a focused mission, not with the aim of sharing local community narratives. It seems timely to question the nature of some of these practices as applied puppetry develops. In ethical workshops that are open spaces, groups can choose the narratives they feel are relevant to per-form rather than sit back and listen to the message. The puppet is a useful tool in working with the other in practice and the practitioner needs to respond to both bodies and space to use applied puppetry responsively. I would like to end with a story that relates to my own embodied experience of the other in a particular space to highlight the issues of inter-subjective experience beyond the puppet space. This was one of the last events that happened in Poland when I was there on a research trip in 1997. This story describes a situation in which the fear of the other was experienced in a traumatic space.

> *In 1997 as part of a travel scholarship from the Arts Council I travelled to Poland to research puppet theatre. Through some contacts in the puppet theatre community I was put up in one of the puppet theatres in Warsaw. The room I slept in was behind the stage; a very spooky space. I woke in the middle of the night and visited the lavatory which was on the other side of the stage which I had to walk behind. In the lavatory I froze as I heard a bizarre voice. The weird voice was that of a young girl and she was talking to herself. She was not speaking English and after a few moments I believed she sounded like she had some form of learning difficulty from the way she sounded. I quickly realised that to meet this girl in the darkness of a puppet theatre in the middle of the night would be disturbing for both of us. I crept back to my room and hid under my bed covers.*

Reflecting back on the experience of that chilling moment was the most ex-treme example of a fear of the 'other' I have felt. This fear was both connected to the space of the puppet theatre, the mysterious body in the space and my avoidance of the 'face to face' encounter. Puppets can open up interesting so-cial spaces but puppeteers cannot avoid the ultimate demands of the other in everyday life. The power of applied puppetry is through the way it provokes people into reconsidering social relations.

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Mienke Fouché – **Tshwane University of Technology, South Africa**

Design and Construction of Fantasy Marionettes through the Study of Animal Anatomy and Movement

Introduction

This work will address how the study of animal anatomy and movement is incorporated into the creation of fantasy animal puppets with recognizable features; to prove how important anatomical knowledge is in designing animal characters; and to prove how important movement research is in marionette construction. It will use the example of marionettes designed for an adaptation of the *Musicians of Bremen*.

A puppet is essentially an assembly of materials forming a recognizable shape to interact with humans. Interestingly enough, even the crudest puppet can elicit an emotional response from a person. People have the ability to associate with and find meaning in lifeless objects, since these objects can be manipulated to connect with humans either through their design or through their movement. This study aims to combine design and movement to create animal marionettes that people can connect to and empathize with. The marionettes are not crude, but they are raw – their design exposes all the parts used in their construction.

Although the creation of raw puppets is not a new concept, it has not been fully explored in South Africa. The puppets made by Adrian Köhler for the Handspring Puppet Company are the best-known examples of raw animal puppets in South Africa. These puppets are not the main focus of the study, but serve as inspiration for and a component of the design of the animal

marionettes. Animal marionettes have also not been widely showcased in South Africa, as they are mostly used for the education and entertainment of children.

Designers look at their natural surroundings for inspiration, as it is hardly possible to invent a completely new creature without having some basic idea of creatures that already exist. Most mythological creatures are based on one or several animals. The hippogriff, for example, is part horse and part eagle; it moves with its hind legs galloping like a horse and its wings flapping like the wings of an eagle. One must therefore fully understand the anatomical and motor limitations of real animals before one can invent fantasy creatures.

Literature Review

Mythology forms the foundation of many cultures around the world. Myths are stories that shape the way people live their lives, how they think about things, and how they view themselves and the world (*Mythology*, 10). Myths have various purposes: they answer questions about life that cannot be answered in a rational manner, such as the purpose of existence; and explain phenomena such as the reason for an eclipse.

Myths are especially powerful in raising children, setting rules and providing reasons for what is considered right and wrong. Heroes embody positive aspects, while monsters embody negative aspects. The monsters are actually just "monster(s) of the mind" (*Mythology*, 12). For ancient societies, it made sense to use animals to embody many of these aspects.

The chimera also originates from Greek mythology. It has a lion's head and body, with a goat's head emerging from the middle of the body and a serpent's head for a tail (*Mythology*, 114). Since the chimera breathes fire, it is believed that the creature was invented to represent a volcanic mountain called Lycia (*Mythology*, 114). Lions lived on mountain peaks, goats lived in a middle region and serpents lived at the foot of the mountain. The chimera is thus an embodiment of a natural disaster, and defeating the beast symbolizes overcoming the disaster.

Mythological creatures represent aspects of life that humans need to understand and deal with. They often do so by creating creatures combining

particular animal characteristics that people associate with the quality represented by that characteristic. Puppets perform the same function in a play; representing something with which the audience has mental associations.

The Handspring Puppet Company (Taylor, 2009, 281) was founded in 1981 by Basil Jones and Adrian Köhler. They have worked on thirteen productions (eleven performances and two operas) for which they won numerous accolades, including an Olivier Award for *War Horse*. They have worked with many different artists and writers, including William Kentridge and Lesego Rampolokeng. Of the twelve productions discussed in the book *Handspring Puppet Company*, there are five productions with noteworthy animal puppets: *Faustus in Africa!* (1995), *Ubu & the Truth Commission* (1996), *The Chimp Project* (2000), *Tall Horse* (2004) and *War Horse* (2007). These puppets are discussed below.

Methodology

The study first looked at mythological creatures designed by ancient minds and based on animals, to prove how an understanding of the natural world influences invention. In addition to research on mythology, research was done on the Handspring Puppet Company, since the company serves as the inspiration for this project.

The body of the study consists of four parts:

Research into character design to aid the understanding of designing dynamic characters for an adaptation of the *Musicians of Bremen*.

A general overview of animal anatomy, followed by a study of the anatomy of the six chosen orders of mammals in more depth. For the purposes of creating characters with strong mental associations for the audience, animal anatomy was researched to make the marionettes recognizable as based on specific animals.

A general overview of animal locomotion, followed by a study of the locomotion methods employed by the six chosen orders of mammals. The purpose of their animal locomotion research was to attempt to create marionettes that move in a convincing manner.

Research into construction methods and materials in order to discover the most attractive methods and materials for building raw, uncovered puppets.

For the purposes of keeping the article brief, only the process of designing and constructing the springhare – later renamed the "Lago" marionette – will be discussed here. The same process was applied to the other five fantasy animal marionettes.

Data was collected in the form of documents (Denzin, Lincoln, 2003, 25) and evaluated (Denzin, Lincoln, 2003, 26) by interpreting each section of the research on its own. The character design research was interpreted and a character profile for each of the six characters established. The animal anatomy research was interpreted and the researcher made a skeletal and muscular anatomy drawing for each of the six animals. The character profiles and anatomy drawings were then combined to create a fantasy character design drawing for each animal.

Using the fantasy character design drawing along with the locomotion research on each animal, a locomotion sequence was drawn for each fantasy character. The most relevant marionette construction materials and methods were selected. The locomotion sequence of each fantasy creature and the chosen marionette construction materials and methods were then combined to create construction drawings for the fantasy animal marionettes. Finally the construction drawings were used to construct six fantasy animal marionettes.

Character Design

When designing a character, it must be borne in mind that the character should fit into a defined environment. It has to have a specific look and personality to elicit a response from the audience. The most important criterion, however, is that the character look the part before it actually starts playing a role (Seegmiller, 2004).

According to Seegmiller (2004), the first and foremost step when designing a character is to have a complete understanding of the character's purpose and what is desired of it. Questions can be asked to determine the limitations of the character, for example: what is its gender and age? The history of a character is also important. Consider the character's past, present and future to give it more depth. A character's environment will also greatly influence

its physical appearance; for example: an aquatic character needs fins and a tail to move around in its environment (Seegmiller, 2004).

Gathering inspirational images that relate to the requirements and limitations of a character will help the design process (Seegmiller, 2004) (Smith, 2011, 5). Fabry (2005: 56) recommends keeping an idea book and noting anything that inspires and that can be used in the design process. Robertson (1988, 9) relies on the act of going out into the world and being inspired by all the elements residing therein.

Seegmiller (2004) advises making as many different drawings as possible and obtaining input and constructive criticism of the preliminary designs from others. Smith (2011, 5) is of the opinion that, with the inspiration that was acquired during the research phase, it is best to immediately start drawing small, quick thumbnail sketches. These sketches must be done as fast as possible to resist the temptation of adding superfluous detail and to be able to do more sketches in less time, giving your brain more space for new ideas. Fabry (2005: 49) advises starting with warm-up sketches and then using the accumulated inspiration to design a character.

Robertson (1988, 68) proposes that, with the general idea on paper, various techniques should be applied to the character to produce an element of surprise that would set the character apart from other characters. He recommends playing with combinations of various non-natural elements. Seegmiller (2004) recommends playing with the colors and contrasts of the final design by refining certain elements and adding bits of detail.

Fabry's (2005, 68) last step is to note all the characteristics that are essential to the character. He recommends drawing the character again in various action poses, demonstrating the movement of the muscles and the limitations of the character's movement. This will make the designer more familiar with the character. Fabry (2005, 68) believes drawing the character in various action poses also allows one to become more acquainted with the character's anatomy. According to him, it is advisable to have a basic understanding of anatomy when designing characters.

Animal Anatomy

L.S. Brown, in his compilation of the new edition of the *Atlas of Animal Anatomy for Artists*, recommends artists have some familiarity with human

anatomy. According to him, the best way to study this subject is to compare the anatomy of animals to human anatomy (Ellenberger, Baum and Dittrich, 1956, vi). Hultgren (1993, vi) believes that the artist need only be familiar with the "mechanics and pivot points" of the animal's skeleton. This allows more expressive drawings of the animal. Hultgren himself rarely uses models when drawing animals and when he does, he refers to them as only a 'stepping stone' for what he really wants to express. The understanding of the animal should allow creative interpretation to make the drawing more real.

The main difficulty with drawing animals is that they are always on the move and do not pose as humans would. It is therefore crucial to the artist to commit to memory what the animal looks like (Skeaping, 2010, 14). The construction of the bones of any animal is particularly important since they define the restrictions on the animal's movement and the character of the movement. Skeaping (2010, 32) believes this knowledge is acquired by looking at the skeletons of animals and making drawings to compare with the real animal in motion. By simply observing the living animal, one can become more acquainted with the shape of the muscles visible beneath the skin.

Villpu (2007, 4) states that for successful results, a clear approach is required. The artist should never be distracted by the anatomical lines of the animal, but should rather focus on capturing the attitude and gestures of the animal. He is also of the opinion that, to be able to draw anything, the artist must know what the animal to be drawn looks like. Villpu (2007, 7) explains that one of the best ways to learn something is to compare it to something similar and note the differences.

It is also important to be familiar with the pivot points and joints of animals, and how the joints act during certain actions (Hultgren, 1993, 6). Keane (2000, 2) expresses the view that the drawing should be kept simple to make understanding the animal easier. The artist should feel comfortable with and confident in his knowledge of the character that has to be animated; otherwise the work will lack conviction and strength.

Regarding the anatomy drawing of the springhare, Skinner (1990, 200) describes the springhare as a rodent that looks like a small kangaroo, with small front legs, long strong hind legs and a very long tail. An article in Reader's Digest states that the springhare is distinguished by its well-developed hind legs, erect posture, and small front legs that are held under the chin (Reader's Digest South Africa, 78). Their heads are round, with a short muzzle and large eyes. The ears are long, narrow, and upright (Skinner, 1990, 201).

The feet of the springhare are of particular importance: the front feet have five digits and each digit has a long curved claw. The claws are very strong and narrow for digging. The hind feet have four digits with triangular claws. The claws are broad with a sharp point and are slightly concave underneath (Skinner, 1990, 201). Apps (1992, 53) states that because of their muscular hind legs they can move very fast – they can cover three meters with one hop. They also use their hind claws as weapons when they are threatened.

Springhares and kangaroos have numerous similarities, so the drawing of kangaroos will also be discussed as artists have not discussed the drawing of springhares extensively. Hultgren (1993, 104) explores the kangaroo in his drawings. The ribcage of the kangaroo is small and the forearms hang in a rodent-like manner. The tail is a very important feature as kangaroos use it to balance and to support their bodies when they rest. The long tail is thick at the base and pointed at the tip.

Mattesi mentions that the kangaroo's shape is dominated by the lower part of its body (2011, 40). The upper part rests on the hip structure and the plantigrade feet. He states that the forelimbs closely resemble human arms. Hultgren (1993, 106) believes the tail gives the animal a strong line of action and adds sweep to the drawing because of its prominence. The strongest part of the body is the hindquarters and this is the part that is emphasized as all the animal's movement originates from the hind legs.

Animal Locomotion

A good way of understanding the limits of an animal's movement is to try and move one's own body the way the animal moves. Every movement must be balanced by a counter-movement at the other end of the animal. This creates a rhythm as there is a continuous flow of movement (Skeaping, 2010, 33).

The springhare moves with short hops on its hind feet with the front feet kept under the chin. When threatened, the springhare moves very fast with long leaps, moving its tail from side to side to maintain balance. When feeding, the springhare sits on its hind legs. During feeding, the springhare moves by resting its weight on its front feet and pulling its hind feet forward in the manner of a rabbit. When sensing danger, they crouch low to the ground with their ears flattened. When they are curious, they stand on their hind feet with their ears upright and their noses in the air (Skinner, 1990, 203). Apps (1992, 53)

mentions that springhares sometimes bob their heads when they are wary of something.

According to *The Encyclopaedia of Animals* (1972, 66) the springhare adopts bipedal movement when moving quickly as it has very long hind legs and almost disproportionately short front legs. The front legs are mainly used to convey food to the mouth. When performing quadrupedal locomotion, the tail drags behind the body. The anatomy of an animal is a result of its lifestyle (Burton, 2010, 6); therefore, its form is defined by its function. The same principle is applicable to puppetry.

Marionette Construction Materials and Methods

Marionettes are just one of the many types of puppet that exist. Marionettes are not attached to the puppeteer's body and move around freely. They portray the full figure of the character. Flower and Fortney (1983, 102) believe that gravity and momentum are the only forces that should move the puppet – the puppeteer should simply hold onto it.

A marionette is like a work of art. Each person that creates a marionette puts a bit of himself or herself into it. A marionette therefore develops a style and a look unique to its creator. There are many materials and construction techniques, but the artist decides what will work best for the project. The type of material that is chosen for the marionette depends mainly on the budget and the purpose of the marionette. The materials used to join the limbs together depend on the type of joint. Anything from rope to leather or wood can be used for joints (Flower and Fortney, 1983, 106).

The type of string depends on the marionette. The string must be able to bear the weight of the puppet. If the marionette will be performing special effects, stronger string or wire might be required (Flower and Fortney, 1983, 109). Some use black string to try and hide the strings during performance, while others use white string to make the strings visible and draw attention to the marionettes.

There are many different types of joint that can be used to attach limbs (Flower and Fortney, 1983, 105). Flower and Fortney (1983, 106) mention three types: the rope joint, the leather joint and the tongue-and-groove joint. Currell (1992, 65) uses the tongue-and-groove joint for the elbow and the knee.

The complexity of the puppet determines the number of strings required. There are three types of controls for marionettes: vertical / upright control, horizontal / airplane control and palette control (Flower and Fortney, 1983, 110).

The puppets of the Handspring Puppet Company have served as inspiration for this study, mainly because of the realistic way in which the puppets move despite being constructed from raw materials. The raw construction allows the viewers to see the mechanics of the puppets. Apart from the wonderful human puppets they create, the Handspring Puppet Company also makes entrancing animal puppets. These animal puppets are not marionettes, but their controls and movement are certainly worth discussing.

The first puppet we should discuss is the hyena from *Faustus in Africa!* While some of the play's characters are humans and others are human puppets, the hyena was the character by means of which the Handspring Puppet Company wanted to try out some new technical developments (Taylor, 2009, 76). Adrian Köhler, the master puppet builder of the company, had to solve all the technical difficulties of the hyena. It manoeuvred on a waist-high board, disguised as an office desk. Its leg controls protruded from its upstage side. This meant that the hyena could never turn around on stage and had to always enter and exit in the same direction.

When animals walk, their elbows and wrists bend a lot, creating a curling action. Köhler (Taylor, 2009, 77) struggled to create this action in the hyena. With only one control to manipulate each action, either the elbow or the wrist could be moved, but not both. While experimenting with maquettes, he realized how he could create this double action using string. By passively linking the first to the second action with string (like tendons), he made it possible for a double action to be performed. This was a big step towards the creation of future animal puppets.

The hyena's character demanded that it smile; therefore a "flash of teeth" was necessary (Taylor, 2009, 77). Its muzzle was going to be constructed from wood and would not be able to retract properly to expose its teeth. Their solution was to set the teeth loosely in the mouth and pivot them at the back. When the hyena opened its mouth, the teeth dropped down, creating the illusion that the upper lip was being pulled back.

The second puppet worthy of note is the vulture from *Ubu & the Truth Commission* (Taylor, 2009, 79). The puppet was inspired by primitive agri-cultural practices. Köhler built a mechanical bird that was operated

by a counterweight system powered by electric motors (Taylor, 2009, 83). It was controlled from the sound desk by remote control. The bird could then move and rock or flap its wings without being controlled by anyone on stage. Although it worked well initially, the parts later started to show wear and tear, which meant that more and more time had to be spent on the bird to keep it operational. The lesson that Köhler drew from this was that it is not worth it to create over-complicated puppets, as they can later become "thieves of time."

The third puppet discussed is the chimpanzee from *The Chimp* (Taylor, 2009, 100). The team took a trip to the Gombe Stream Chimpanzee Reserve to observe chimpanzees in the wild. Köhler (Taylor, 2009, 102) mentions that it was an invaluable experience to observe chimpanzees in the wild and to see the experiments in sign language being conducted with those chimpanzees. Köhler studied the skeletons of chimpanzees to prepare for the challenge of designing a similar structure (Taylor, 2009, 109). This was the first time that they had to make four articulated limbs, which meant that there had to be two to three puppeteers per puppet. The final design was a construction of interlocking plywood sections for the limbs and bendable nylon rods for the ribcage. The chimpanzee's hind legs were controlled from the side with controls, which meant that each chimpanzee could be controlled by two puppeteers.

The fourth puppet to be discussed is the giraffe from *Tall Horse*. This project was a joint venture between the Handspring Puppet Company and the Sogolon Puppet Troupe of Mali (Taylor, 2009, 118). The giraffe was a typical Malian style puppet with angular edges and bright geometric decoration. The giraffe was operated by two puppeteers on stilts inside the puppet. The neck was made from seven plywood rings with broomstick cross-sections inside, covered with black stretch georgette. The puppeteer in front controlled the pulley that bent the neck from side to side with a rope that ran through the plywood rings into the head. The puppeteer at the back controlled the strings that moved the giraffe's ears up and down (Taylor, 2009, 121).

The final puppet discussed is the horse from *War Horse* (Taylor, 2009, 128). Köhler and his team started by watching videos about horses and their language. Köhler based the first designs on the giraffe from *Tall Horse*, but it soon became apparent that the actor's legs would not work as the horse's legs and the puppeteers could better manipulate the legs of the horse using their hands. Köhler's aim became to create realistic movement in the legs of the horse to distract the audience from the puppeteers' visible human legs.

The construction of the hyena from *Faustus in Africa!* was a useful learning experience for the creation of these horses (Taylor, 2009, 134). Here, movement had to be duplicated in all four hooves. The puppeteers inside the horse each wore an aluminium backpack that was attached to the spine of the horse. The spine was strong enough to support the weight of a human rider.

The neck and head were the last controls that had to be figured out. Köhler (Taylor, 2009, 135) was aiming to create a control that the puppeteer in the front of the horse could manipulate. The problem this created was that the head could only be moved when the puppeteer did not have to move the front legs at the same time. Therefore the head could not move while the horse was being moved around. A third manipulator was the only option, and a control rod was attached to the back of the horse's head. The head was then controlled from outside the puppet.

With all the data collected, the process of designing and constructing the fantasy animal marionettes could begin. The construction process of the springhare (Lago) mentioned above will be discussed later. The same analytical design process was applied to the other five animal marionettes.

Establishing the Character

Seegmiller has expressed the view that a character should be carefully and extensively developed. The essence of the character must therefore be established first, followed by the character's limitations, history, environment and personality. For this study six characters were designed for an adaptation of *The Musicians of Bremen*. The researcher adapted the story to include six characters instead of four and used different animals than in the original story.

The original story of *The Musicians of Bremen* tells of four animals (a donkey, a dog, a cat and a rooster) that have become too old to perform their duties. Their masters want to put them down, but the animals escape and head for Bremen to become musicians. On the way they chance upon a cabin with robbers feasting on a great meal. The animals perform their music and scare the robbers away. Later one robber returns, but is chased away again by what he believes to be witches and other monsters. The animals then peacefully live out the rest of their lives in the cabin.

In the version created for this study there are six animals: an African elephant, a dugong, an okapi, a spotted hyena, a springhare and an Egyptian flying fruit bat. The basic storyline stays the same, but the characters and their history are very different. The main reason for this is that none of the animals are domestic animals.

To create the characters, the researcher followed Seegmiller's method of first establishing the character's purpose, history, environment and personality. The limitations of the character need not be discussed in this section, since all the characters are marionettes. Their limitations are discussed under the section dealing with construction methods.

The purpose of the springhare character is to provide comic relief and also act as a misunderstood predictor of the future. The springhare was freed from a laboratory that performed illegal animal experiments. He is quite insane as a result of the experiments, but gets rare glimpses of the future. Unfortunately his mindless rambling makes it hard to distinguish fact from fiction. He goes to Bremen because he has an attachment to one of the other characters and because the voices in his head tell him to go.

The character's environment is based on that of the springhare: a burrower that lives underground. The character is rather ridiculous. He tends to act in a manner that is opposite to what is expected in a situation: for example, he will be foolish in a dangerous situation. He is clever and easily liked by others, but he is a danger to himself and cannot survive without help.

The idea of laboratory experiments gone awry provided the inspiration for this character, who is made to look as if he had been experimented on. Apart from the fact that he is insane, his body has to look as if it consists of parts of different animals patched together. The tail of the manticore and the ears of *Pokémon*'s Raichu are two aspects that have been incorporated into the design.

Skeleton and Muscle Drawings

A character's physical appearance is based on specific animals. Before one can start converting the specifications of the characters into a design, one has to be familiar with the anatomy of the animals the characters are based on. The first step is to look at the skeletons and their limitations, then the superficial muscles that are visible through the skin. The final step is to look at the characteristics that make each of these animals unique.

The discussion of the animals' skeletal and muscle anatomy is based on information gathered on animal anatomy and locomotion. The information that follows is an analysis of such research.

The springhare has very short foreleg bones and very long hind leg bones. The neck is short and the shoulder blades are flat and broad. The ribcage is small and is situated far from the pelvis. The pelvis is vertical in shape and the bones are elongated along the spine. The tail is the same length as the body and the head. The skull has two incisors in the upper and two incisors in the lower jaw.

The mass of its muscles are situated in the lower half of the springhare. The thigh consists of large, thick muscles running into the back and the tail. A lot of muscles are located around the knees, but the ankles are mainly tendons. The springhare has a few large muscles in the forearm for digging and feeding (it pulls itself forward with its front legs) and one large muscle running from the neck under the shoulder blade to support the head. The tail is also somewhat muscular, since the springhare balances with its tail when hopping. The face has many fine muscles.

Figure 1: Springhare skeleton and muscle anatomy

The distinguishing characteristics of the springhare are its large eyes, short pointy ears and large incisors. It has sharp claws on its front feet and big concave claws on its hind feet for digging. It has large hindquarters and contrasting small forequarters. It has a long tail with a bushy tip. The springhare is heavily muscled around the rear of its body. Its power lies in its muscular thighs, long tail and long legs. The forelegs are noticeably short, but have long nails. To capture the springhare in a drawing, the strength in the lower part of the body must be emphasized **(Figure 1)**.

Final Character Design

In order to design the characters, information on their personalities, environment, history, and so forth are combined with knowledge of the animals' skeletons, muscles and general physical characteristics.

The researcher focused on the skeletal anatomy of the springhare and exaggerated some of the bones. Of all the characters, the springhare is the gauntest, with the most prominent protruding bones. To add to the fantasy

element and in keeping with the springhare's background, he was given a mismatched, stitched-up appearance. He has stitches in certain areas and his ears and tail are not his real ears and tail. His tail is especially strange, as it is the tail of a scorpion. To emphasize his insane personality he was given very large disturbing eyes, while his body leans forward and his head hangs low. His mouth is always grinning and eager. This design encompasses his insane personality and life as a mistreated laboratory animal. Since the creature is no longer a springhare, he will from here on be referred to as the "Lago" **(Figure 2)**.

Figure 2: The Lago designs – final design in the center

Animal Locomotion Study

To establish the methods of locomotion that the fantasy creatures will use, one has to understand the methods of locomotion used by the corresponding real animals. The fantasy creatures are based on real animals and to make the fantasy creatures more realistic, the essence of correct and realistic movement must be understood.

The pattern of an animal's movement changes according to the speed at which it moves. Since the marionettes will all move at the same slow, walking pace, only one method of locomotion is used per marionette. The modes of locomotion of the six chosen orders of mammal are applied to the characters designed.

The springhare moves in small hops at a medium pace, and the Lago therefore also moves in small hops. The structure of the Lago is very similar to the bone structure of the springhare. The head, ears and tail are the only additions that do not resemble the springhare, but these do not influence its movement. The head, body, arms and tail remain static while the Lago moves. Its movement is concentrated in the hips, knees and ankles **(Figure 3)**.
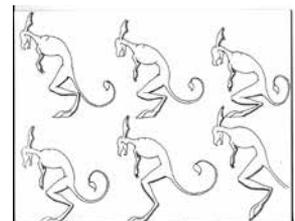

Figure 3: The Lago hopping

To indicate emotion, the head and forearms are moveable. To add personality to its movement, the Lago's head always hangs at a strange angle and the forearms sway with the movement of the hind legs – emphasizing his insanity.

Proposals on Marionette Construction Materials and Methods

The researcher intended to use balsa wood for the heads of the marionettes, and balsa wood and plywood for the bodies, to keep them light. She planned to use vertical and horizontal control variations constructed from dowels and strung with shoemaker string. These construction materials are recommended by Currell. After she experimented with materials and methods, the final marionettes turned out differently.

Most puppet makers recommend using dowels for the limbs, but since the marionettes are not covered, the limbs have to be attractive in appearance. Layers of plywood were found to be a cost-effective and attractive solution. The layers serve another purpose: they make the joints easier to construct. Curell proposes carving the tongue-and-groove joint into the limbs, but this method is very time-consuming. The researcher constructed the joints from three layers of plywood instead. This is the same joint as Currell's joint, except that it is made in three parts. The intention was to experiment with different joints for each marionette, as the movement of the creature dictates the kind of joints required.

Construction Drawings

To make the final construction drawings, one must combine the information on the fantasy creature's movement with the materials and construction techniques chosen for the construction of the marionettes. The head and the body of the Lago were carved from balsa wood. The limbs were made from layers of plywood. Because the Lago is a biped that moves by hopping, the researcher used a vertical control.

The researcher intended to use tongue-and-groove joints and pivot joints in the limbs of the Lago. She also intended to connect some of the joints in his legs to make them move simultaneously. The knees and ankles of the hind legs were connected to create the hopping action that is a unique feature of the Lago.

Construction of Marionettes

The construction of the marionettes started with the smallest of the puppets: the fruit bat, working up to the largest puppet: the elephant. This was to avoid

wasting materials, as major mistakes with the construction of the elephant would have resulted in wasting a lot of wood and other materials. The Lago marionette was inspired by laboratory test animals, especially rabbits, though otherwise the Lago is based on a springhare. The design of the Lago is aimed at creating a character who looks as if it has been assembled from other animals in the same way that the manticore from Greek mythology is a composite animal. The *Pokémon* Raichu has interesting ears, and they were appropriated for the Lago. Here follows a description of how the Lago marionette was built.

The body is a structure of plywood pieces consisting of a long spine with fourteen indents. The Lago's pelvis is also made out of a series of plates. Three layers of plywood on each side of the waist create ornamental bony protrusions.

The idea was to use tongue-and-groove joints for the ankle and foot joints as well, but the tongues were so small that they splintered when they were drilled into. Leather joints were used instead. The leather was stapled to the wood, but to keep the leather in place where the limbs articulate, some rope was wrapped around the leather of the joint in the thigh and the ankle. A long bolt was inserted through the knees to connect the knees to each other. A long bolt was similarly inserted through the ankles to connect the feet to each other. When the marionette is manipulated, the connections between the knees and ankles cause both legs to move simultaneously, imitating the hopping motion of the springhare, which served as the inspiration for the Lago's movement.

The arms were made out of three layers of plywood. The upper arm was attached to the shoulder with a piece of wire through a screw eye. The elbow joint was created by stringing rope through the bottom of the upper arm and the top of the lower arm. The wrist is a pivot joint made by means of a nut and a bolt through the bottom of the lower arm and the top of the paw. The arms of the Lago are very successful because the shoulders have little lateral movement, the elbows can move in almost any direction, and the wrists can bend up and down.

The tail consists of six pieces of dowel attached to each other with stapled leather strips to allow for movement between the parts. The leather strips stapled to the dowels serve to emphasize the patched appearance of the Lago. A scorpion sting made from seven layers of plywood was attached to the tip. This idea was inspired by the manticore.

Figure 4: The final version of the Lago

The control is a vertical control and the marionette is strung with gut. The head moves naturally from side to side and the arms have a lot of free movement because of the three joints in each arm. Since the legs are connected, the Lago moves in a series of hops that is caused by jerking the leg bar up sharply.

The face and ears of the Lago, its delicate bony arms, and the manner in which it moves already add so much character that it was not necessary to decorate the body. Raichu ears and the manticore tail were incorporated into the design. The stapled rope around the legs and the leather and staples in the tail create the laboratory-stitched effect that is essential to the Lago's design **(Figure 4)**.

Recommendations

During the study it became apparent how complex the Kingdom of *Animalia* is. Although each animal evolved specifically for its environment, there are numerous similarities within animal groups. Even though there is an immense range of animals, their skeletal anatomy is unbelievably similar.

A picture of a skeleton is already a construction drawing in itself. It has all the joints that are necessary for specific movement and it is obvious that the joints work together. To make a puppet from a skeleton is a relatively easy task, since all the experimental work has already been done. Therefore one only needs to recreate the skeleton in the desired medium.

Although it is good to have a general knowledge of puppet construction, there is room for experimentation. Puppets do not have to be painstakingly perfect. Rawness in their design shows them to be obviously handmade, as well as adding character and emphasizing the style of the designer and creator.

This study of animal movement, however, did not translate into marionette manipulation in the way the researcher had hoped. The main reason for this is the sheer complexity of animal movement. Apart from the muscles and tendons, there are so many joints involved when an animal moves that replicating these joints in a marionette would make it too complicated for manipulation by only one person.

Unfortunately, the layers of plywood and large pieces of metal used to construct these marionettes make them impractical for long performances. Some of them are simply too heavy for a person to support for an extended period. Initially, the researcher considered this a serious problem, but people who saw the marionettes during their construction phase reacted to them in such a way that the researcher started to see another possible direction for them: ornamental jointed dolls.

Current Research and Future Prospects

The researcher is currently exploring the creation of jointed dolls and marionettes as works of art in South Africa by using the methods discussed above to construct the puppets. However, the researcher now focuses more on skeletal anatomy as opposed to skeletal and muscular anatomy. In her master's degree dissertation, on which the researcher is currently working, she explores combining marionette movement with the physiological study of animal skeletons to explore animal locomotion **(Figure 5)**.

Figure 5: Chimera

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Desire / Screen / Look Relationship in the Making of a Doll: the case study of a personal experience

Two years ago I decided to make my own doll, a female figure, for the sake of making a doll. There was a tremendous amount of information on the internet about making dolls, an *otaku*[1] obsession seemed to have become a normal form of expression for independent artists from all around the world. However, in that expression, there seemed to dwell a certain degree of desire that sought to find its outlet in a fantastic corporeality. Although at first glance it may suggest an evident desire for an eroticized realistic body, in making dolls, the role of desire seems to be further intertwined with other aspects peculiar to representation. Indeed, what I will argue in this article is that the doll can never embody the projection of desire in its entirety, since that will be, at least partially, eclipsed by the given representational conventions. Moreover, the desire to make a doll cannot be a priori, since such desire itself is embedded in those conventions. At each attempt, doll-makers struggle to project their own desire onto the doll, to create something which has never been made before. However, what is manifested is the dependence of desire on conventions, rather than the incarnation of desire itself. Consequently, the doll becomes a manifestation of those conventions, and a subsequent delusion of the doll maker in its incapacity to stand for the embodiment of her/his desire. Although her/his viewing will try to locate her/his imago in the doll, the representational conventions of the doll will eclipse the visualization of the imago, since the imago has already been translated into representational codes.

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[1] A person with an obsessive interest for something, particularly anime or manga.

The doll as an object makes the conventions of representation visible, thus activating in the beholder a deviant act of looking. This can even be a productive way of looking as it reveals the presence of such conventions while causing a clash between the doll maker's desire and his expectations of cultural affirmation. Such an act recalls the resistant character of the look that yields a productive way of looking, which Kaja Silverman talks about in depth in *The Threshold of the Visible World* (1996). Silverman suggests that the look, unlike the gaze, is within desire and subscribed by lack.[2] Hence, although it is established by grasping the logic of representation invested in the photographic instrument, Silverman's elaboration on Jacques Lacan's field of vision may nonetheless offer clues in exploring this discrepancy in the relation of the look and desire in the making of dolls. I will argue for this position drawing on the trans-historical examples of Kokoschka's Alma doll, Pygmalion's Galatea, and finally, my own experience as a doll maker. While the two examples of Alma and my own doll show how desire projection cannot manifest itself in the doll, since the doll causes the look to deviate from convention, Galatea stands as a hypothetical example in which desire and doll are unified into a single entity.

To begin with, we need to locate the doll and the doll maker within Silverman's elaboration on Lacan's fields of vision[3] **(Figure 1)**. In the first of the three diagrams, I would be the dominant master of the doll, occupying the geometrical point. As the theorization of Leon Battista Alberti makes clear, from this authoritative point I could easily project my desire onto my object, since I am the master of the field, as is illustrated in Albrecht Dürer's woodcut **(Figure 2)**.
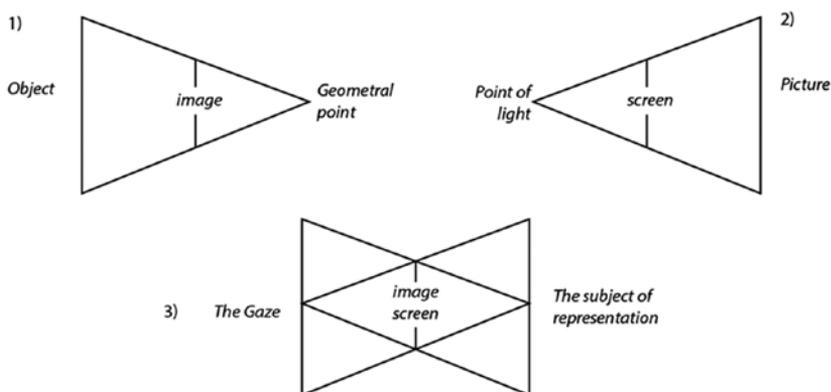

Figure 1: Author's resketching of Lacan's diagrams on the field of vision as it appears in Kaja Silverman's *Threshold of the Visible World*

[2] Kaja Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 155.

[3] Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World*, 132.

Figure 2: Albrecht Dürer (1525), *Draftsman Drawing a Reclining Woman*

However there is a third term that already intervenes here, the image. In contrast to Alberti's assumption, we do not see the world through a transparent window, but through the mediation of images. Hence I can only configure my doll so long as it is made apparent to me by mediating images; the image of a woman, the image of a girl, or rather the image of a doll itself. My configuration of a doll is never independent of these conventions of representational thinking.

In the second diagram, however, I descend from the pedestal of the geometrical point, so that I am now at the point where the picture/doll is, and I am a picture myself. We are both mere pictures, and both are being looked at, open to the piercing ray of light. I am not only making my doll, but also in this process, I am myself constructing a certain image of myself, expressed in the statement "I am a doll maker." But again, this image neither shows myself "as I want to be viewed," nor the doll "as I want it to be viewed," because I have lost authority, if I ever actually had it. Instead, we are both mediated by the screen, a repertory of images. I cannot make a doll that has never appeared on the screen before, neither can I free myself from the impeding gazes of others when I myself, a 31 year-old male, indulge in this *otaku* obsession of making a doll.

Finally, the third diagram superimposes the first two on each other. As I am looking at my doll, I can only see it within my relation to it. In other words, the doll is only visible in so far as I myself am visible through the mediating image/screen. The image/screen[4] appears as a mediating factor that conditions our relation to each other. None of us, neither the doll as object nor the maker as subject, are free from this imposing structure of the gaze. In some sense we seem to construct each other. In this sense, neither the doll nor the doll maker are ever complete but they always appear as an appropriation within the screen. Thus I can never have a desire that is completely outside this structure and the doll cannot be created without the trajectories of the screen. Neither my desire nor the doll can be thought of without the mediation of the screen. I cannot make the doll according to my own desire without the screen; furthermore, I cannot even imagine it. Even if I had a prior imago of the doll before I began to consider of it in terms of images, that imago still has to be cast into this mold of the screen.

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[4] For the sake of convenience the image/screen will be simply designated as the screen as Silverman suggests in *The Threshold of the Visible World*, 133

Hence, the doll becomes the bearer of the marks of the screen. The more I try to shape the doll according to my desire, which I suppose to be free from the mediation of the screen, the more my intervention gets drawn into the screen. In return, my looks in search for the imago of the doll will only find traces of it, which nonetheless cause them to deviate from representational thinking. For with each look, I will repeatedly try to recognize the doll according my own imago, but every look at it will suggest something different, due to the screen's interruption.

In explaining this errant nature of the look, Silverman stresses one of the sequences of Harun Farucki's1988 film, *Bilder der Welt und Inschrift des Krieges* (Images of the World and the Inscription of War),[5] where we see art students sketching a female nude. While all are looking at the same model, Silverman highlights that there is no consistency between the drawings, and that each student "sees" something different from the same point of light.[6]

Her argument comes to light in its comparison with the mortifying camera/ gaze which captures a moment or object without its analogous continuity, and immortalizing it forever in a particular form. Against the camera/gaze she thus highlights the corporeal locus of the eye, and its resistance to the absolute tyranny of the material practices that predetermine what and how it should see.[7]

She argues that this pertains to the association of the look with memory and the look's ever-changing relation to a given object (Silverman, 1996, 157). As Freud also suggests in *The Interpretation of Dreams,* the perceptions that are retained by our looks leave memory traces, rather than the registration of the "real".[8] Hence, before they even reach our conscious level, they travel through all places in the psyche, from fantasies to censorship. This further complicates the act of looking at the doll that one is making. How can the doll maker locate his/her desire on the doll when such desire is already originating from the screen? Furthermore, the perception of the doll is never without those traces of memory, which in turn, try to deviate her/his looks from the trajectories of the screen. How then do desire, screen and look locate themselves in the case of the Alma doll, Galatea, and my own creation? And to what degree can desire manifest itself in a doll?

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[5] in Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World*, 136.

[6] Ibid, 156.

[7] Ibid, 155.

[8] Ibid, 158.

In 1918 Kokoschka commissioned Hermine Moos, a Munich-based manufacturer, to create a life-sized doll resembling his lost love, Alma Mahler. His relation with Alma was a turbulent one, in which Kokoschka's extreme possessiveness resulted in Alma's distancing herself from the artist. However, for Kokoschka, this was not the end of it; reclaiming Alma's corporeality in a life size doll was in no way a renunciation of his desire towards Alma, but a further expansion of it. His unrequited love was to find expression in the new doll, as he expressed in one of his letters to Moos;

> I am very curious to see how the stuffing works. On my drawing I have broadly indicated the flat areas, the incipient hollows and wrinkles that are important to me, will the skin – I am really extremely impatient to find out what that will be like and how its texture will vary according to the nature of the part of the body it belongs to – make the whole thing richer, tenderer, more human?... If you are able to carry out this task as I would wish, to deceive me with such magic that when I see it and touch it imagine that I have the woman of my dreams in front of me, then dear Fräulein Moos, I will be eternally indebted to your skills of invention and your womanly sensitivity as you may already have deduced from the discussion we had.[9]

Figure 3: Hendrick Goltzius (1593), *Pygmalion and Galatea*

Given Kokoschka's explicit desire to possess a lifelike copy of Alma, the resulting doll was a great disappointment. Far from fulfilling his erotic and sexual desires, the doll became an embodiment of abjection rather than being an object of desire. In the aftermath of a Dionysian party held in his house, Kokoschka finally destroyed it. What did Kokoschka expect from the doll and to what extent did he imagine to find in the doll a substitute for his desire towards Alma (as his detailed drawings suggest)?

As is well known, Pygmalion was the sculptor said to have fallen in love with his statue of a woman, Galatea **(Figure 3)**. Ovid, the ancient historian, tells us that, despite Pygmalion's disillusionment with women after witnessing the life of prostitutes, he fell in love with his own creation, and soon Venus blew life into Galatea, and the cold marble turned into flesh.

I knew little about the two stories when I began to make my own doll. Unlike Kokoschka and Pygmalion, my desire was merely to make a doll. I began by making a blueprint of her frontal and profile appearances according to the eight-head canon model **(Figure 4)**. Since she had to be hollow inside, I carved her negative space out of foamboard, which then I covered with clay. Gradually, the doll came to life. But what came to appear in front of me was not what I had desired. Therefore I began to question my role as the maker of the doll. Was I creating something I had configured, in other words, was I occupying the position of a master? Or, was I rather, while I thought I was freely expressing my own design, "creating" something that was imposed upon me, unbeknownst to myself?

To return to the case of Kokoschka, the Alma doll brought about feelings of abjection because of the unattainability of a believable representation of Alma Mahler on the screen. Incapable of situating her creation on the screen and grasping a semblance of Alma Mahler with the given techniques and materials, the work of puppet maker Moos left Kokoschka with feelings of dismay. Unable to transcend the screen, the Alma doll becomes marked by its failure to adequately portray Alma's screen/image. Thus the image of the doll, rather than sustaining Kokoschka's desire towards Alma, actually diminishes it. The fact that the doll did not reflect Alma's screen/image had the effect of further displacing in him the memory traces pertaining to Alma.

Figure 4: My blueprint for the doll according to the eight head canon model

Each look at the doll invokes in him a feeling of irritation and interruption, rather than the swaying fluidity of gazing. Thus, the Alma doll, like an arrow, pierces Kokoschka. Hence, the relation culminates in a festive annihilation of the doll in an exhibitive manner, in the presence of others again salvaging Kokoschka's image on the screen from epithets of heresy.

In my case, like Pygmalion, my conception had no physical counterpart, apart from the fact that the concept of doll itself must flow through a certain screen. I cannot imagine a doll without the screen/image. However, unlike Pygmalion or Kokoschka, I had no idealizations on my mind, but it seems I rather had idealized the overall process of making a doll. I have always been better at drawing than in sculpting, so it offered me a challenge. I had earlier learned from drawing guides **(Figure 4)** how to draw a female body according to the eight-head canon model.

Figure 5: My own doll, pictured here looking at her own eye balls.

My blue print model **(Figure 4)** seemed like a neat figure of a doll that I had in my childhood memories, an imago. However, things changed when I started modeling with clay. My eyes were accustomed to drawing, but not to giving form. My eyes could give the right commands according to the screen while I was drawing, but not when I was modeling. My technical deficiency, my inability to shape the clay according to the trajectories of the screen, turned into some sort of visual equivalent to a slip of tongue, one that gives away the unwanted and the unintentional. Hence the doll became a hybrid of traces in my memory and those of the screen, embodying both stigmas at the same time. The resulting doll transformed into a grotesque female figure with disproportionate limbs, instead of the desired delicate aesthetics of a doll **(Figure 5)** the sight of which would have some kind of effect on everyone.

Both Moos and I were unable to locate the doll on the screen, and what resulted were figures evoking a different way of looking. As Silverman argues for the productive look, both dolls might be seen to force us "to recognize our involuntary acts of incorporation and repudiation and our implicit affirmation of the dominant elements of the screen and then, to see again, differently".[10]

Furthermore, rather than invoking a different, more personal locus of our memory than those pertaining to the concept of doll, the dolls in question interrupt the flow of our memories and cultural expectations, and instead, offer us a rupture which reveals the way our perception works, hand in hand with memory traces and the dominant codes of the screen.

However, to return to the case of Pygmalion, Galatea becomes a pure manifestation of his desire of an ideal female beauty because she is totally outside the dominant fiction of the screen. Unlike Alma and my doll, Galatea never bears the scars of the screen, since she transcends the screen. Consequently, Pygmalion falls in love with Galatea because of the very fact that she has no counterpart on the screen; had she done so, she would remind him of the women whom he regards with abjection. No matter how unfathomable it is to conceive of something that has no image on the screen. Thus a total correspondence of desire with the doll occurs when the screen is omitted from the equation. However that remains forever hypothetical, since desire itself stems from the mediation of the screen, not to mention that the construction of a statue is tantamount to casting desire onto the screen.

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[10] Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World*, 184.

That said, moreover, the goddess turning the stone into a woman repositions Pygmalion with respect to the screen, and shields him from the presence of others that would lead to subsequent accusations of admiring a statue, of being an obsessive heretic.

Silverman notes that "to associate the look with memories or visual imprints is to attest once again to its ever-changing relation to a given object".[11] Thus the look's struggle to grasp a memory in the doll deceives the beholder/artist and interrupts his/her gaze. Only when there is no counterpart on the screen to follow, and no memories thereof, does the doll become a pure manifestation of desire, and come to life like Galatea. But it does so only hypothetically, since there can be no conception of anything in vacuum, without memory and the screen's mediation.Therefore, the doll, like the look, breaks the spell of the gaze and makes the screen's imperatives manifest in its incapacity to embody them, invoking the resistant but productive way of the look.

[11] Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World*, 157.

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"It's a set! It's a show! Everybody's watching you!"[1] Human Puppets and Real-Life Marionette Stages in Film

Whether it is Frankenstein's monster or brainless zombies, ancient golems or futuristic cyborgs: For hundreds, if not thousands, of years, the idea of controlling and manipulating bodies, of the dichotomy of power and dependency, has featured as a core motif in many myths and cultures. We can assume that the art of puppetry developed out of a similar allure, as "[w]henever someone endows an inanimate object with life force and casts it in a scenario, a puppet is born" (Blumenthal, 2005, 11).

Rooted, thus, in ancient tradition, this trope of the animated being, living through the hands of its manipulator, has now arrived in a new, postmodern media environment. In this environment, we find the fear and equally the fascination of the puppet feeding on a paranoia of being watched, manipulated, and played. The image representing this fear has moved away from that of the mere automaton – mindless and artificial – towards a prospect unquestionably more eerie: the controlled human being. In postmodern popular culture, writes Brian McHale, "the zombie is rarely a corpse, more often a living human being 'possessed' by some alien self, or under the irresistible control of some other human being" (257). In recent decades, several films have taken the metaphor to the extreme. They confront us with human puppets, living, breathing marionettes, manipulated

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[1] Weir, *The Truman Show*, 1998.

through cameras and played on real-life stages. This represents a reversal of the famous *Pinocchio* story, where the poised wooden doll wants to become a real boy; instead, it is now real people turning into puppets.

This paper focuses on three examples of the human marionette in contemporary US film: *The Truman Show*,[2] *Being John Malkovich*, and *Stranger than Fiction*. The analysis of these films will illustrate the phenomenon, paying special attention to four main aspects, namely the protagonists, the architecture of the puppet stage, the merging of diegetic layers, and the strings. Both the physical geography of human puppeteering as well as the modes of manipulation show that when depicted in film, marionette control is not merely manual: As the film camera becomes a kind of mechanical string, the very concept of manipulation transcends onto a meta-level, permeating the medium itself.

Puppets and Puppeteers

As pointed out in one of my earlier works on the topic, the term "human puppeteering," like the idea of human marionettes, is inherently oxymoronic, as it amalgamates two very polar concepts: the free-willed, independent human, firmly grounded in the real world, and the ensnared puppet, lifeless and rigorously manipulated by alien hands.[3] In a filmic universe, however, these seemingly incompatible qualities can mix and the paradox of human puppets is possible: We encounter people, human beings through and through, who are orchestrated by other people. This total kind of dependency is far more than just a strong form of control that, for instance, powerful people or influential rulers might impose on their subordinates. With human puppeteering, the person's former independence and freedom have been lost entirely, and the once self-determined humans have become slaves to their masters who use them to create a narrative, tell a story, and rewrite their lives.

One film that presents us with a very interesting kind of human puppeteering is Peter Weir's *The Truman Show*. The movie takes the notion of

[2] My 2013 article on power struggles and control argues that *The Truman Show* is a somewhat weaker case of human puppeteering, as it is not as impossibly paradoxical as the examples presented in *Stranger than Fiction* or *Being John Malkovich*. Nevertheless, this present essay includes the film as an important case study as it does feature a unique depiction of a real-life puppet stage, as well as a theoretically possible – albeit very dystopian – scenario of human marionettes (see Hofer, "A Tug of War with Silky Strings: Struggles for Power between Human Puppets and their Puppeteers").

[3] See Hofer: *"… controlled by the world's greatest puppeteer": Human Marionettes on the Borders of Fiction in Film, Literature, and Live Performance*, 1.

the imprisoned, paranoid protagonist to the extreme, as we encounter the main character enslaved and controlled by cameras[4], trapped in a televisual "Orwellian nightmare" (Boggs, 2001, 369). The film depicts a television production of the same name – The Truman Show[5] – starring Truman "True Man" Burbank, played by Jim Carrey. He is the involuntary protagonist, utterly unaware that he is living a giant lie: All his life, Truman has unknowingly been the main character of said television show, broadcast live and 24/7 across the world. His fellow citizens, his friends and his wife, are all actors – and he is spending his days encased inside a giant studio complex, a large dome, unaware that he is, essentially, a prisoner. This elaborate setup follows the textbook definition of perfect reality television with "non-professional actors [i.e. Truman himself], [his] unscripted dialogue, [around-the-clock] surveillance footage, [and] seeing events unfold as they are happening in front of the camera" (Hill, 2005, 41). Situated on top of the enormous studio construction that is Truman's habitat, and hidden inside a fake moon, is the control room of the creator, designer and architect Christof, played by Ed Harris, who orchestrates everything. Christof has been writing the plot of Truman's life, he disposes of problematic characters unfazed, introduces new love interests, and even controls the weather. Anything for a gripping plot!

If we elect to choose *The Truman Show*'s setup as the prototype for a real-life human puppet stage, another film presents us with a prime example of a living marionette, even more so than Truman: In *Being John Malkovich*, we meet unemployed puppeteer Craig Schwartz, portrayed by John Cusack, who, due to financial worries, is forced to take on a new job as a filing clerk in the curious New York City company LesterCorp. One day, Craig discovers a peculiar hidden door in his office and, upon entering it, is magically transported into actor John Malkovich's body (played by the very one himself), slipping into the human puppet like into a ventriloquist's dummy. Initially, the visits are brief and without much consequence, as Malkovich's body ejects Craig after about fifteen minutes. During his intrusions, Craig views the world through the actor's eyes – seemingly part of the action, yet somewhat removed, like a moviegoer watching a scene shot from a first-person point of view. Soon, however, the skilled artist learns to master his new puppet, making the transition from wooden marionettes to living people. He quickly learns

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[4] This paper will only address the physical, diegetic cameras that feature in the films as tools of control and manipulation, and not discuss the extradiegetic technology utilized to create the movies themselves.

[5] Following the example of a chapter in Marie-Laure Ryan's book *Avatars of Story*, this present essay uses italic type when referring to the 1998 movie *The Truman Show* by Peter Weir and non-italicized type when referring to the fictional TV show by the same name within this film.

to remain inside the host body, playing John Malkovich like an oversized hand puppet, changing and rewriting his entire career in the process.

Seven years after *Being John Malkovich*, this frightening idea of total control inspired a third film, *Stranger than Fiction*: Here, the main character Harold Crick, played by Will Ferrell, one day begins hearing a female voice describing his every move. Even more terrifyingly, he witnesses the narrator foreshadowing his "imminent death." Harold, at first understandably paranoid, seeks the advice of a therapist, only to discover that the voice belongs to author Karen Eiffel. She is working on a new book and Harold Crick is her protagonist – everything she types directly manifests in his life.

All of these manipulative characters, Karen Eiffel, Craig Schwartz, and Christof, display a number of striking similarities: To start with, the puppeteers are narrators by profession and thus quite skilled at creating and orchestrating fictional lives; they work as novelists[6] or directors, and in Craig's case, indeed as literal puppeteers. Once conducting their human marionettes, they assume the roles of an omnipotent parent to their puppets, bringing them into the world, so to speak,[7] and consequently remaining tied to them on more than just an emotional or metaphorical level. These relationships exceed the point of normal caring behavior, and are rooted in sheer dependency on both sides: The puppets feel used and abused, but the puppeteers also suffer their fair share of problems, as they are constantly struggling with severe crises, such as writer's block or storylines full of plot holes and creative failures.

Even though the human marionettes are arguably less burdened by any kind of authorial responsibilities, they are, in turn, more restricted by their social roles and limitations: Truman Burbank, for instance, works in a monotonous job as an insurance agent. Harold Crick is a reclusive, highly awkward IRS official without any social life worth mentioning. In *Being John Malkovich*, the main character's daily routine is surprisingly dull as well, despite him being a famous actor and a noted personality in the public eye. So is Truman, albeit unknowingly. Truman Burbank, however, does not owe his fame to his hard work as an actor, as the show's producers never tire of emphasizing. In fact, he is the only non-actor in the entire show. "Nothing you see on this show is fake," agrees Truman's friend Marlon: "It's merely controlled." – "Was nothing real?" asks Truman in the end – "You were real," answers Christof with pride.

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[6] Other examples of "puppeteering writers" include the fictional author Calvin Weir-Fields (in the film *Ruby Sparks*), or writer Elisabeth Costello (in J. M. Coetzee's novel *Slow Man*), the latter of which my 2013 essay "A Tug of War with Silky Strings" discusses.

[7] Also see Hildenbrock.

While it is this very quality of unpredictability that made the main character "so good to watch," it is also the very catalyst that ultimately enables Truman to take his fate into his own hands and break free of his camera-controlled environment. John Malkovich does not manage to do so and consequently proves modernist theater practitioner Edward Gordon Craig right: In 1907, Craig called for real-life über-marionettes[8] to replace humans as actors, since those were far too susceptible to physical weaknesses (144). In *Being John Malkovich*, Edward Gordon Craig's vision has become a reality. Malkovich, the über-marionette, has replaced Malkovich, the actor and individual; the reins have been passed, and Craig Schwartz is now pulling the strings. It is therefore no coincidence that the film's puppeteer shares his name with the real-life English theater visionary Craig.

Stages and Curtains

In describing the phenomenon of human puppeteering, it is essential to define its spatial margins and mise-en-scène. "Reduced to its simplest form," writes puppeteer Mabel Beaton, "a puppet stage consists of exactly three units: a stage front or proscenium that extends high enough to conceal the head and hands of the puppeteer, a stage floor upon which your marionettes can move freely, and a firm, raised platform on which the puppeteer stands while manipulating the puppet" (111). A puppet stage's architecture is, thus, simple, sectioned, and effective. For the spectators, as puppeteer Kenneth Gross points out, the rigid perfection of this idealized puppet stage "echoes the hunger of adults for a world they have lost, … shaping a theater that possesses the poverty and lightness of dreams, a world in which being manipulated is itself a condition of paradoxical freedom, a yielding of the self to other, more hidden or alien powers" (200).

This, of course, very much applies to Truman's artificial hometown Seahaven: It is the perfect reincarnation of a 1950s suburbia – "a nice place to live," as the film puts it, or, as Douglas Cunningham argues, a dystopian theme park that is built for and around one person only (111). According to the show's producers, Truman lives in "the largest studio ever constructed"[9] and "one

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[8] For a deeper discussion of the concept of the actor as an über-marionette, see Craig ("The Actor and the Über-Marionette" and Hofer ("A Tug of War with Silky Strings").

[9] The 2008 film *Synecdoche, New York* features an equally grand stage setup as theater director Caden Cotard, portrayed by Philip Seymour Hoffman, tries to recreate his life's story in a vast warehouse. His fake city-within-the-city houses not only hundreds of actors doubling as copies of the real-life people, but includes whole buildings with intricately furnished apartments.

of only two man-made structures visible from space," situated right in the heart of California. It is impressive, it is perfect, and it is fake. "It's a set! It's a show! Everybody's watching you," exclaims Lauren/Sylvia, Truman's first love, portrayed by Natascha McElhone. She desperately tries to open his eyes to the charade – initially, however, in vain.

Dusty Lavoie compares Truman's situation to Foucault's panopticon with a twist (63), as he is not aware of his supervision, though his suspicion grows during the course of the film. Truman's world very much mirrors the layout of a classical puppet stage, with himself as the puppet inhabiting the stage floor, while Christof, master puppeteer and manipulator, resides in his lunar control room, raised above the scenery, hidden from view, and pulling all the strings.

With all its cameras and technical innovations firmly integrated into Seahaven's architecture, Truman's world is not only a modern take on a classical puppet stage, but essentially also a salute to another old trade: the art of mechanical theater, a form of theater that originated in Florence in the 17th century. This kind of perfectly manipulated stage, writes Florian Nelle, not only mirrors nature, but rather seeks to surpass it, aiming at complete perfection both in its architecture as well as in its inhabitants. It is a space that is transcendental, as are its constructors (Nelle, 2005, 12-13 and 15): Christof and Truman are part of a very similar blasphemic, almost biblical cosmology, their earth resting as a flat disc under an artificial canvas studded with stars, and with god hovering above all. With *Christ*of, of course, *nomen est omen*…

The idyll, however, is frail. As the set begins to crumble, the fake nature of Truman's surroundings becomes apparent: A floodlight crashes down next to Truman – "Sirius (9 Canis Majoris)," one of the components simulating the constellation on the artificial night sky. Other suspicious accounts quickly follow: a malfunctioning rain cloud, a radio suddenly broadcasting the stage directions to the extras, or an elevator backdrop revealing a glimpse behind the scenes, complete with a director's chair and a buffet for the cast.

At this point, Truman may not yet fully understand the theatrical nature of his environment, but he does take action and manages to elude the camera's ever-watchful gaze. As the whole town is out to find him, the fake moon becomes a giant searchlight, and Christof orders to "cue the sun," illuminating the artificial world in the middle of the night. He finally manages to spot Truman, who is sailing into assumed freedom in a small boat. Christof conjures up torrential rains and thunderstorms in order to stop him, ready to even sacrifice his puppet's life… He fails. The puppet is too determined to get away.

As the boat hits the painted backdrop of the fake sky, Truman is gobsmacked: He pounds the concrete surface with his bare fists, finally realizing his horrible position, wanting to break the barrier that keeps him from the real world. After walking across the shallow water for a while – almost Jesus-like and with a new sense of empowerment – he finally finds a set of stairs leading to the faint outline of a door, camouflaged in the painted horizon. "Exit," the inscription reads promisingly. "There's no more truth out there than there is in the world I created for you," Christof cries to Truman over the loudspeakers. "In my world you have nothing to fear." Truman, however, has seen enough of his real-life marionette stage. Like the well-behaved puppet-performer that he had been, he takes a final bow, then turns and exits through the stage door.

While *The Truman Show* confronts the viewers with one large artificial environment full of key-elements of puppetry, *Being John Malkovich* features a number of very literal marionette stages. This, of course, is no surprise, considering that Craig Schwartz is a puppeteer by trade. The immediate surroundings of the protagonists, however, do not display the puppet-stage-like quality and composition of *The Truman Show*. Instead, they display another interesting spatial oddity, namely the merging of diegetic worlds.

Standard narration in any medium always differentiates between "the world where narration takes place and the world which is narrated" (Genette, 1972, 245). In other words, there is a clear distinction between the world of the creator of a narrative and the fictional realm of its characters (as created by said author). A usually impenetrable fourth wall separates these ontologically different diegetic universes, i.e., the real (extradiegetic) from the fictional (diegetic), and the fictional from further embedded (hypodiegetic[10]) narratives. Common physical manifestations of this ontological barrier are the orchestra pit or curtains in a theater, the screen of a television set, or the cardboard cover of a book.

In *The Truman Show*, this border is physically present in the dome that encases Truman's world. In the case of *Being John Malkovich* and *Stranger than Fiction*, however, there is no clear spatial separation to begin with. Master and puppet seem to have, in a hypostatic[11] manner, always co-existed on the same physical level, even though they experience a clearly diegetic dependency:

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[10] Mieke Bal first introduced this term, whereas Genette originally refers to this constellation as "metadiegetic."

[11] Their co-existence seems to, again, be inspired by a Christian concept, namely that of the hypostatic union, i.e., Jesus Christ simultaneously being both godly and human.

Their surroundings never change spatially; narratologically, however, as human marionettes controlled by fellow humans, both John Malkovich's and Harold Crick's life narratives have been fictionalized, and are thus situated on a different level of the diegesis. This blending of narrative levels blurs the boundaries in an "intentional paradoxical transgression" of the fourth wall (Wolf, 2005, 91), resulting in a striking metaleptic effect.[12]

Doors and Mirrors

In all three films, a number of doors and portals feature as strong spatial motifs that underline these narrative peculiarities, as well as highlighting the passages between the diegetic worlds. As Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant point out, doors often symbolize the transcendence of states and realms, offering both a barrier and the challenge to overcome it (422, qtd. in Steinke, 2007, 141). With human puppeteering, this threshold often manifests as a physical gateway: "If I go through that door," explains a professor of literature, played by Dustin Hoffman, in *Stranger than Fiction*, "the plot continues – the story of me through the door. If I stay here, the plot can't move forward, the story ends." Doors are the pathways into and out of the narration. In *The Truman Show*, they connect the artificial puppet realm, the stage, to the real world. In *Being John Malkovich*, the passage is, perhaps, even more striking, when puppeteer Craig enters his puppet's body through the hidden entrance: "There's a tiny door in my office," Craig tells his co-worker: "It's a portal. And it takes you inside John Malkovich. You see the world through John Malkovich's eyes … Do you see what a metaphysical can of worms this portal is?"

Craig does have a point here. Referring back to Genette's terminology, the transgression is not merely metaphysical but downright metaleptic: As already pointed out, Malkovich's physical environment does not change after the invasion. Puppeteer Craig, however, seems to be entirely removed from the physical plane while he is nesting inside his host's body. As one character puts it, the portal possesses an almost "vaginal" quality, facilitating, it seems, a sort of union between the invader and Malkovich. This act of physical invasion is not a classic marionette-maneuver but rather imitates the way a ventriloquist slips into a dummy – a concept which Kenneth Gross calls the "separate whole" (51). He perceives the hand puppet as the most immediate and direct manual tool available to the puppeteer, as her or his gestures seem

to fuse physically with the puppet's behavior (51): the puppeteer merges with the puppet.

Like doors, reflective surfaces can also transport us onto hypodiegetic[13] planes, i.e., embedded narrations. As Edward Branigan notes, mirrors in fiction are often used to create a kind of distant commentary on a situation. What is more, they provide "a frame within a frame which signals a new and distinct level of narration. The inner frame displays a series of spaces generated by, subordinate to, a character. It is as if a parenthesis were suddenly opened within the text" (*Point of View in the Cinema*, 129). This kind of parenthesis, however, is very narrow and restrictive. Heinrich von Kleist famously features a mirror in his 1810 narrative essay "Über das Marionettentheater" ("On the Marionette Theater"). His protagonist experiences the reflection as a kind of unfathomable brutality that destroys his unselfconsciousness and binds him (76) – like a puppet.

In the opening scene of *Being John Malkovich*, a marionette version of Craig himself is seen first staring into, then smashing, a mirror. This is ultimately a symbolic act of suicide, writes Aglaja Hildenbrock, triggered by a violent fear of confronting his double, and foreshadowing his unravelling self (188). It is the sheer anguish of losing control. Truman Burbank, too, is shown as staring into a mirror at the very beginning of the movie, as is Harold Crick in *Stranger than Fiction*. In the Lacanian sense, this very moment of initial self-recognition is the essential step in the development of the Ego. However, perceiving one's reflection also inevitably results in the realization of the controlling Other, thus contradicting this false sense of self-determination and independent power (Lacan, 1997, 1-7).

Entering, at one point, his own subconscious, John Malkovich is confronted with his own memories, people's faces now all replaced by his own, like in a twisted mirror cabinet. As already discussed, the film repeats this motif of reflection, recognition, and alienation throughout the storyline. Mirrors, like doors, become the physical objects that offer glimpses into alternative environments, connecting the primary story worlds with their superimposed hypodiegetic levels. In and through them, the characters realize their fictional status as human marionettes, the terror of their masters, and get a sense of their surroundings being nothing more than a real-world puppet stage.

[13] See Bal, "Notes on Narrative Embroidering."

In the medium of film, mirrors as leitmotifs not only underline the dichotomy of the Self and the Other, as well as the presence of diegetic layers and fictional realms, but also, quite literally, present us with silver screens. As Kleist's example shows, protagonists who watch their own reflection find their image captured in a frame – not unlike the way a camera captures the narrative for us viewers. It thus becomes obvious why cinema is such a perfect medium for puppetry and its many different metaphors of control and manipulation, and how cameras can turn into electronic strings in the process.

Cameras and Wires

"Always the eyes watching you," writes George Orwell in his novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. "Asleep or awake, working or eating, indoors or out of doors, in the bath or in bed – no escape. Nothing was your own except the few cubic centimetres inside your skull" (37).[14] What the author describes here, of course, is a dystopian world where cameras record one's every move, where Big Brother, the ultimate puppeteer, is watching. It is the terrifying vision that, as already discussed, *The Truman Show* builds on. The camera has now fully evolved from being merely a tool of observation and conservation.[15] It acts as a kind of wire or string, tying the puppeteer (i.e., the diegetic director) to the protagonist, thus enabling a unique kind of human puppeteering. It is the communicative tool and connection of the postmodern age.

While in *Stranger than Fiction* the vehicle is a typewriter, and in *Being John Malkovich* it is a portal, in *The Truman Show*, it is the camera that pulls the main character into all the key scenes of his fictional existence. They are the strings, the wires, that not only link Truman's world to the plot and to Christof, but also to the diegetic television audience. Branigan refers to this, after Jakobson, as the *phatic* aspect of a camera, underlining its function of connecting the different narrative levels (Branigan, 2006, 82). In other words, without the camera, there is no story[16] and no on-screen life.[17]

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[14] Following the same line of argumentation, Truman Burbank, at the end of the film, angrily states: "You never had a camera in my head!" (*The Truman Show*).

[15] We encounter a very striking example of an invasive, controlling camera in the film *Camera Shy* (2012): An intrusive cameraman who shadows his every move is following protagonist Larry Coyle (portrayed by Nicolas Wright). After several periods of mental breakdowns and self-doubt, very similar to that of Harold Crick in *Stranger than Fiction*, Larry concludes that he and everyone else are characters in a movie, and that he is the only one who can see the peculiar extradiegetic figure recording the story.

[16] This, of course, does not apply to digitally created movies or experimental projects where no cameras are involved in the image-making process.

[17] See Mulvey.

The camera weaves the individual images and scenes into a narrative plot. Charles Garoian and Yvonne Gaudelius mention several examples of this kind of control through the machine – the most extreme being a cyborg-like fusion between the apparatus and the human (340).

Indeed, the human puppets seem to enter a symbiosis with their cameras, while the director's task is to orchestrate it all. Filmmaker Billy Wilder, referring to his colleague Fritz Lang's style of filming, put it most poignantly when he likened a film director's job to that of essentially "a guy pulling strings" (Stevens, 2007, 319). Actors become mere marionettes,[18] performing their roles for the audience, and lending a body to the director's superior vision. The ca-mera is the tool for this kind of enslavement, and everything must submit to its rule: More often than not, writes Samuel Selden, an actor's movements are restrained "by chalk marks and focal distances, and his voice is directed by the microphones which are controlled by the hands of other men. His words and his actions can be transmitted only if he plays with care within the limits of this cage" (144).[19]

The Truman Show is an excellent example of this cinematic surveillance and camera-control. Edward Branigan introduces the term of the "stalking camera" (Branigan, 2006, 59), evoking ideas of obsession and a kind of secret intrusion of personal space. Indeed, Truman's environment is laced with an abundance of such hidden cameras, which, in order to maintain the perfect illusion of filmic reality, must remain discreet like a puppeteer's strings. "[A] spectator," explains Branigan, "must never become aware of the actual techniques employed by an artwork, for that reveals not reality and truth but rather the contrivance and biases of an individual – the artist" (Branigan, 2006, 79). While keeping this truth from the protagonist of The Truman Show, however, its creator proudly boasts about the show's complicated logistics to the television audience: Truman's hometown Seahaven features a total of 5,000 cameras, having started with just one in his mother's womb. "A sort of umbilical cord links the body of the photographed thing to my gaze," writes Roland Barthes (80-81). Rays of light establish an almost physical connection between the photographer and her or his object. The cameras are the lifelines, the tendons, between Christof, Truman, and the audience.

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[18] See Craig's concept of the über-marionette.

[19] More recent developments in film techniques and styles, not least due to technical advancements and the greater mobility of smaller cameras, have brought about a loosening of this strict kind of camera-control. Danish director Lars von Trier encapsulated this change in his *Dogme95* manifesto, which, while limiting the director in her or his choices, grants the actors more freedom. For a deeper discussion of this topic, see my 2013 article "Framing the March of Time: Lars von Trier's *Dimension.*"

"As he grew, so did the technology," marvels Christof. Hundreds of artificial eyes record "an entire human life … on an intricate network of hidden cameras and broadcast live and unedited, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, to an audience around the globe." The lenses are hidden in his wife's necklace, Truman's ring, mirrors, his car radio, people's clothes, or the neighbor's trashcan. To top it off, the producers have already made plans for "television's first on-air conception."

As the chief narrator, Christof is in charge of all of these cameras. He is the literal man in the moon, ever watchful from his apartment in the *Omni-Cam Ecosphere*, hovering above Truman's world. Christof is, as one character puts it, the "big guy" who has "quite a paintbrush," and his directorial decisions are like "master stroke[s]." Also Edward Branigan discusses this paintbrush metaphor for the camera (Branigan, 2006, 256).

The movie camera, a tool used to achieve a specific desired effect, thus relates to the concept of a puppeteer's paddle that holds the strings.[20] Christof is orchestrating the cameras like a master puppeteer would pull his dozens of wires; this becomes especially evident in the scene where he reunites Truman with his father: "Standby crane cam… crane cam! … button cam three! … and wide curb cam eight," Christof shouts at his assistants, moving his hands like a conductor. "Move in for a close-up?" asks his assistant as the son hugs his long-lost parent. "No no no," answers the director. "Fade up music… and NOW go in close!" – The sobbing face of Truman fills the television screens, the audience is moved, and the grand finale of that day's episode has been achieved. Everybody applaud the puppet master!

Christof's power is further emphasized by a number of bird's-eye shots, depicting Truman from high angles, similar to the point of view of a puppeteer leaning over the stage.[21] He has watched every single milestone in Truman's life. Physically, however, he has always remained at a distance, like a marionette player, unable to touch him, except for on a monitor, connected to his main player only by the cameras. The diegetic viewers share this fate with the show's director, as they follow Truman's every move from the comforts of their own homes. In the thirty years of its existence, only a few daredevils have managed to breach security and physically enter Truman's world – the most famous being Lauren/Sylvia. After the show's director

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[20] For a more in-depth discussion of this metaphor, see my 2013 article on human puppeteering ("A Tug of War with Silky Strings").

[21] See Branigan's *Projecting a Camera: Language-Games in Film Theory*, 40-42.

had evicted her for her straying from the original script, also her only link to Truman is a purely visual one-way connection through her television set.

As already discussed, however, Truman decides to leave, and in doing so, he not only abandons his real-life puppet stage, but he must unavoidably also cut the strings that tie him to the director. As Truman's suspicion grows, the camera's movements change. Originally, the camera "follows or anticipates movement," which is easy with Truman's structured routines: It "hold[s] or center[s] a character or significant object in frame" (i.e., various product placements), or occasionally pans away during love-scenes for "good taste or censorship" (Branigan, 2006, 26) – much to the disappointment of some viewers.[22] In sum, the camera movements are unobtrusive like a puppeteer's strings.

This changes dramatically when the plot is seriously disrupted for the first time in Truman's encounter with Lauren/Sylvia, who deviates from her assigned script (a scene that we are shown in a recap of the show's most memorable moments). The camera has to react to this unexpected plot twist with a number of improvised movements: As she drags Truman out of the building, away from the prying eyes, only a hectic panning shot can reveal a glimpse of the escaping couple. The pristine illusion of the invisible camera and the flawless cinematographic composition are gone. For several more scenes, the camera scrambles to catch up with the couple and one imagines the puppeteer hectically pressing a number of different buttons in order to find the one shot, the one string, which manages to re-capture the runaway doll.

Years later, the order is disturbed yet again as the puppetry stage falls apart. As discussed earlier, a series of technical malfunctions raises Truman's suspicions. After an especially emotional episode (the reunion with his long-lost father who had been written out of the script), he provides a final little acting performance in front of the bathroom mirror: "This one's for free," he whispers, as he stares directly into the hidden camera. Hours later, he has vanished. Angrily, Christof cuts the transmission – and thus the strings that tie him to his puppet – for the first time in almost thirty years. After spotting him again, and before Truman's dramatic exit, the director makes one last attempt to reconnect and tighten the strings: He reinitiates live transmission and tries to personally appeal to his protagonist's emotions: "I have been watching

[22] Weir comments on this voyeuristic behavior by conversely showing us the diegetic viewers of the show in the most intimate settings in the privacy of their homes, such as the bathtub.

you your whole life. I was watching when you were born, I was watching when you took your first step … You can't leave, Truman," he pleads – but Truman can. The camera is the final witness as, after his exit, the transmission is cut for good, and all that is left is static on the television screens. The severed wires are useless; the puppet has escaped. "What else is on?" asks one viewer drily: "Where's the TV guide?"

It is evident that with human puppeteering, the camera entails far more than just the (metaphorical) communicative function that, for instance, Branigan ascribes to it (*Projecting a Camera*): Being the very means of authorial manipulation and physical control, cameras have established themselves as the most important life-link between director, protagonist, and audience, thus taking on the role of a puppeteer's strings. In *The Truman Show*, the camera is not only a key part of the extradiegetic world of filmmaking but also an integral element of the story's represented world, establishing a firm grip on its victims. Well-hidden behind mirrors and other everyday objects, it breeches the boundaries of logic and ontology in a metaleptic fashion, entering into a tight bond with the main characters.

Through their awareness of this imposed control, the protagonist realizes the camera's function as a forceful wire and begins to sense the manipulating force – the director – at the other end. He engages in a struggle for freedom, both on a physical and on a meta-level. In appropriating the device for his own plans, he now starts pulling on the story's narrative strings, ultimately breaking free from the imprisonment. Once the connection is cut, the film must end. The puppet has (re)gained his freedom, following a long struggle through forced surveillance, paranoia, and attempts to deceive and escape the all-seeing eye. Instead of fighting against the bonds of the camera, he has found a way to employ them for his own good, taking charge of the medium that has imprisoned him. The puppeteer, however, is left with his now useless tools, the cameras dangling like strings above an empty stage.

As for the intrinsic nature of these filmic stages, they are in most cases realms full of spatial oddities. In all three films, the characters' spatial environments exhibit a number of highly unusual features: be it that the protagonists are imprisoned inside a giant television studio (*The Truman Show*), eke out their living in bare, soulless environments (*Stranger than Fiction*), or spend most of their time crouched on bizarre half-floor levels or even nested inside another person (*Being John Malkovich*). All of these attributes are markers of the surroundings not being what we would consider normal or even

remotely realistic spaces. This is not surprising: Human puppets embody a major oxymoron in themselves, merging the natural with the man-made. Similarly, the marionettes' worlds display many artificial traits that are typical of theater stages, or – more precisely – the puppet stage. The peculiarities include lighting equipment, painted backdrops and stage doors, all of which help to strengthen our sense that we are witnesses to a form of performance that is taking place in a somewhat artificial reality, a real-life stage.

In *The Truman Show,* the two areas of this real-life puppet stage are initially kept separate, as they would normally be in classical marionette theater. In *Stranger than Fiction* and *Being John Malkovich*, however, the puppeteers exist on the same physical planes as their respective puppets; what is more, they even live in the same cities. This creates a major metaleptic crossover as extradiegesis and diegesis and reality and fictionality mix. The paradox is developed further through the use of spatial signifiers that act as metaleptic pathways between the levels of reality and fiction. These passages come in the shape of various kinds of doors and mirrors and symbolize a nar-ratological threshold that has been breached, or is, to say the least, severely permeable, allowing for an infiltration and a merging of the diegetic layers. We can no longer apply the concept of distinct, separate diegetic spaces, nor is this novel kind of puppetry common in any other media. When discussing human puppeteering and its metaphysical consequences, we must therefore shift our focus away from traditional classifications.

Through various features that both film and puppetry have in common, all with their particular institutional modes of representation, human puppetry creates a fruitful symbiosis: There can be no doubt that the symbolism and conventions of puppetry enrich the filmic plots with a new semiotic depth. The themes of dependency and freedom, submission and control, all acted out with the inimitable delicacy of the twitch of a string, create a kind of subliminal drama. Simultaneously, they infuse the films' storylines with an artistic poetry that is usually only found on the stage. Reciprocally, the filmic universes, with their specific features, create and depict a unique kind of meta-puppet-theater, reflecting back on the medium's main agents: actors as puppets, directors as the puppeteers, both connected by the strings of cameras – the principles of filmic creation, agency, and storytelling.

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Puppetry and Ambivalence in the Art of Paul Nash
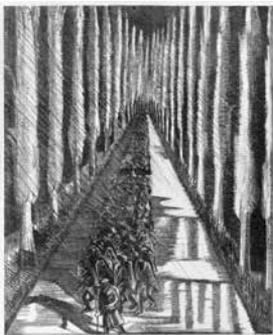
Figure 1: Paul Nash, *Men Marching at Night*, 1918
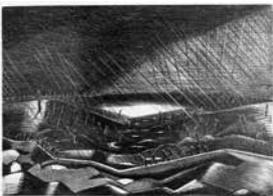
Figure 2: Paul Nash, *Rain: Lake Zillebeke,* 1918

The idea of war as theatre is a frequently recurring metaphor which draws in related images of play, gaming, dance and puppetry. Toy soldiers, *War Horse*, strategic board games, "Two Little Boys," paint ball, *Spacewar* (the first-ever video game) and, in the art of the First World War, the figure of the soldier entangled in barbed wire like a collapsed puppet, all invoke the slippage between conflict and performance, the field of battle and the stage, adult violence and child's play, the soldier and the marionette. The puppet analogy was used to deliberate, satirical effect in German art immediately after the First World War, and the articulation of the idea in Dada cabaret has generated a substantial literature.[1] I am interested in the less well-documented, but nonetheless pervasive, image of the marionette in British war art, and in the oblique and multifarious ways in which it manifests itself: in Paul Nash's lithographs of men marching through driving rain **(Figure 1** and **Figure 2)**, CRW Nevinson's paintings of death in the trenches **(Figure 11)**, the fragmented theatre of John Singer Sargent's *Gassed* (1919, The Imperial War Museum, London), the wooden revellers in Mark Gertler's *Merry-Go-Round* (1916, Tate Britain), and the clowns in Walter Sickert's *Brighton Pierrot* (1915, Tate Britain) dancing to the tune of gunfire from across the channel.

[1] For example, Annabelle Melzer, *Dada and Surrealist Performance* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994). I thank Dorothy Price for her advice about the scholarship on puppetry in German art.

The references to puppets in British war art are in fact legion. Once the eye acclimatizes they are everywhere, and the lack of critical attention begins to seem strange, particularly in comparison with the German material. My case here is that the very association with Germany, and with foreign culture more generally, makes puppetry a covert and ambivalent symbol in British art of the First World War.

Figure 11: C. R. W. Nevinson, *The Harvest of Battle*, 1919

The implication, that a Germanic cultural tradition was allowed to infiltrate British war art, disrupts the story of art in Britain in the period and demands to be tested across a range of material. In the space of this paper I shall focus on the case of Paul Nash (1889–1946), a British official war artist, and his response to the experimental theatre designs of Edward Gordon Craig (1872–1966), an ex-patriot English cosmopolitan who made his mark as a director in Berlin, and who played a key role in the reinvention of puppet theatre by the European avant-garde in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I shall end with a reflection on the affinities between their work and that of Gerry Judah (born 1951), a sculptor and stage-designer who becomes an actor in his own theatre of war by making and then destroying miniaturized war zones.

Nash and Craig

In 1918 Nash made two lithographs that conjure up the horrific conditions for men fighting on the western front. In *Men Marching at Night* **(Figure 1)** and *Rain: Lake Zillebeke* **(Figure 2)**, soldiers struggle against driving rain through a terrain that threatens to overwhelm them. The prints bear witness to what Nash called the

Figure 3: Paul Nash, *Vision at Evening,* 1911

'frightful nightmare' of an obliterated landscape in which men lived like rats in the trenches.[2] His war art presents us with the 'bitter truth' of war[3] – the mud, the rain, the exhaustion – that he experienced first as a soldier and then as an artist working on the front line for the government-sponsored official war art scheme. Yet for Nash, the reality of conflict in a machine age does not demand the sort of stylistic realism that marked Nevinson's later war art, or that bifurcates a painting such as Percy Wyndham Lewis's *A Battery Shelled* (1919, Imperial War Museum, London). In contrast to his own earlier, more romantic work, such as *Vision at Evening* (1911) **(Figure 3)**, he uses a modernist technique of angular contours, simplified shapes and a strong, abstracting chiaroscuro to drive home his point.

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[2] Paul Nash, letter to Margaret Nash, mid-November 1917, in Paul Nash, *Outline. An Autobiography and Other Writings* (London: Faber & Faber, 1949), 210**.**

[3] Nash, *Outline*, 211.

The received story of Nash's transformation as an artist during the war turns on this sense of a natural alliance between the alien landscape of the Western Front and the disorientating effects of modernist art, particularly as it was practiced by members of the London-based vorticist group immediately before the outbreak of war and during the first, euphoric months of the conflict.[4] In this narrative, the experience of war propelled Nash to the vanguard of British art, a position he was to retain throughout the interwar decades as a surrealist and founder of the modernist group Unit One. Nash's own writings are used to support this version of events. In particular, his now-famous declaration, penned in autumn 1917 after a traumatic expedition to the battlefields to gather material for his painting, that he was "no longer an artist, interested and curious, but a messenger who will bring back word from men fighting to those who want the war to last forever," would seem to describe a Damascene conversion to a new style of modernist realism and a repudiation of his previous, more aestheticising practice.[5]

Figure 4: Walter Sickert, *Katie Lawrence at Gatti's*, ca. 1903
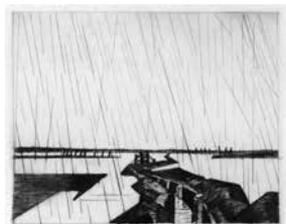
Figure 5: CRW Nevinson, *A Flooded Trench on the Yser*, 1916

However, there is a theatrical quality to Nash's war art that undercuts the legend of a break with his pre-war preoccupations. The desolate landscape of the lithographs could be read as a theatre in which miniature puppet-men parade across a stage. We watch the drama from above like spectators in an auditorium or like puppeteers. The path in *Rain: Lake Zillebeke* runs horizontally across the image like the front of a stage, its sheer edge suggesting the drop into an orchestra pit. There is an echo of Sickert's music-hall paintings, such as *Katie Lawrence at Gatti's* (1903) **(Figure 4)**, with its view up to a central white patch across the choppy outline of spectators' heads. The single-file column of men in Nash's lithograph accentuates the flatness of the image, implying a lack of recession that turns the rear landscape into a vertical, painted backdrop. The rain which scores in continuous streaks across the surface of both works is a recurring device in war art from the period – think of Nevinson's *A Flooded Trench on the Yser* (1916) **(Figure 5)**[6] – yet Nash uses it to particular, dramatic effect by attaching the rain-shafts to his toy soldiers like puppet strings. His lighting is dramatic, the confusion of search lights in a war zone evoking

[4] This version of Nash's career is relayed, for example, by Richard Cork, *A Bitter Truth: Avant-garde Art and the Great War* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), 197.

[5] Nash, Outline, 211.

[6] Nevinson has been cited as a source for Nash's treatment of wartime landscape. See for example Cork, *A Bitter Truth*, 198-99.

the trickery of light and shade on stage. In *Men Marching*, the giant shadow cast by the lead figure makes a further allusion to theatre: to the well-used metaphor of the actor as shadow, to the shadow theatre that was so much in vogue at the turn of the twentieth century, and to a puppet master controlling his troupe. The lone figure stepping out in front grasps a walking stick which, in the hand of his shadow, adumbrates the strings of a marionette. The shadow-man haunts the image, a symbol, perhaps, of something larger and more sinister. He raises questions of authority and responsibility: who is the puppeteer at this time of war and what does he see?

When Nash looked back to the birth of British modernism in a memoir drafted at the end of his life, he gave short shrift to the factions that now shape our understanding of the period, and of his own turn to modernism during and after the war. Even as late as the spring of 1913, he insisted, post-impressionism had made little mark on the British art world and there was as yet no inkling of vorticism. Instead the scene was dominated by three men: the painter Augustus John, the sculptor Jacob Epstein, and Edward Gordon Craig. It was Craig who fired Nash's imagination. He was particularly struck by his ability to translate his artistic vision into actual theatre. 'Once I had seen his models I could believe unhesitatingly in his drawings', he explained. "Seen alone, the latter often seemed too stylized, too exquisite to support a credible reality. The translations into three-dimensional buildings changed such a limited view."[7]

Figure 6: Edward Gordon Craig, etching for *Scene*: 'Hell', 1907

Figure 7: Edward Gordon Craig, etching for *Scene*, 1907

The alternative canon of modern art that Nash delineates, and his account of "reality" as an imagined scene made real on stage, suggests another way of reading the modernist realism of his own, often "stylized," sometimes even "exquisite," war art. Vorticism is not necessarily the most immediate reference. Instead, the memoir directs our attention to Craig's designs for a modern theatre, such as his etchings for *Scene* (1907) **(Figure 6 and 7)**, which bear a conspicuous family resemblance to Nash's war work. Craig's lighting is architectural. It builds the set through heavy contrasts of light and shade or streams down in solid, diagonal lines which suggest an alternative inspiration for Nash's manner of depicting rain. Both artists use light to confuse our sense of place, to dislodge our footing. The camouflage pattern of light in Nash's landscapes creates an alien terrain, while Craig's actors seem

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7 Nash, *Outline*, 166-7.

to wander in a shadowy maze. Like Nash's landscapes, Craig's sets are dominated by massive uprights which loom over the miniature figures of his actors, or "übermarionettes," as he termed them, with reference to his theory that all theatre should aspire to the condition of puppetry.[8] A later statement by Nash confirms the association: "I don't care for human nature except sublimated or as puppets, monsters, masses formally related to Nature. My anathema is the human 'close-up.'"[9] His language here is infused with Craig's campaign for a living puppet theatre that would subordinate the personality of the actor to the director's overarching vision, and in which every element of the production would tessellate to produce a coherent whole, contributing equally to the projection of a single idea.

Nash never finished writing his memoirs. The fragment which remains ends mid-sentence with a description of Craig holding court in 1913 at the Café Royal in London, sketching his "theatres in the air" on the tablecloth, then settling in Italy, where he was surrounded by "a group of eager, slightly spellbound students…"[10] There is a similar sense of hiatus in critical accounts of Nash's response to Craig.[11] In most versions, the story only picks up again after the war, when Nash tried his hand at set-design and Craig wrote him a favourable review.[12] The paintings that Nash made of Dymchurch on the Kentish coast in the early 1920s have been linked to Craig, with their elongated vistas of the old seawall, although by that time Nash had become disillusioned with his one-time hero and what he called his "monomania".[13] There is a consensus that Nash moved on quickly from his youthful enthusiasm for Craig, shocked into maturity by his encounter with the reality of war and then swept up by more radical forms of modernism, first vorticism, then surrealism.

However, his wartime writings tell a different story. Letters home from France are peppered with references to puppet theatre, in a way which suggests

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[8] Edward Gordon Craig, 'The Actor and the Übermarionette', dated March 1907, published in Edward Gordon Craig, *On the Art of the Theatre* (London: William Heinemann, 1911), 54-94.

[9] Paul Nash, letter to Martin Armstrong, 30 August 1926, quoted in Andrew Causey, *Paul Nash* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 167.

[10] Nash, *Outline*, 173.

[11] For example, James King, *Interior Landscapes: A Life of Paul Nash* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 71-72; David Boyd Haycock, *Paul Nash* (London: Tate Publishing, 2002), 45; Andrew Causey, *Paul Nash* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 120-23. Anthony Bertram touches on the theatricality of Nash's war art, but dismisses it as an 'adventitious dramatic effect' which detracts from the formalist patterning of his landscapes. See Bertram, *Paul Nash* (London: E. Benn, Ltd., 1923), 22.

[12] Edward Gordon Craig, 'Theatre Craft. The Exhibition at Amsterdam. Example for Great Britain', *The Times*, January 30, 1922, 8.

[13] Paul Nash, letter to Gordon Bottomley, 20 March 1924, in *Poet and Painter: Being the Correspondence between Gordon Bottomley and Paul Nash, 1910–1946*, ed. Claude Colleer Abbott and Anthony Bertram (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1955), 177.

that Craig and his marionettes were fresh in his memory. In April 1917 he recounts an evening spent off-duty with friends, made memorable by "jam omelette, a bowl of chips and a bottle of wine, and a general discussion on the stage, Gordon Craig, and thence by inevitable corollary to sex and the Great Question which lasted us all the way home."[14] Breaking a rib becomes a moment of comic puppet theatre, as he accidentally stumbles into a trench "amid a roar of laughter" from his comrades, and emerges "feeling rather as if I had broken in the middle like a doll."[15] Trips to the music hall may have been in the back of his mind when he described the incident, particularly a performance by an actor known as Little Tich, which he recounts in his memoirs in the terms of puppet theatre. Little Tich was a dwarf with "a face rather like Punch's", he tells us, and "capable of the most absurd and alarming tumbles and gestures."[16] When he stumbles – as Nash stumbled in the trenches – "his surprise and pain will be unbearably funny."

The language of puppetry likewise seeps into Nash's description of a French cemetery, which immediately follows an account of a boisterous revue at a theatre in Rouen. He was impressed by the little wooden shrines constructed over the graves, each of which contained "a little cherub doll upon a thread."[17] When the wind blew it "set the cherubs flying gently over the wire trees and flowers." Here he evokes the image of a marionette dangling and gyrating in a miniature theatre, with the wind as a perfect puppeteer, controlling the action completely unseen. He refers, perhaps, to the toy theatres that were a common feature of the Victorian nursery, or to the elaborate stage machinery that was used to create effects of flight on stage by hoisting actors aloft in harnesses, like living marionettes.

The extent to which the metaphor of war as theatre took root in Nash's mind comes across most overtly in an article which he wrote during his second period of employment as an official war artist, in World War Two. Here he describes the military planes that he painted as "the real protagonists" of the conflict, who "dominated the immense stage" of the war.[18] The Benheim "wears a mask" while the Wellington "gets all the searchlight as it were." The explicit nature of the metaphor here is important, particularly in an artist such as Nash,

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[14] Paul Nash, letter to Margaret Nash, 26 April 1917, in Nash, *Outline*, 199.

[15] Paul Nash, letter to Margaret Nash, 31 May 1917, in Nash, *Outline*, 205.

[16] Nash, *Outline*, 170-71.

[17] Paul Nash, letter to Margaret Nash, 26 February 1917, in Nash, Outline, 186.

[18] Paul Nash, 'The Personality of Planes', *Vogue*, March 1942, reproduced in *Outline*, 248.

Figure 8: Paul Nash, *The Menin Road*, 1919

who was avowedly literary in his approach to art. "I have seen the most frightful nightmare of a country ever conceived by Dante or Poe," he wrote in 1917, reaching instinctively for a literary precedent to articulate the "unspeakable utterly indescribable" conditions that he encountered in France.[19] One of the qualities that he admired in Craig was what he called the "abundant evidence of a poetic insight which enabled him to give an imaginative interpretation to drama."[20] Nash's sense of the poetic in art encourages us to extend the theatre metaphor of his 1942 article back to his earlier war work: to read the narrow walkway that crosses *Rain: Lake Zillebeke* horizontally as the front-edge of a stage; and the thick shafts of sunlight or searchlight in *The Menin Road* (1819) **(Figure 8)** as spotlights on the stage of no-man's land.

Innocent puppets

Two types of theatre intermingle in Nash's writings: the avant-garde puppetry of Craig and European modernism, and the vernacular puppetry of the fairground and nursery; and they bring into play conflicting associations. The new puppetry signaled the progressive cosmopolitanism of the Ballets Russes, notably the 1911 production of *Petrushka*, in which Vaslav Nijinsky danced the character of a fairground puppet with a living human soul.[21] It suggested the subversive figure of the Bohemian artist, as celebrated by a young Pablo Picasso in his Harlequin paintings, and by the artists of the Nabis group, who set up their own marionette theatre in Montparnasse.[22] And it repudiated the materialistic excesses of a commercial theatre that had grown rich on a culture of virtuoso realism and celebrity actors. Folk puppetry, on the other hand, had come to signify childhood and a bygone idyll of bucolic England. Their co-existence in Nash's thinking about the stage brings an ambiguity to bear on the puppet imagery in his war art, which unsettles any decisive reading of the work as promoting one or another view of the conflict.

[19] Paul Nash, letter to Margaret Nash, mid-November 1917, in Nash, *Outline*, 210.

[20] Nash, *Outline*, 167.

[21] See Martin Green and John Swan, *The Triumph of Pierrot: The Commedia dell'Arte and the Modern Imagination* (New York: Macmillan, 1986); and Keith Tribble, ed., *Marionette Theater of the Symbolist Era* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002).

[22] Nicola Moorby, ' "Poor abraded butterflies of the stage": Sickert and the Brighton Pierrots', *Tate Papers*, no.5 (Spring 2006): 5-7, http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/05/poor-abraded-butterflies-of-the-stage-sickert-and-the-brighton-pierrots, accessed 31 January 2017.

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When Nash was a child in the 1880s, England enjoyed a flourishing tradition of puppets and marionettes which performed in street booths, at seaside resorts and at village fairs.[23] Punch and Judy are the most famous native characters, but there were many others: damsels, knights and villains; animals, acrobats and dancing skeletons. Yet by 1914, demotic puppet shows had begun to die out, starved of their audience by more new-fangled forms of entertainment such as cinema, fairground rides and a hyper-realistic stage theatre. To represent the puppet in art was therefore to invoke layers of nostalgia for childhood, prelapsarian village life and a dying folk tradition.

The war accelerated the decline, as puppet companies were broken up by the military mobilization of civilians. After the war, The playwright George Bernard Shaw commented on the situation when he wrote to one of the few surviving puppeteers to explain why he thought that puppetry might, in the end, survive. 'The cinematograph', he suggested,

> which is said to be killing the dolls, is much more natural, and the result is that it has comparatively little effect on the imagination, but I shall not be surprised if in the long run it revives the puppet show instead of killing it, for it can never take its place.[24]

Note here the image of a machine killing something in human form. In 1922, when the letter was published, that metaphor would have evoked the killing machines of the recent war as the first industrialised conflict. The dichotomy that Shaw observes, between the naturalism of the cinema and the artificiality of the puppet theatre, runs through debates about puppetry throughout the period of its decline as a form of popular entertainment. The move to modernism suggested a route to survival, but it could not completely dispel the aura of a lost art. The puppet figures struggling through Nash's dystopian landscapes are the relics of a dying tradition, just as traditional England seemed doomed by the war. Both came under attack from the machinery of modern life, whether the machine of cinema or the machine of industrialised warfare.

The sense of recent cultural loss mingles with personal nostalgia for the children's model theatres that were so popular in the 1890s. An observation by the historians Martin Green and John Swan, that "playing with them became as determining an experience for the aesthetes […] as playing with soldiers

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[23] On the rise and decline of the Victorian puppet theatre, see John McCormick, *The Victorian Marionette Theatre* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004).

[24] George Bernard Shaw, letter to Clunn Lewis, published in *World's Fair*, 18 March 1922, quoted in McCormick, *Victorian Marionette Theatre*, 82.

was for the more military," points to the common ground shared by war and theatre in childhood games.[25] Nash's family certainly enjoyed their theatricals.[26] The figure of the puppet in his war art suggests a nostalgia for childhood – a lost time of innocence – that extends into a metaphor for the loss of men in the prime of youth on the battlefields, and for the lost innocence of a whole society through the experience of conflict. We might call to mind Rupert Brooke's votive offering of "the red/ Sweet wine of youth," in a poem which gave voice to the excitement of the war in its early phases; or Wilfred Owen's later imprecation to "fill these void veins full again with youth," as it dragged on into disillusionment.[27]

The association between war and puppetry flowed back again into the world of theatre writing. When, in 1918, the critic Anne Stoddard commented on the puppet renaissance among the little theatres of New York, she explained it in terms of a war-weary civilization seeking to return to a lost childhood. "Is it not interesting," she writes,

> that this decade, which has brought upon us all the woe in the world, should have witnessed a revival which springs from the child heart of the race, and must inevitably appeal to those who are fortunate enough to have kept their simplicities? "The world is too much with us"; surely it is good to lose it for an hour in contemplation of this gentle art.[28]

Among those who have remained thus young at heart is the artist, who becomes in this analogy an outgrown child with a tenuous grasp of reality. Another article, published in 1916, likewise singles out "children and artists" as the most loyal audience for puppet shows, because both live in a world of fantasy.[29] Such an association raises questions about the function of realism in paintings by artists such as Nash. Are we asked to accept the actuality of his landscapes, on the basis of his adult authority as a witness to life on the front line? Or does he invite us to enter, with his puppet-men, into a child's world

[25] Green and Swan, *Triumph of Pierrot*, 66. See also Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 62-66.

[26] For Nash's childhood interest in model theatres, see Anthony Bertram, *Paul Nash: The Portrait of an Artist* (London: Faber, 1955), 30.

[27] Rupert Brooke, 'The Dead', written 1914, first published in the journal *New Numbers*, January 1915, and in Brooke, *1914 & Other Poems* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1915), 13. Wilfred Owen, 'The End', written 1916-18, first published in Wilfred Owen, *Wilfred Owen: The Complete Poems and Fragments*, ed. Jon Stallworthy (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983).

[28] Anne Stoddard, 'The Renaissance of the Puppet Play', *The Century Magazine*, 96/2 (June, 1918): 186.

[29] Inis Weed, 'Puppet Plays for Children', *The Century Magazine*, 91/5 (March 1916): 725.

of fantasy and nightmare? And has that nightmare indeed become a reality of its own, just as the puppet has become a living soldier?

Itinerant puppets

The puppet in British war art brings to mind homely and familiar pleasures that the conflict threatened to destroy. At the same time, it was flagrantly cosmopolitan, an exotic foreigner imported from Europe and, most dangerously, from Germany. There was an easy slippage between hostility toward Germany and suspicion of foreignness in general. For instance, when the artist Mark Gertler (an East End Jew of Polish origin) exhibited a modernist interpretation of *The Creation of Eve* (1914, private collection) in London in 1915, the word "Bosch" was scrawled across Eve's stomach in protest.[30] The suggestion of puppetry in pictures that had been commissioned as propaganda by the British government therefore presents a problem. It draws attention to the close connections between British and European art at a moment when the idea of a common European culture was under pressure; and it points to the sense of cultural kinship with Germany that many artists had worked to promote before the war, and worked just as hard to repudiate after 1914.[31]

The puppet revival of the early twentieth century was self-consciously global. Contemporary accounts drew attention to its roots in ancient traditions from across the world: from Asia, China and Africa, as well as from the European middle ages; and they pointed out that in many of these regions, puppetry was still a living tradition.[32] Modernist puppetry was a pan-European phenomenon and its proponents were scattered across the continent. Maurice Maeterlinck was Belgian, Alfred Jarry – French, Adolphe Appia – Swiss, and Craig an Englishman who left London in 1904, moving to Berlin and then to Florence because he could not find a backer in England. For followers such as Nash, Craig became a prince in exile. They kept track of his ideas through his journal *The Mask* (1908–29), his polemic *The Art of the Theatre* (1905) and exhibitions in London.[33] Like other cosmopolitans of the *fin de siècle*, such as Walter Sickert or James Abbott McNeill Whistler, he stood at an awkward remove to Britain

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[30] John Woodeson, *Mark Gertler: Biography of a Painter, 1891–1939* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1972), 21.

[31] See Grace Brockington, ' "A Jacob's Ladder between Country and Country": Art and diplomacy before the First World War', in *Internationalism and the Arts in Britain and Europe at the Fin de Siècle,* ed. Grace Brockington (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), 297-320.

[32] Weed, 'Puppets Plays for Children', 721-22. Stoddard, 'The Renaissance of the Puppet Play', 179-80.

[33] Nash refers to these in *Outline*, 166.

but served as a vital connection to the Continent. His decision to develop his career abroad gave his ideas a particular, talismanic significance for artists trying to find their way back to an Edwardian cosmopolitanism after the outbreak of war with Germany in 1914.

Germany was a centre for puppet theatre throughout the period under discussion and a prime destination for an ambitious young director such as Craig. When the American director Maurice Browne wanted to incorporate European puppetry into the repertoire of the Chicago Little Theater, he looked especially to that country.[34] Munich was considered preeminent, with its two permanent puppet theatres, and plans to bring the Munich puppets to America were thwarted only by the outbreak of war.[35] The *Marionettentheater Münchner Künstler*, founded by Paul Brann in 1906, treated puppetry as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and employed well-known artists to work on every aspect of the production.[36] The collaborative nature of its work nurtured the emerging alliance between the art of puppetry and the visual arts. This association was reinforced in numerous examples elsewhere, in the work of James Ensor at the *Petit Théâtre* in Brussels, Picasso's fascination with the Commedia dell'Arte, and the many artistic responses to the Ballets Russes.

Contemporary publications drew attention to the ways in which German puppeteers kept their practice alive during the war. The puppets that featured in the anti-war protests of the Dada cabaret are a key example, but there were others, such as a satirical puppet theatre in the Austrian city of Graz that lampooned wartime shortages and the abuses of hoarders and war profiteers.[37] Another company based in the Bohemian town of Hartenstein staged topical satires and went on tour across Germany, reaching, we are told, "even to the fighting lines."[38] Soldiers of a Bavarian regiment set up their own "Eastern Front Puppet Theatre." It began as a private entertainment, a gesture of nostalgia for the puppet theatres of their childhood, but it became a runaway success and was sent by military command on an eight-week tour of the whole province. A memoir by the artist Hans Stadelmann, who founded the company, emphasizes the difficult conditions in which they had to work, the courage it took to set up the theatre from scratch, the heroism, even, of their struggle to make art in the trenches out of the raw materials of the battlefield.[39] A woollen helmet

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[34] Weed, 'Puppets Plays for Children', 722.

[35] Stoddard, 'The Renaissance of the Puppet Play', 186.

[36] Helen Haiman Joseph, *A Book of Marionettes* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1920), 130.

[37] Max von Boehn, *Puppets & Automata* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972, 1st published 1929), 188-89.

[38] Boehn, *Puppets*, 190.

[39] Hans Stadelmann, 'How our Marionette Theatre Started', in Boehn, *Puppets*, 194-202.

became a puppet cloak, parachute silk made a "lovely" pair of trousers, dried peas substituted for buttons – only they had to be coated with turpentine or the rats would eat them. An abandoned dug-out served as a workshop. Often it was so cold that the artist's colours would freeze to the brush.

Such a persistent tradition fed into the proliferation of puppet imagery in German art immediately after the war. For the Berlin Dadaist Raoul Hausmann, the puppet became a figure of healing who could mend the ruptured relationship between past and present, contemporaneity and tradition:

> If we have broken with the old world and cannot yet form the new, then satire, the grotesque, caricature, the clown and the puppet appear; and it is the deep meaning of these forms of expression, by demonstrating the puppet-like quality and the mechanization of life through apparent and real paralysis, that allows us to guess at and feel another life.[40]

In works such as Josef Scharl's *Gefallener Soldat* (Fallen Soldier, 1932) **(Figure 9)** or Otto Dix's *Totentanz anno 1917* (Dance of Death 1917, 1924) **(Figure 10)**, the very material of the war becomes a metaphor for puppetry. Dead soldiers are entangled in barbed wire like puppets in a tangle of strings. In Dix's title the performance metaphor is explicit. In both English and German, the visual metaphor of puppetry is reinforced by verbal idioms such as "dance of death" (*Totentanz*), "theatre of war" (*Kriegsschauplatz*) and "game of war" (*Kriegsspiel*).

Figure 9: Josef Scharl, *Gefallener Soldat*, 1932

Figure 10: Otto Dix, *Totentanz anno 17 - Hohe Toter Mann*, plate 19 from *Der Krieg*, 1924

The strength of German pride in its puppet theatre, and the Continental associations of the puppet revival, raise questions about the function of puppet imagery in work by British artists such as Nash; work that was, after all, funded by the government as part of its campaign of cultural propaganda against Germany. It should be acknowledged that there was scarcely any attempt by the Ministry of Information to doctor the art that it commissioned: quite the reverse. It understood that a display of liberality, as a contrast to German despotism, was perhaps the most powerful propaganda of all.[41] Moreover, the artists it employed were often disillusioned with the war and resistant to any direction

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[40] Raoul Hausmann, 'Die Neue Kunst', *Die Aktion* 11(14 May 1921): 19-20.

[41] See Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2004).

Figure 11: CRW Nevinson, *The Harvest of Battle*, 1919

from their employer. Yet the references to puppetry in the work, and its association with European modernism, complicate the possibilities of interpretation. Are we to understand that the avant-garde has been broken into submission by military discipline, led to the slaughter even, as suggested by the wire-festooned bodies in Nevinson's *The Harvest of Battle* (1919) **(Figure 11)**? Or should we infer a coded message about the survival of an anti-realist, modernist theatre, despite the pressure to conform and move on?[42] Both readings are possible, and they compete for our attention with others, including the idea of the puppet as the relic of an English pastoral, or as an emblem of the soldier left dangling in a war that many believed had been mishandled.

The tenor of the analogy is indeterminate. It brings us no closer to an understanding of how modern art should behave when it becomes a witness to conflict, or who pulls the strings in the theatre of war. Rather, it perpetuates the essential ambivalence of the modernist puppet, its "multivalent, sometimes ambiguous, sometimes paradoxical nature," as the theatre historian Keith Tribble described it.[43] It was this very volatility that ensured its survival in the mercurial world of the European avant-garde. Certainly for Craig, the metaphor of the marionette as soldier offered itself as yet another means to promote the puppet revival. In an article of 1921 he exploited it with relish, conjuring up an image of the puppet as England's saviour, "coming in the nick of time to show the way once more to their old comrades the actors," stepping forward to "hold the whole line" against attack, and to prove that he is "the dearest of old comrades and not a hated enemy."[44] Yet beside the suffering puppets of a Nash or a Nevinson, a Dix or a Scharl, the sentimental tone of Craig's conceit seems crass. For the war artist, the puppet's stubborn ambiguity, his withholding of explanation, makes a crucial point about a war that dragged on interminably, became increasingly tenuous in its moral justification, and failed to achieve any satisfactory resolution. That, surely, is what makes the figure of the puppet-soldier so potent – not just that its meanings are multiple, but that, in the context of war, the multiplicity of meaning is in itself subversive.

[42] I discuss the critical neglect of wartime experimental theatre in *Above the Battlefield: Modernism and the Peace Movement in Britain, 1900–1918* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2010), 171-92.

[43] Tribble, *Marionette Theater*, xix.

[44] Edward Gordon Craig, 'Puppets and Poets', *Chapbook, A Monthly Miscellany* 20 (February 1921): 13.

Coda: contemporaneity and tradition

The centenary of the First World War has generated a spate of newly commissioned war art and memorials, generating echoes across time between the visual traditions initiated by war artists such as Nash, and present-day responses to conflict. In 2014, the artist Gerry Judah installed a sculptural memorial in the nave of St Paul's Cathedral, London **(Figure 12)** which, together with his other projects on the theme of conflict, speaks with particular eloquence to the forms and ideas surrounding Nash's deconstruction of puppet theatre a century before. This is not to identify Nash as a direct source for Judah's work. Judah insists that he is not working within a tradition of war art, although he draws attention to the causal relationship between the First World War and current conflicts in the Middle East.[45] It is to argue that the work itself can be seen to operate within such a tradition, and that the pervasive image of the theatre of war presents a way of bringing the historical and the contemporary into conversation.
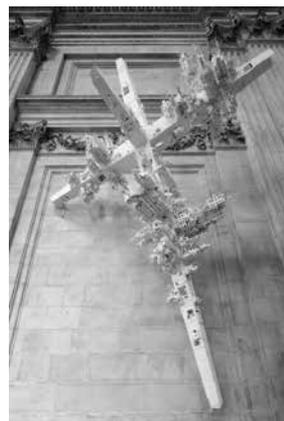
Figure 12: Gerry Judah, Great War Sculptures, 2014

Like Craig and Nash, Judah is a theatre designer as well as an artist in other media, and these parallel practices are closely linked in his oeuvre. As the writer Hadani Ditmars puts it:

> He creates mini-sets, microcosms of imagined yet all too real worlds that are riveting psychic landscapes, foreign yet familiar. In many ways they are reminiscent of Victorian miniatures or dynamic dioramas which have been re-imagined for a modern world.[46]

The "psychic landscapes" and "Victorian miniatures" of Ditmar's description reinforce the affinity that I trace here between Judah's sculpture and the toy theatres of Nash's battlescapes, as does her sense of a fundamental ambivalence in the work between real and imagined, foreign and familiar, historical and contemporary.

Judah himself draws an explicit connection between the theatre and his war art. In his words: "the dramatic landscapes of India," where he spent his early years, and "the ornate architecture of its temples, mosques and synagogues

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[45] Hadani Ditmars, 'Prescient Landscapes and Fragile Architectures', *Wasafiri* 85 (March 2016), www.wasafiri.org.

[46] Ditmars, 'Prescient Landscapes'.

with their theatrical rituals" shaped the "theatrical elements" of his later work.[47] His first studio was situated on Shaftesbury Avenue, in the heart of London's theatreland, and he financed his sculpture by working as a scenic artist for nearby productions. The experience of reaching large audiences through his work for theatre motivated Judah to develop a career in set design, and to seek out other unconventional settings for his sculpture and installations. St Paul's Cathedral offered just such an opportunity for massive public exposure, and for displaying his work in the midst of the ritualistic performance of religious ceremony.

Figure 13: Gerry Judah, Auschwitz-Birkenau Model, 2000

Judah came to the subject of war through a commission from the Imperial War Museum, London, to make a model of the selection ramp in Auschwitz Birkenau for the permanent Holocaust Exhibition (2000) **(Figure 13)**. Sculpted out of white gesso, the model reconstructs the terrain and architecture of the camp and the process by which prisoners were selected for immediate death or hard labour. Judah was not himself a witness to the Holocaust, but he drew as far as possible on the authority of witness accounts: on the sorts of letters, memoirs and visual documentations that circumscribe Nash's war art. In particular, he used a rare set of photographs taken by the SS on 22 May 1944, to reenact the movement of prisoners through the camp: disembarking from the train, queuing for selection, and marching in columns to the crematoria or to work.[48] The model is populated with thousands of miniature people, grouped together in different configurations along the length of the model, much like a scene from a toy theatre or a director's blocking design.

Figure 14: Gerry Judah, *White Country*, 2010

In related projects, Judah reiterates this painstaking exercise in reconstruction, creating miniature models of contemporary sites of conflict: Baghdad and Aleppo, Beirut and Jenin. The difference is that he also destroys them, reenacting the explosions and demolitions that have made such cities a byword for the ravages of war. At exhibitions such as *White Country* (Wolverhampton Art Gallery, 2010) **(Figure 14)**, his sculptural ruins were hung precipitously on gallery walls, bombsites transfigured into luminous white objects of enormous intricacy and fragility. In St Paul's, he installed two enormous plaster crosses in the cathedral naïve,

[47] 'Gerry Judah: biography', www.judah.co.uk.

[48] Gerry Judah, 'Holocaust Exhibition', *The Jewish Magazine*, July 2000, www.jewishmag.co.il.

ambivalent symbols of Christian redemption, violent death and massed military graves. The surface of each is decorated with ruined tower blocks which function as a universal symbol, evocative of bombed-out cities across the Middle East, the twin towers of the World Trade Center, and modern urban degradation.[49]

Judah's ruinous cityscapes are unpopulated. There are no miniature people, nothing that directly invokes the puppet-worlds of Nash's battlefields or Craig's model theatres. The connection that I draw here between tradition and contemporaneity works through the motif of the broken wire in its various manifestations: as the barbed wire of the trenches and concentration camps, the wires that manipulate or entangle marionettes, and those that twist through Judah's ruins. His model buildings are held together with steel rods and festooned with power lines and telecommunications cables. It is this framework of wiring that largely survives the process of demolition and that gives the final structure its distinctive appearance. The spikes that sprout from Judah's 'three-dimensional paintings' seem crystalline in their whiteness, sharp and brittle as icicles or stalactites.[50] They suggest natural forms as much as man-made structures, landscape as much as architecture. As such, they call to mind Nash's shattered landscapes with their splintered, standing tree trunks and brilliant explosions like aerial flowers. The similarity comes into focus through Nash's painting *Wire* (1918) **(Figure 15)**, with its bomb-blasted tree upright against a flattened landscape and crowned, Christ-like, with barbed wire.[51] For both artists, wire is a fact of war but it is also a metaphor: for reality and performance, chaos and control, destruction and redemption. The juxtaposition of their work in the expanded tradition of war art serves to bring home the coexistence of these metaphors, and the crucial ambiguities that they generate.

Figure 15: Paul Nash, *Wire*, 1918

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[49] Judah, quoted in Ditmars, 'Prescient Landscapes'.

[50] Judah's sculptures are described as 'three-dimensional paintings' by several critics, for example Gabriel Pogrund, 'Contemporary Lessons Offered in Sculpture at St Paul's Marking Centenary of the Start of World War One', *The Huffington Post*, 9 April 2014, www.huffingtonpost.co.uk; and Hadani Ditmars, 'Victorian Dioramas for the 21st Century', *Haaretz*, 24 August 2012, www.haaretz.com.

[51] Cf. the writer Michael Glover's description of Judah's ruined cities with their 'lengths of electricity cables, stretched and twisted like barbed wire, or some martyr's crown of thorns'. Glover, 'Horror of War in Sharp Relief', *The Independent*, 9 November 2005.

Izabela Kopania – **Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland**

Doll as Document. Research on Folk Culture and Building an Archive of Polish Ethnography before 1939[1]

In 1888, the third issue of "Wisła" (Vistula) magazine (an ethnographic journal published from 1887 to 1905 in Warsaw) ran an appeal entitled "O sposobach zachowania ubiorów ludu" (On Ways to Preserve Folk Costumes).[2] In an introductory note, the appeal's authors – two regionalists and folklorists active in the Lublin area in Eastern Poland, Hieronim Łopaciński and Henryk Jaworski, hidden under the pseudonyms R.L and H.J. respectively – both underlined folk garments' value in terms of tradition and identity and complained of such garments' slow disappearance among the folk who preferred to replace them with "skimpy foreign garment." They identified "foreign" with German – meaning cosmopolitan and non-traditional – and attributed the clothing's growing popularity to changing fashions (as in the case of the upper classes' adaptation of foreign articles), economic reasons (as ready-to-wear, poor quality and urban-style clothes were cheaper than traditional peasant garments), migrations between village and town and, first and foremost, to the possibility of masking class distinctions that such styles offered.

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[1] I owe a debt of gratitude to Mrs Joanna Bartuszek (The State Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw), Mrs Magdalena Dolińska and Mr Jacek Kukuczka (The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow) who generously shared their knowledge with me.

[2] R.L., H.J., "O sposobach zachowania ubiorów ludu" (On Ways to Preserve Folk Costume), *Wisła* (Vistula) 2:3 (1888): 663-667.

In the opinion of Łopaciński and Jaworski, folk costume epitomized folk culture in general, representing a visual statement of regional and national identity: "The costume of our folk represents such a great variety, it is so pleasing to the eye, so much characterizes the Slav tribe in general and locals in particular, that it deserves to be preserved. And what abundant and essential material for ethnographic and anthropological research a regional costume constitutes, as a product of manifold factors. […] Last but not least, a typical costume is, so to speak, a kind of a uniform that evokes an idea of a person's ethnographic distinctiveness, his or her intellectual capabilities, customs and peculiarities of character that allow us to differentiate citizens of one region from their neighbors."

This seven-page article is in fact a kind of instruction manual, a set of practical clues prompting the reader in how to collect and document and therefore preserve folk costumes. Its conventional introduction, conveying the authors' patriotic attitude, is followed by a detailed description of how to produce ethnographic documentation of scientific value. As such "O sposobach zachowania ubiorów ludu" must be counted among the dozens of instruction manuals of this type offering advice on how to document folk culture and register fieldwork observations by means of the written word, drawings and photography.[3] They were addressed to amateur ethnographers, prominent figures in local communities such as landowners, clergy, and physicians who worked with village folk. Such manuals must have circulated throughout the long 19th century but it was between the years 1874 and 1918 that their popularity reached its peak. Such instructional manuals were formulated among the editorial staff of popular ethnographic magazines such as "Wisła" and "Lud" (Folk) as well as the members of voluntary societies like the Society for Local History (est. 1906), the Folklore Society (est. 1895) and the Tatra Mountains Society (est. 1873). They were, it must be added, closely related to the appeal of the Anthropological Committee of the Academy of Learning in Krakow concerning the garments of country folk, published in 1900 in both magazines and local newspapers, in which Committee members urged amateur ethnographers to send them photographic images of traditional costumes for the planned publication.

Instruction manuals' popularity during that time was connected with a growing movement that embraced documenting cultural heritage

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3   I. Kopania, "Początki dokumentacji ikonograficznej w etnografii: amatorzy, instrukcje, proby kodyfi-kacji" (The Beginnings of Visual Documentation in Ethnography: Amateur Ethnographers, Instruction Manuals, Attempts at Codifying Ethnographic Iconography), in *Archiwa wizualne dziedzictwa kulturowego. Archeologia – etnografia – historia sztuki* (Visual Archives of Cultural Heritage. Archaeology – Ethnography – Art History), ed. E. Manikowska and I. Kopania (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN 2014), 127-148.

and establishing public ethnographic museums and also with a widespread project of gathering source material for research on folk culture. This period of nearly fifty years corresponds to the formative years of Polish ethnography and it is not without significance that the discipline took shape when Poland was non-existent as a political entity: from 1795 to 1918, the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were partitioned between the Russian Empire, Habsburg Austria, and the Kingdom of Prussia. Under these circumstances, "documenting heritage" and "building an archive" were both academic and patriotic in nature. On a symbolic level, drawing and photography were perceived as tools for forming national identity and searching for Polishness in various fields and among various ethnic groups. Traditional dress, together with traditional carpentry, craftsmanship and folk songs, was located at the very center of these discussions. The idea of folk costume as a locus of national/regional identity originated long before – at least as early as the 18th century. Traditional forms of dress from the Krakow region in particular were attributed special, symbolic meaning and hailed as forms of national dress.[4] This idea was reinterpreted and legitimized anew in the emerging view of folk culture as a repository of Polishness.

What makes the instructional essay under discussion stand apart is not only its authors' focus on garments. Its exceptional aspect consists of the method of documentation they recognized as most suitable for documenting clothing. While most similar instructions advised drawings or photography as the best ways to present a record of folk garments, the authors of "O sposobach zachowania ubiorów ludu" suggested producing a doll (termed also a model or a mannequin) as the best method for documenting regional costumes. Therefore, during the first years of the formative period of Polish ethnography, a doll, a three-dimensional object, together with drawing and photography, was granted the status of a document, academic evidence of value to future research.

The authors indicated and discussed the virtues and vices of five methods of preserving and documenting folk costume: 1) collecting complete garments, 2) taking photographs of folk types in regional dress, 3) drawing, 4) dressing up dolls (mannequins) and 5) sewing miniature versions of regional clothes. First and foremost they recommended collecting original articles of clothing as they deemed those the best source of information on

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[4] A. Kowalska-Lewicka, "Ludowy strój krakowski – strojem narodowym" (Folk Costume from the Krakow Region as a Form of National Dress), *Polska Sztuka Ludowa. Konteksty* (Polish Folk Art. Contexts), 30:2 (1976): 67-74.

the type and quality of fabric and the development of handicraft, methods of production and aesthetic issues. In contrast to the majority of popular instruction manuals, the authors of "O sposobach zachowania ubiorów ludu" discouraged amateur ethnographers from using photography as a tool of documentation. They recognized its advantages for taking anthropological photographs, capturing typical physiognomies and registering folk types, but meticulously enumerated all its shortcomings in terms of documenting clothes. It was usually suggested that amateurs take three photos of a person wearing the costume, showing front, back and profile views of the clothing item. They for some reason found this necessity of taking three separate shots to be problematic. However, a more important argument against the use of photography consisted of its technical difficulties with rendering colors. The authors noticed that such hues as yellow, green, red and brown usually become dark or even black, while blue, pink and lilac come out white or whitish. Moreover, all the ornaments and patterns tend to become imperceptible. The authors doubted whether hand-coloring and making additional drawings of ornaments and accessories – as recommended in other manuals – was enough to make photographic documentation more complete and reliable. Similar objections were formulated against drawing which was considered better in rendering colors and detail only when it was made by a gifted draughtsman.

All the reasons mentioned above made the authors of the article in question opt for dressing up dolls and sewing miniature clothes as the best ways of documenting folk costume. Their enthusiastic approach to the idea of a dressed up doll as an ethnographic document did not prevent them from pointing out that producing dolls was not devoid of difficulties. They noted that due to the doll's height it was sometimes impossible to use the same thick textile which was used to sew original clothes, while the necessity of reduction from the original size made all accessories such as buttons, braids and buckles disappear. Despite all these objections, the authors underscored that when the type of textile used was adequate, and proportions, style and production technique respected, the doll or mannequin would be the best method one could choose to document garments. Neither did the production of doll cost a lot, or require any special skills. It was, as they said, within the range of accomplishments of any skillful lady.

The most interesting part of this instructional article is a passage devoted to practical information about how to produce a doll. The authors imagined a model mannequin to be a figure about 47 inches high. They advised using

wooden dolls, not only because of their moderate cost, but also because of their animation possibilities. The hands and legs of such dolls were designed to be movable in the joints by means of wooden pegs that nailed the individual parts together. Such construction enabled molding a figure and putting it in the desired pose. Interestingly, they suggested that its head should be fashioned from *papier-mâché*, as it was cheap and did not glitter. Its properties enabled molding physiognomic features so a template head could be modelled in such a way as to render the physiognomic peculiarities of the inhabitants of particular regions. The malleability of the material also allowed for hair, whether natural or artificial, to be attached and then combed so as to present a typical hairdo. Rendering regional differences in physiognomy was an important issue; to achieve that effect, local artists were advised to sculpt a head in wood or model it in plaster or beeswax. The emphasis placed on resemblance proves that producing a model doll was a method for documenting both clothes and ethnic diversity. The same observation might, in fact, also pertain to photographic documentation. Judging from the amateurish visual material published in ethnographic journals, especially in galleries captioned "folk types," one may assume that the photographing of garments was seen to present a good opportunity for taking physiognomic photos of "regional types".

A long list of requirements was included so that both the research and the documentation done by amateur ethnographers would be complete. Every doll produced in the region or during fieldwork should be labelled with additional information concerning the territory (names of towns and villages) where the documented clothes were used, detailed names of garments and shoes, and the materials used to produce them. It was also required that samples of materials, ribbons, threads and accessories be attached to every such model.

Łopaciński and Jaworski's instructional essay aroused discussion among ethnographers and folklorists. The editors of the *Wisła* journal published their own remarks on the model doll presented in the instruction essay.[5] They suggested it would be best if such a doll was of natural height and, first and foremost, expressed doubts as to whether wood was indeed the most suitable material from which to produce a mannequin. Their alternative proposition was to use wire and apiarian mesh. Wood was considered too heavy and flimsy, not flexible enough and quite expensive. A mannequin

[5] J. Karłowicz, untitled response to an appeal "On Ways to Preserve Folk Costumes," *Wisła* (Vistula) 2:3 (1888): 668-669.

fashioned from wire was said to be light, durable and flexible. Flexibility was its main advantage. It enabled putting the doll in any desired pose, rendering movement of arms and hands, and attaching ethnographic objects such as a sickle, snuff-box or wreath. As far as molding the face was concerned, apiarian mesh seemed the most convenient material: being malleable, it allowed the artist to give the desired shape to particular parts of the face. The whole face could be lengthened or narrowed, the nose molded oblate or pert, facial bones emphasized or discreet. Another important advantage was that such mesh could be painted so that facial features typical of a region were faithfully rendered.

The authors declared that the publication of their instructional essay was intended to arouse discussion and criticism among specialists. They expected such specialists to produce a model mannequin and a series of dolls following the template which were to be sent out to local correspondents and amateur ethnographic researchers or followers of such research. The editors of the *Wisła* journal ordered a model wire-made mannequin from the local manufacturer of wire products. They also announced they would dress that doll in a regional costume and present it in the ethnographic museum in Warsaw so that the public could judge the success or failure of their concept.

In their response, the editors of the *Wisła* magazine also informed readers that a certain Wacław Kudelski from the Lublin region had donated two ethnographic figures to the Warsaw museum. The figures were to represent a peasant couple from the Lublin region, wearing typical regional clothes. The editors emphasized that the garments were produced with particular care, following local rules in terms not only of cut and accessories but also fabric used. This remark at the end of the editor's commentary raises a basic question: whether the appeal and instructional essay provoked any response from amateur ethnographers, associates and collaborators of both the museum and the journal.

Research into subsequent issues of the *Wisła* proves that the reaction to the appeal was immediate. No later than six months after the instructional essay was run, the editors informed readers that the authors of the appeal had sent them a beautiful doll with movable parts. It represented a peasant from the neighborhood of the town of Piaski (close to Lublin). The figure was dressed in local clothes donated by a local activist. The mannequin was produced at the expense of one of the authors by a local sculptor Albin Bieliński. This figure was to serve as a model for a series of similar mannequins intended

for distribution among local collectors of folk garments. The same issue of the *Wisła* magazine stated that a certain Janina Okołowicz from the Lublin region had donated a doll representing a girl from one of the surrounding villages. The figure had been made by a "village handyman" and the clothes sewn by the donor herself. The above-mentioned Wacław Kudelski sent a complete man's costume, modelled after folk garments typically found in one of the villages in the Lublin region. The size fit the mannequin sent by the authors of the appeal. The editors of *Wisła* continued informing their readers about further gifts, such as four dolls representing Ruthenians from the Eastern part of Poland, sent by a priest, Adolf Pleszczyński. It is worth mentioning that correspondents also sent miniature versions as well as original dresses and samples of fabric and ornaments. The Warsaw museum was presented with a special gift of more than 300 samples of fabric used by country folk.

Figures 1a, 1b: Ignacy Lorek, wooden figures representing peasant couple from the Nowy Sącz region, 1908-1920

The appeal of Łopaciński, Jaworski and the *Wisła* journal milieu was, if not directly answered, then reiterated with particular zeal by Seweryn Udziela, the first director of the ethnographic museum in Krakow (established in 1911). Udziela, formerly a teacher, himself a collector, and a figure active in the intellectual life of Krakow, briskly set about setting up the museum, the core of which was his own collection of ethnographic objects. Udziela succeeded in creating a network of correspondents and collaborators residing in different parts of Poland, especially in Galicia (Austrian Poland) and the surroundings of Krakow. Models constituted an important part of the museum's holdings. Large numbers of miniature buildings, carts and utensils came pouring in, sent above all by teachers with whom Udziela had become acquainted while performing his function of inspector of village schools.[6] Archival sources, as well as reports of the Society of the Friends of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, inform us that Udziela even commissioned some models. This was true in the case of two wooden figures representing peasants from the Nowy Sącz region, made to order by a local artist, Ignacy Lorek **(Figures 1a, 1b)**. Udziela's many years of contact with Lorek stemmed from the latter's research and his work on folk culture

6   M. Dolińska, "Modele i makiety w Muzeum Etnograficznym w Krakowie" (Models and Maquettes in the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow), *Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie* (The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow Yearbook) 16 (2010): 155-161.

of the region.[7] Both figures are placed on low pedestals bearing inscriptions with basic information about the types of people and garments represented. The donation of Cecylia Śniegocka was particularly impressive. A teacher who played a prominent role in organizing secret education in Warsaw under Russian rule, and an active member of the Society for Local History, Śniegocka collected specimens of folk culture and organized ethnographic exhibitions. She gifted the Udziela museum with ten wooden dolls wearing typical costumes of various parts of Poland **(Figure 2, 3)**.[8]

Figure 2: Doll representing peasant wearing dress typical for the Sandomierz region, 1920

As has already been noted by other researchers, model dolls and life-size mannequins were treated as important elements of ethnographic collections, equal in status to original objects and iconographic documentation.[9] It was explicitly stated by Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz, professor of ethnography at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius. In "Wskazówki dla zbierających przedmioty dla Muzeum etnograficznego Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie" (Clues for Collecting Objects for the Museum of Ethnography of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius), published in 1926, she listed models among the objects constituting the collection.[10] At the time when "Wskazówki …" were published, the status of mannequins as an important element of ethnographic museum collections had already been recognized.[11] Prior to 1922, the Dzieduszycki Museum in Lviv (now Ukraine) possessed 14 mannequins dressed in complete garments and the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow boasted 18 similar models. Photographs representing exhibition halls of Polish ethnographic museums, taken in the interwar

Figure 3: Doll representing peasant wearing a dress typical for Dańkowice in Silesia, 1920

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[7] Dolińska, "Modele i makiety…", 155.

[8] Dolińska, "Modele i makiety…", 181.

[9] M. Grabowski, "Modele i makiety w muzealnictwie etnograficznym" (Models and Maquettes in the Exhibition Practices of Ethnographic Museums), *Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie* (The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow Yearbook) 16 (2010): 123-129.

[10] C. Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz, "Wskazówki dla zbierających przedmioty dla Muzeum etnograficznego Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie. Wydane staraniem Pracowni Etnologicznej U.S.B., Wilno 1926" (Clues for collecting objects for the Museum of Ethnography of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius), in *Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz-Jędrzejowiczowa. Łańcuch tradycji: teksty wybrane* (Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz-Jędrzejowiczowa. The Chain of Tradition: Selected Essays), texts selected by L. Mróz and A. Zadrożyńska, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2005), 49-66.

[11] E. Frankowski, "Zbiory etnograficzne w Polsce" (The ethnographic collections in Poland), *Lud* (Folk) 21 (1922): 40-50.

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Figure 4: Group of dolls wearing costumes from the Greater Poland region. Reproduced after: Przewoźny 2000

period, prove that a mannequin was a popular exhibition convention used to present garments. This was the case with the Mielżyński Museum in Poznań, where groups of model dolls, almost life size, presented clothes typical for various parts of the Greater Poland area **(Figure 4)**.[12] They were part of permanent collection from the very beginning. Dozens of mannequins and miniature dolls are mentioned in the first catalogue of the ethnographic department of the museum, compiled by Wiesława Cichowicz, the co-founder of the collection, an activist and animator of the local folklorist movement.[13] Most of the objects were donated to the Folklore Society and museum by local ethnography enthusiasts. The descriptions focus on garments, indicating, among others, pieces typical of different parts of the region, historical (archaic) dress dating to 1870 and costumes used during special occasions such as weddings.

Dolls and mannequins were so much rooted in ethnographic museum practice that some institutions even founded special modelling workshops within their structures. This was true in the case of Warsaw's ethnographic museum, where Marian Wawrzeniecki, an artist and archaeologist, initiated the establishment of a workshop fashioning cardboard masks to be used as faces of mannequins presenting folk costumes.[14] A similar workshop was established in the Krakow ethnographic museum in the beginning of the 1930s.[15] It therefore seems clear that there was a need felt to professionalize production of models which might also be due to the quality of the model dolls, the conformity of the sculpted or modelled face to its ethnic type, and of miniature or full size costumes to their originals. The quality of iconographic documentation – be it drawings, photographs, model houses or dolls – and its fulfillment of the standards of evidence in scientific research was a thread commonly followed by both the authors of instruction manuals and academics discussing the achievements and shortfalls of the discipline.[16] Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz emphasized that a model's documentation value resides in it being a faithful copy of the

[12] W. Przewoźny, *Salon rodziny Cichowiczów* (The Cichowicz Family Salon), Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu 2000.

[13] W. Cichowiczówna, *Dział ludoznawczy w Muzeum im. Mielżyńskich w Poznaniu. Przewodnik po zbiorach Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego* (Department of Folklore of the Mielzynski Muzeum in Poznan. Guide to the Collection of the Folklore Society), (Poznań: Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1911), 27, 38-39, 42-46.

[14] Frankowski, "Zbiory etnograficzne..", 42.

[15] Grabowski, "Modele i makiety…", 134.

[16] Kopania, "Początki dokumentacji…," 144.

original. Appeals to respect proportions, and to be meticulous in rendering details and use (if possible) original fabric and accessories, recurred in all subsequent instructional manuals and published guidelines on how to collect ethnographic data in the period.

Written rules notwithstanding, most of the dolls produced by folklorists must often have failed to meet the standards of documentation used in scholarly research. Indeed, pre-war model dolls housed in contemporary ethnographic collections form a group of objects diverse in terms of the levels of craftsmanship shown in the rendering of costume and facial features. As gifted painters and sculptors were usually not at hand, the dolls' faces present a truly varied collection, ranging from clumsy ideas of how to show a typical face, toy-like, childish visages to highly skillful renditions.

The documentary value of the doll was as much appreciated as it was questioned, both on the basis of aesthetics and relationship to its original. In the second volume of his writings on the International Exhibition in Vienna in 1873, Agaton Giller, a journalist and politician, devoted some space to a discussion of folk garments on display.[17] He described two methods for presenting costumes: dressing dolls up (which was adopted by majority of exhibitors) and presenting a complete outfit on two wooden sticks nailed together in the shape of cross (the method used by the Polish delegation). He extolled the latter method, saying that the former would be more convenient if the dolls (mannequins) were of high-quality workmanship and represented folk types. Instead, however, he found the mannequins to be clumsy and disgusting, and the physical features of their faces far from resembling any regional differentiation. Collectors' and amateurs' general attitudes toward model dolls were concisely expressed by Leona Bierkowska. A painter known particularly for her folk genre scenes, Bierkowska corresponded with Udziela in 1911, when she declared her participation in the exhibition of Slav toys in Prague, the Polish section of which was coordinated by the director of the Krakow ethnographic museum. Bierkowska wrote that she would provide "four ethnographic Polish model dolls (these are models of toys for children, that is, models used to produce dolls, Polish dolls in terms of ethnography). Two figures out of these four models represent mountaineers from the area surrounding Rabka (in Galicia), and two others a host and hostess from the Krakow region. The price of each model is 100 crowns, its height – 50 cm".[18]

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[17] *Polska na wystawie powszechnej w Wiedniu 1873. Listy Agatona Gillera* (Poland at the International Exhibition in Vienna in 1873. Reports by Agaton Giller), 2 (Lwów: Giller 1873), 175-180.

[18] The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow Archives, inv. no. I 1887 MNP, RKP, inv. no. 170 III: "4 modele lalek etnograficznych polskich (są to modele zabawek dziecinnych, mianowicie: modele do

Figure 5: Leona Bierkowska, Doll representing bride wearing wedding dess from the Krakow region, 1906

It is certain that the dolls were sent to Prague, but it is difficult to determine whether they came back to Krakow.[19] What is, however, more important, is the ambiguous status of the model doll that Bierkowska, somehow unconsciously, betrays: between a miniature of the original and a toy, between ethnographic faithfulness and the arbitrariness of the toy. Strict adherence to the original was very important to Bierkowska. Writing of the dolls, as "Polish in terms of ethnography," she probably meant that they strictly followed their models. The need to underline the dolls' conformity to the original (the truth) and an overarching idea of Polishness made her lose track of all the regional specifics the figures represented. Modern critics of Bierkowska's dolls observe that the figures are meticulously produced, with attention paid to the details of the costume and the features of the faces sculpted with precision **(Figure 5)**.

There is no doubt that the publication "O sposobach zachowania ubiorów ludu" was stimulating for the development of both collecting and documenting folk dress and creating an archive of ethnography. In a way it might be considered a kind of codification of a well-esteemed method for collecting information and producing visual data documents. In 1883, five years before the instructional essay was published, Benedykt Dybowski (1833–1930), coming back from Siberia, brought to Krakow his huge collection of objects documenting all aspects of life and culture among the inhabitants of Siberia, the Kamchatka Peninsula and the Commander Islands.[20] The collection was bought in 1896 by Muzeum Techniczno-Przemysłowe (the Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow, no longer in existence). Dybowski, professor of zoology and comparative anatomy of the Szkoła Główna Warszawska (the Main School of Warsaw, operating in the years 1862–1869), exiled to Siberia by Russian imperial authorities, devoted his life to studies of flora and fauna of the Baikal region. He spent more than a decade there as an exile (1865–1876) and another four years (1879–1883) in the post of a physician for the government. His fieldwork contributed to dozens of academic dissertations

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wyrobu lalek, specjalnie etnograficznie – polskich). Spośród tych 4 modeli, 2 figurki przedstawiają górala i góralkę z okolic Rabki (Galicja), a 2 figurki przedstawiają gospodarza i gospodynię z okolic Krakowa. Cena każdego modelu z osobna – 100 koron, wysokość – 50 cm." I owe this quotation to Mrs Magdalena Dolińska.

[19] Dolińska, "Modele i makiety…", 187.

[20] *Kamczatka i jej ludy autochtoniczne w fotografiach i tekstach Benedykta Dybowskiego* (The Kamchatka Peninsula and Its Autochtonic People in the Photography and Writings of Benedykt Dybowski), ed. by Maria Dybowska, (Warszawa: Mar, 2003).

which immensely enriched the state of knowledge in the region. In his memoirs, written after he had come home and settled down in Lviv taking the post of the chair of zoology at the local university, Dybowski meticulously described fieldwork and collecting data.[21] Many times he mentioned the work of the draughtsmen and artists who accompanied him, which only proved the importance of visual records for scientific archives. An open-minded scholar, he collected not only natural but also ethnographic specimens and anthropological data (such as measurements of heads of locals). Among many objects Dybowski brought along, such as garments, harnesses, tools for hunting and utensils for everyday use, there were model dolls wearing costumes typical of the region. Several dolls of this type, hand-sewn, around 30 cm in height, are now housed in The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow. One of them represents an Aleut wearing a typical kuklanka **(Figure 6)**, a kind of a hunting robe with a hood traditionally made from tanned leather and fur. The miniature dress follows the pattern closely being a document of a faraway tribe and its universe.

Figure 6: Doll representIng an Aleut wearing traditional kuklanka, prior to 1883

The documentary value of the doll (mannequin) appealed to Dybowski long before he started to collect specimens of folk dress and miniature model dolls in the early 1880s. While visiting a cabinet of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society in Irkutsk in 1868 he noted a huge number of fur clothes typical for the tribes of Kamchatka Peninsula. Among the furs Dybowski observed mannequins representing folk types of "tribal people," heads and faces modelled with care from *papier-mâché*. He recognized a shaman wearing a ritual cloth and holding a mandrel, an Aleut clothed in a canoe suit, a Kamchadali man wearing a fur kuklanka, a Tungusic in a bead-ornamented costume, a Buryat, and a Chinese.[22] His visit to the cabinet in Irkutsk took place just a year after the first ethnographic exhibition in Russia, The All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition of 1867, had been held in Moscow in the Manezh (the Moscow Menage). Designed to represent a microcosm of the Russian Empire and to express the dominance of Russian culture within the framework of Pan-Slavic ideas, the exhibition featured 291 mannequins representing almost 60 national and regional groups.[23] Its project was elaborated in 1864

[21] B. Dybowski, *Pamiętnik Dra Benedykta Dybowskiego od roku 1862 do roku 1878* (Memoirs of Dr. Benedykt Dybowski from 1862 to 1878), (Lwów: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1930), passim.

[22] Dybowski, *Pamiętnik Dra Benedykta Dybowskiego…*, 294.

[23] N. Knight, *The Empire on Display: Ethnographic Exhibition and the Conceptualization of Human Diversity in*

by Anatolii Bogdanov, a young Moscow craniologist and zoologist, who was inspired by the Anthropological Section of the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London (1851) which he had chance to visit in 1859 in Sydenham where it had been transported. He is said to have been fascinated by the figures representing non-European nations on display in Sydenham. The underlying idea of the Moscow exhibition – to show, in a scientifically correct form, the ethnic diversification of the Empire – required the use of mannequins whose faces would accurately render physiognomic differences. To achieve this goal, the committee decided to employ photography as the best tool to capture the ethnic variety of the Russian Empire expressed in terms of facial features. With photographs in hands, plaster figures were produced by professional artists to serve as exhibition mannequins to be dressed in genuine native costumes. The on-the-spot comments as well as contemporary discussions of the exhibition paid attention to its success in producing the ethnically diversified and accurately rendered picture of the Empire as well as to its complete failure to express Russian dominance in terms of civilizing mission. Russian politicians, ideologists and nationalistically-oriented visitors were disappointed with the vision of the Russian ethnic group offered by the model dolls in regional attire. Remarks on the ugly faces of women, potato noses, and protruding eyes recurred in exhibition reviews.[24] It seems an unanswerable question whether it was the scientific accuracy and faithfulness to models in representing regional constitution and physiognomy – so desired by ethnographers and folklorists working in the field of documenting culture – that destroyed the ideological impetus of the exhibition. It is highly possible that the mannequins Dybowski saw in Irkutsk and was able to identify in terms of ethnicity were somehow connected with the exhibition and the documentary impulse it evoked among the members of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society. In 1885, two years after Dybowski arrived in Lviv, a huge show of his collection was organized there and in Warsaw.[25] It is enough to mention that the catalogue lists thirteen mannequin dolls dressed in costumes typical for the inhabitants of the Kamchatka Peninsula and the Commander Islands.

Post-Emancipation Russia, Washington 2006, accessed on-line: https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceeer/2001-814-11g-Knight.pdf (accessed: 30/04/2017).

[24] R. Cvetkovski, *Empire Complex: Arrangements in the Russian Ethnographic Museum, 1911*, in *An Empire of Others. Creating Ethnographic Knowledge in Imperial Russia and the USSR*, ed. by R. Cvetkovski, A. Hofmeister, (Budapest-New York: Central European University Press, 2014), 215-216, M. Mogilner, *Homo Imperii. A History of Physical Anthropology in Russia*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 24-27.

[25] *Katalog wystawy etnograficznej Kamczatki i Wysp Komandorskich. Zbiory Dr. Benedykta Dybowskiego* [A Catalogue of Ethnographic Exhibition of the Kamchatka Peninsula and the Commander Islands. Collection of Dr. Benedykt Dybowski], (Lwów [1885]), 19.

Model dolls, along with original costumes, samples of embroidery, fabric and accessories, mineral and plant pigments used to dye cloth, photographs, drawings and watercolors, constituted the part of the ethnographic archive focused on documenting folk costumes. However, model dolls were assigned one other, additional function in documenting culture. They were considered the best method for documenting not only garments but also traditional dance. The ability of dolls – especially those fashioned from wire – to imitate movement played a key role in a series of figural groups representing Polish folk dances prepared for the International Exhibition of Folk Dance (Exposition des Danses Populaires d'Europe) which was part of the Paris World Exhibition in 1937.[26] The invitation to take part in the show came also to Poland where the project, related fieldwork and the process of production were coordinated by the above-mentioned professor Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz Jędrzejowiczowa, then Chair of Ethnography at the University of Warsaw.[27] The organizers of the show provided all the national committees with guidelines concerning the preparation of the exhibits.[28] It specified how the dolls should be fashioned, underscoring that they should be dressed in miniature copies of the costumes, and that the whole structure of the dance, together with the motion of every dancing doll, should be firmly fixed. In her report from the exhibition, Badouin de Courtenay-Jędrzejowiczowa noted that the organizer's main idea was to "capture motion in motionlessness."[29] That was to be achieved by reducing the importance of the figures' body and corporeality in favor of conveying the idea of pure movement via the structure of the dance. This was why the figures produced for the exhibition were far from resembling traditional dolls. Badouin de Courtenay-Jędrzejowiczowa called them "kinetogenic mannequins," characterized by a flexible body and camberable limbs made from wire. It was a headless creature featuring only a profile outlined with a wire which was enough to render the movement of head and of the whole body **(Figures 7, 8)**. Badouin de Courtenay-Jędrzejowiczowa gathered a group of professionals to work on the dancing dolls.

[26] On the dance exhibition, see A. Décoret-Ahiha, *Les Archives internationales de la danse et anthropologie de la danse*, in *Du folklore à l'ethnologie*, ed. by J. Christophe, D.-M. Boëll, R. Meyran, (Paris: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009), 107-108.

[27] G. Dąbrowska, "Zapomniane dokumenty początków polskiej etnochoreologii" (Forgotten Documents of the Beginnings of Polish Ethnochoreology), in *Czas świętowania w kulturach Polski i Europy* (Celebration Time in Polish and European Folklore), ed. A. Czyżewski, (Warszawa: Państwowe Muzeum Etnograficzne, 2013), 148-165.

[28] Dąbrowska, *Zapomniane dokumenty…*, 150. See also *Exposition des Danses Populaires d'Europe. Guide permettant la collaboration à l'exposition*, (Paris: Les Archives Internationales de la Danse, 1937).

[29] C. Badouin de Courtenay-Jędrzejowiczowa, "Tańce i stroje" (Dances and Costumes), *Arkady*, 3:5 (1937): 267-273.

Figure 7: Dancing group representing a wedding dance from the village of Łowicz, Mazovia district, Poland, c. 1937

Figure 8: Dancing group representing a dance from the village of Zakopane, The Tatra Mountain region, c. 1937

She noted that their aim was to "create documents of Polish reality which were copied with care during fieldwork." They wove exact copies of fabric, created imitations of embroidery, buckles and metal accessories on belts. There was also a person employed to supervise the arrangement of the group's choreographic layout. Some of those arrangements were even made in consultation with local peasants. The mannequins were accompanied by maps, accessories, diagrams and tables as well as musical scores.

The way the mannequins were fashioned met with severe criticism from the public. The visitors and reviewers complained that the faces of the dolls did not capture the differences in anthropological features among people living in different parts of Poland. However, according to Badouin de Courtenay-Jędrzejowiczowa, such mannequins of "dollish-like folk types," would only distract viewers from the main thread of the exhibition, which was dance movement.

It seems that Polish ethnography in the early stage of its development did not acknowledge the difference between a doll and a mannequin. These two words were used, even interchangeably, to describe both quite small, doll-like figures made of wire, imitating movement, and life-size, museum mannequins presenting costumes. The status of the doll-document was completely different from the status of a doll produced by a local community as a toy and which originally served as a toy. Collectors of folk culture perceived dolls in accordance with their original function, and – additionally – as original documents of folk culture. Mannequin dolls' place in the process of building an iconographic archive of Polish ethnography in its early stages was identical to the place occupied by photography and drawing. Yet they are now only partially forgotten elements of the archive, in which a more prominent place has usually been given to photography.

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History of Japanese Ningyo from the Edo Period: The art of Japanese dolls, their role and meaning in society

When I use the word ningyo – Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone – it means just what I choose it to mean... neither more nor less

adapted from Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*

INTRODUCTION

Ningyo as a term applies to a vast array of figures in Japanese culture, from the minimalist Daruma tumble toy to the highly stylized and fantastic shapes of contemporary artists. Japanese dolls (ningyo) have played an important cultural role in Japanese society since the earliest stages of its development, as talismans, figures, centerpieces in elaborate festivals and theatre, medical study tools and valuable works of art as well as children's toys. The earliest ningyo were simple clay forms and mostly ceremonial in nature – to be sacrificed to the gods and spirits. The Edo Period (1607-1868), one of long-awaited peace and stability, brought a whole new understanding of the word ningyo. From this period we have the most precious and expensive (not only for collectors) Japanese dolls. The principal forms of the dolls and their history, stylistic development, cultural context and economic imperatives will be discussed against the backdrop of Edo period society and popular culture.

This paper addresses the following questions. First, does the story of Japanese dolls offer a picture of the life and social history of Japan? Second, with what kind of materials were Japanese dolls created? Third, what kind of role do Japanese dolls play in contemporary Japanese society and in European culture? This paper focuses on examples of ningyo from two Polish collections: the *Doll Museum* in Pilzno (a small town near Tarnów, Poland) and the private collection of ningyo in *Villa Japonica* in Wisła (a town in southwest Poland). These collections present unique examples of Japanese dolls (such as takeda ningyo), the variety of their forms, and the precision and technology of their production. This study is dedicated to the following issues: types of dolls, their history, collections and manufacturing (not only in Japan).

1.DEFINITIONS

The Japanese word ningyo literally means "human shape" or "human form" (*nin* – human, *gyo* – shape, form). In English, the word is often translated as "doll," which reduces and simplifies its meaning. Two things must be perfectly clear when we are talking about ningyo: first, ningyo are not playthings in the Western understanding of the word. Second, not all ningyo (especially in their original forms) are always outstanding works of arts in any sense, although for collectors and enthusiasts are always intended as works of art, regardless of their level of artistic accomplishment.[1] Great art and artists have always been extremely rare. "Pretty" and "masterful" mean different things and measure the deep feeling the artist was striving for and seeking to convey – the degree of creative force, a gift not possessed by many.[2]

In the Edo period, the word ningyo was used to describe a wide variety of forms. In reviewing historical documents, it is frequently difficult to decipher precisely what form is being referred to unless further qualifiers are employed.[3] The terms by which many of these are known today are largely twentieth-century inventions, created by early Japanese collector/scholars such as Nishizawa Tekiho (1889-1965) and Kubota Beisai (1874-1937), who attempted to draw public attention to this beautiful aspect of Japanese culture.[4] The dolls of the Edo period are marvelously textured. As objects, they can be admired for their artistry, for the beautiful materials they employ, and for the delight they bring to the viewer. Although ningyo are still made

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[1] Lea Baten, *Identifying Japanese dolls. Notes on ningyo,* (The Netherlands: Hotei Publishing, 2000), 8.

[2] Ibid, 8-9.

[3] Alan Scott Pate, *Ningyo. The Art of Japanese Doll,* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 2005),12.

[4] Ibid,12-13.

mostly by anonymous artisans, their artistic value has begun to receive recognition. Ningyo of the Edo period have lost their ritual functions and become part of daily life and an important factor in shaping contemporary tastes and trends. In this article, the word ningyo will refer to a wide range of figures in human form, which have played various roles in the history and culture of Japan. They were a part of rituals, a source of entertainment, helped commemorate special occasions, and were a popular gift as well as a work of art. The world of ningyo is therefore huge and multi-layered, full of symbolism, meanings and references to various events and characters. Welcome to the beautiful, complex, and little – known world of Japanese dolls.

2. A SHORT HISTORY

Ningyo have been known in Japan for more than 10,000 years. The oldest examples of clay or stone figurines come from the Jomon period (12 000 – 250 BC). That period is associated with the oldest religious practices in Japan, including Shintoism,[5] and Taoism, later derived from China.[6] The figures have mainly ceremonial functions and were closely associated with religious practices. They were believed to have magical properties, such as for treatment of diseases and casting out evil spirits.[7] An intriguing specimen called a *Dogu* (ceramic doll), considered the first known form of ningyo in Japan, comes from that period.[8] We can only speculate about its intended use. Their "snow – goggle" or "owl" eyes have led some scholars to associate these strange effigies with the first inhabitants of Japan, who were immigrants from the Siberian mainland.[9] They were probably made as magical objects associated with fertility cults (aimed at enhancing the fertility of people, animals and plants), as many are in the form of pregnant women. The figurines were probably ritually buried as sacrifices to the earth.

In the Kofun period (250-552 AD) another form of ningyo appeared, called a *haniwa* or "clay circle," also used in religious ceremonies as a symbol

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[5] The traditional religion of Japan, based on Japanese mythology. Is characterized by polytheism and the diversity of manifestations and cults. Shinto beliefs have no common canon, organization or holy books.

[6] Traditional Chinese philosophical and religious system, the second most important next to Confucianism. The creation of Taoist philosophy is attributed to Lao Tse in the sixth century BC

[7] J.W. Hall, *Japonia od czasów najdawniejszych do dziś*, trans. Krystyna Czyżewska-Madajewicz (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1979), 26.

[8] Alan Scott Pate, *Ningyo. The Art of...*, 12-13.

[9] Lea Baten, *Identifying Japanese...*, 25.

of human or animal sacrifice. These ningyo were placed on and around the burial mounds of nobles.[10]

It was not until the Edo period (1608-1868), regarded by many scholars as the "golden age" of the flowering of Japanese ningyo, that there began to be an explosion of new forms, new technologies and the use of expensive materials. It was the time of the stable governments of the Tokugawa, which allowed a flowering of art and culture. There were also groups of artisans and merchants making dolls and specializing in trading them.[11] They started to organize puppetry fairs too. Already then ningyo formed true works of art, acclaimed as the artistic objects. Ningyo became an important part of Japanese reality – not just ritual. They were part of everyday life, illustrated history and trends in fashion, and were also often an important part of political propaganda. Ningyo of the Edo period depicted various layers of Japanese society: simple countrymen, warriors (Musha-ningyo) or the feudal family from the manor (gosho-ningyo). These could create entire scenes, "illustrate" certain parts of the Japanese novels, or take part in public performances (iki-ningyo, bunraku-ningyo). The variety of forms and subjects was complemented by the expensive materials, precision and quality, and original artistic composition emanating from each of them. There are many different types of ningyo, of course. In this article, the author focuses on some of the most interesting examples, which illustrate the role played by dolls in the culture of Japan – their form, purpose, and symbolism.

3. MATERIALS

Ningyo are made mostly from simple materials – mainly wood, grass and paper. The Japanese archipelago is rich in forests, so the choice of wood as the primary construction material came naturally. In the early period, different varieties of wood were used – but the dominant one was the cypress (hinoki). Other woods were used with a touch of camphor (kusu), nutmeg (kaya) and sandalwood (byakudan).[12] Even early wooden forms of ningyo, though carefully sculpted, were not without ornaments: the application of metal coatings and pigments. For greater effect, eyes made of rock crystal were also often added (mainly in Buddhist figures of monks, etc).[13]

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[10] Lea Baten, *Identifying Japanese...*, 35.

[11] Alan Scott Pate, *Ningyo. The Art of...*, 13.

[12] Alan Scott Pate, *Japanese Dolls. The fascinating world of ningyo* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 2008), 36-37.

[13] Alan Scott Pate, *Ningyo. The Art of...*, 14-15.

Artists from the Edo period chose to produce ningyo that were lightweight, malleable and above all adaptable to temperature – made of wood from imperial paullownia (kiri) trees. Thanks to the properties of the wood, dolls could be stored in a fairly simple way – if kept at a stable temperature (without drastic jumps) and constant humidity. To achieve such conditions, ningyo were sold in special cases – boxes, made of a specially chosen wood (specific to each doll) and glass. The wood cases were mostly varnished and decorated with symbols of a certain label or manufacture. In fact, in the Edo period, dolls were sold in just such a form – placed in boxes with a sign carrying the name of the doll, label, etc.

The most popular technique for the production of ningyo was *toso* – a very laborious technique that today hardly anyone can master. Contemporary ningyo are more mass-produced, which mean that the individual elements of dolls (head, arms, legs) are executed in specialized factories. Making dolls using the *toso* technique requires a lot of patience. Production of such dolls generally takes from one to three months – so it is a very time consuming process. The main body of the doll is sculpted from white and very light wood, originating from the aforementioned paullownia. The most sensitive parts, such as the head, hands and feet, are made separately, from the mass, obtained from powdered paullownia mixed with glue. The surface of the dolls coincides with white powdered oyster shells (called *gofun* – which gives a face porcelain appearance). The face features, drawn with *sumi* ink, and hair are made with natural or artificial components.[14] Styling is also a time-consuming process. First, each hair is individually placed on the doll's head, then carefully combed to arrange a specific hairstyle, cut, etc. The final stage of production is, of course, the addition of the ningyo dress – fabric kimono or dress with traditional Japanese handmade paper, washi.

4. FABRICS

Wealth, elegance luxury – these are just a few words that come to mind when we see the fabric, in which Japanese ningyo are presented. The best craftsmen of the Edo period, using the latest textile technologies, dressed their dolls in spectacular creations with glitter silk, in bold patterns, or simple yet subtly woven silks, which not only reflect the tastes of the era but also allow artists' work to be identified later. Good knowledge of the patterns and fabrics used

[14] Alan Scott Pate, *Ningyo. The Art of ...*, 16.

also allows researchers to perform better dating of various dolls and find out where ningyo could have been made. Historically, craftsmen making ningyo did not sign their works. We can only speak about a workshop or factory in a certain prefecture, not a specific artist.[15] Only the most outstanding artists were honored in such a way that their dolls were given their creators' names. Aside from the obvious aesthetic value of fabrics that enhance the beauty and attractiveness of ningyo, they also have practical applications. They were often a shell holding together loosely coupled components in certain types of dolls, like *Hina* or *Musha ningyo*. Textiles were also used to conceal the joints and the working mechanisms of some dolls (eg *karakuri ningyo*).[16] Typically soft silk fabrics were used to protect the upper part of the arm of some dolls that used wires and cables for attaching the arms to the body. Small, round patches of fabric were also used for security and masking hinges and dowels used in many triply-connected ningyo (*mitsuore ningyo*). A commonly used material in the Edo period and later was silk. Also used were: satin, silk crepe, velvet and various decorative techniques like gold, embroidery with silk threads and various techniques of staining these materials. To better illustrate the difference between the textiles, the author will describe two important patterns used in costumes for ningyo: *kinran* and *chirimen***.**

Kinran is a very luxurious and specialized type of textile, imported initially from China (from the tenth century, the time of the Chinese Song Dynasty), which relies on a combination of gold and gold leaf stripes of various shapes with strands of fabric to create a distinctive pattern.[17] Until the fifteenth century, the fabric was imported directly from China, so only the most affluent people could afford it. Then it began to be produced in Japan, for example in the district of Nishijin in Kyoto, which lowered its prices. The fabric was mainly used in the costumes of Buddhist monks and actors of Noh and Kabuki theatre, as well as the costumes of higher social classes. There was a silver variant of this technique called *ginran* (using silver threads).

Chirimen is a traditional Japanese weaving technique developed in the late sixteenth century. Fabrics thus made are characterized by an unusual structural texture, called *Shibo* (wrinkles).[18] The warp threads are the same as in ordinary smooth fabrics, but the weft yarn consists of two interleaved

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[15] In Japan, in Ishikawa Prefecture, there is a whole village where ningyo are still produced using this traditional technique.

[16] Lea Baten, *Identifying Japanese…*, 78-79.

[17] "Bando Kinran," last accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.e-bando.co.jp

[18] "Chirimen Craft," last accessed October 16, 2014, http://thekyotoproject.org/english/chirimen-craft/

per shift and each of them is repeatedly twisted, which forms a relief pattern on the surface of the fabric (often referred to by Japanese wrinkles). This fabric is mainly used to create elegant kimonos.

It should also be mentioned that the outfits for ningyo were created to suit the particular dimensions of the dolls. All accessories, components, and patterns on the fabrics were matched to a particular form – there were never two identical dolls. Each has a different facial expression, kimono and accessories (it is always present, even when the doll portrays a popular character or ruler). Contemporary ningyo have more universal facial expressions and costumes – as the Japanese themselves say, "*more kawaii*." In the nineteenth century when Japan opened its borders, a practice also appeared in poorer prefectures of creating costumes for ningyo with scraps of old kimonos – often very expensive materials, passed from generation to generation. But it was a great way to make money – at the time when ningyo were becoming popular among collectors in the West (mainly the US and France). Kimono "tape" is often ordinary paper, which stiffens fabric and keeps it in amazing form (that is why the material in some of the dolls holds together).[19] If we had to undress some of the dolls, we could without difficulty find out exactly which period they come from, just by the scraps of newspapers, letters or books underneath the dress; however we would then have to violate the fragile structure of ningyo, which no collector or researcher would dare.

Kimonos for ningyo are a work of art in themselves – a perfect reflection of the clothes worn every day by Japanese people. Kimonos can be seen as a kind of applied art that attained the level of a fine art (*Bijutsu Kogei*).[20] Various types of designs were painted on kimonos: landscapes, flowers, coats of arms, everyday objects (e.g., fans), compositions based on literary works, and small, geometric patterns.[21] Appropriate kimono colors allowed the viewer to recognize the season of its creation. On the other hand, the patterns and material determined the corresponding social status or position held. This was enriched by the typeface of the kimono, allowing an opportunity to focus on its decoration. With a good knowledge of kimono labels, patterns, and workshops, we can better interpret Japanese Dolls – determining whether they represent a young woman, geisha, or a government official.

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[19] In the Doll Museum in Pilzno we can see fragments of such papers – in this case, it was scraps of French menu with half of the twentieth century, which "fell out" from under the kimono of ningyo during transport.

[20] Barbara Zaborowska, *Kimono, jego dzieje i miejsce w japońskiej kulturze*, (Warszawa: Trio, 2003), 105.

[21] Małgorzata Martini, *Piękno i tradycja. Kolekcja kimon Kodaimaru Company i Rodziny Yamanaka,* (Kraków: Centrum Sztuki i Techniki Japońskiej Manggha, 2006), 20.

Ningyo of the Edo period represent a perfect time capsule for textile study, giving vivid evidence of the dominant weave structures, dyes, and decorative techniques: of how color and patterns were paired and how textiles were employed. Further, the various forms of ningyo provide a fathomless window into Japanese history and culture as a whole.

5. KINDS OF NINGYO

Due to the variety of forms and types of ningyo, the author has selected the most distinctive and interesting examples that can be found in two of the largest collections of Japanese dolls In Poland: the Puppet Museum in Pilzno and the Villa Japonica in Wisła. It should be noted, however, that this is only a small part of the wonderful world of ningyo, selected to show the essence of the topic.

5.1 Hina Ningyo

In discussing the types and forms of ningyo, one should start with two Japanese popular festivals: *hina matsuri* (day girls) and *Tango no Sekku* (day boy), whose traditions are inextricably associated with ningyo.

"Girl's Day" is known by several different names, each revealing different aspects of the festival's nature and import. *Monto no Sekku* (Peach Festival) is one of the earliest names.[22] The peach has long been considered symbolic of spring. It is called the "*fruit of progeny*," and has connotations of immortality, fertility and marital happiness. Used to symbolize women, the peach connotes a sense of softness, mildness, and peace – qualities associated with Japan's traditional feminine ideal. Contemporary displays still feature a peach blossom sprig, a tribute to the custom's roots.

Hina ningyo are also connected with the feast of *hina matsuri* (*hina* as a term literally means "small and lovely"), and have their historical origins (like most ningyo) in the rites of purification of the third month, known as Joshi.[23] Ningyo there were a kind of "scapegoat" onto whom evil forces from man transferred

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[22] Alan Scott Pate, "The Hina Matsuri. The living tradition," *Daruma. Japanese Art & antiques magazine,* Febuary 17, 1997

[23] The *Hina matsuri* was historically celebrated on the 3rd day of the 3rd month by the lunar calendar, which, by our reckoning, could fall anywhere from February to April. Today, March 3rd, in deference to the Western solar calendar, is the official day of celebration, with the display of dolls beginning a few days before and lasting until a few days after. The rest of the year the dolls are stored safely in boxes, preserving them admirably from one year to the next, one decade to the next, and in many cases one century to the next.

during the ritual (they were then typically burned). In the Edo period, Joshi rites evolved into a major celebration, combined with cockfights and gradually presenting Hina dolls as the most important part of the festival.[24] In this context, the hina ningyo were used not so much for purifying, but as Yori Shiro (a temporary storage location) for the kami (gods) who were invited to the earth to bless and purify the house during this time of year (March).[25] Unfortunately, most of the documents and written accounts of the Hina Matsuri from the Edo Period come from the households of the elite. How the Festival was practiced in more modest homes is left to speculation.

The celebration of Hina matsuri in a form similar to that known to us today began to appear in Kyoto in the first half of the sixteenth century. The starting date, presenting hina ningyo at the festival is considered the year 1629. In that year, the niece of Tokugawa Iemitsu, the third Tokugawa Shogun (r. 1623-1651), became Empress at the age of 6. Known as Myojo Ten'no, she was one of the few females ever to hold this position. On March 3rd, as part of the festivities, it is recorded that a large celebration was held in her honor and that hand dolls were a significant part of the gifts received from her uncle Iemitsu.[26]

The earliest forms of hina ningyo are standing figures (tachi – Bina), whose prototypes were the oldest dolls, cut from paper. The emperor is shown standing with arms to the side, nearly identical to the stick amagatsu, without hands or feet.[27] The wooden head was covered with a resilient oyster shell and rice paste mix called gofun. For the empress, the body was fashioned in a tube-like form with no arms. Gradually a form of tachi – Bina has evolved into the following more advanced seated forms:

*__Kan'ei – Bina__: are believed to be the first executed in the seated style. They first appeared in the Kan'ei Era (1624-1644) and may well have been presented to Iemitsu's niece at her coronation celebrations in 1629 and to his daughter on her birthday in 1644. The earliest *Kan'ei-bina* have the empress's arms extending directly out to the side with no hands shown, retaining some paper kami-bina aspects. The emperor most often has his arms at his sides

[24] Lea Baten, *Identifying Japanese...*, 73.

[25] Alan Scott Pate, "The Hina Matsuri"...

[26] Tokugawa Art Museum, In Exquisite Taste: Hina Dolls and Furnishings, Treasures from the Tokugawa Art Museum No 5, 1989, p. 114.

[27] Gloria Granz Gonick and Yo-Ichiro Hakomani, *Matsuri! Japanese Festival Art,* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History Textile Series, 2003), 34-35.

and his hands are shown; notably, his ceremonial cap or crown is carved as part of his head, so the hair is merely painted on. Textiles are usually executed in shuchin, a silk satin-weave base with a gold or silver-colored supplemental paper thread added to form the designs in the fabric.[28]

Muromachi – Bina – represent an early Edo form, done in the seated style. The arms of both emperor and empress often extend directly to the side with no hands shown. Textiles are generally shuchin with large round motifs incorporated into the design, emulating Muromachi Period (1336-1568) tastes.[29]

<div align="center">*</div>

Jirozaemon – Bina – from the point of view of collectors, the most known and appreciated, so called from the name of the producer of these forms of ningyo from Kyoto – Okada Jirozaemon. These are seated dolls. The emperor and empress have hands folded loosely on their knees – a form later adopted in the following types of hina ningyo – *Kyoho - Bina, Yosoku - Bina and Kokin – Bina*. Hina ningyo are presented on a special platform, more or less in a hierarchical way.[30] Our discussion of the different doll styles of *Hina Ningyo* has focused principally on the *dairi-bina pair*, although by the late 18th century the hina display often included a much wider array of figures. At the top we find the previously mentioned Mr. and Mrs. (Dairi – Bina), often mistakenly called the emperor and empress **(Figure 1)**. They do not represent any specific figures from history, but are rather symbols of nobility and divine connection with the gods.[31] On the left and right side are the ministers (*zuijin*), below are the three ladies (*san'nin kanjo*), then five musicians (*gonin – bayashi*) and three lackeys (*schicho*). In addition, each ningyo is equipped with attributes, emphasizing their role. Often, you can also buy additional accessories for the whole set of *hina ningyo* – such as a litter to carry the noble pair, dining sets, coffee tables, teacups, etc. The whole formed a wonderful collection

Figure 1: Mr. and Mrs., Hina ningyo

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[28] Alan Scott Pate, "The Hina Matsuri"...

[29] Alan Scott Pate, *Japanese Dolls...*, 54.

[30] By this cabinet wooden structure, sometimes mistakenly thought to be Japanese puppet theater.

[31] Alan Scott Pate, "Musha ningyo – Portrait Dolls of Boy's Day," *Daruma. Japanese Art & antiques magazine,* April 14, 1997.

and a symbol of old customs and beliefs.[32] The Hina Matsuri is perhaps the most widely-celebrated of the original "*big five*" festivals. Just as Japanese society has changed dramatically, so has the festival itself and its celebration.

5.2 Tango no sekku

Another festival, contrasting with the calm and lofty hina matsuri, is called "boy's day"– *tango no sekku* or *Feast of the First Day of the White Horse*. A white horse was believed to spring from a union between a dragon and a mare, a steed known for its valor and courage, suitable for a hero.[33] Horses were brought to Japan in the early fifth century. Records indicate that during the reign of Emperor Yuryaku (457-478), equestrian events were sponsored during the 5th month in conjunction with other spring rites to encourage mastery in this area. Called *yabusame*, the event consisted of shooting arrows from horseback at stationary targets.[34] The supernatural or ritual element of Boy's Day can be glimpsed in the alternative name of *Shobu-no-sekku* or Feast of the Iris, which combined ritual displays of the iris as a protector and mock battles fought with iris leaves as part of the purifying and fertility rites of spring. Boy's Day always accommodated both aspects side by side: the martial and the ritual, infusing the festival with layers of meaning.[35] It also distinguishes these ningyo from hina ningyo. Here, each doll has specific attributes and attire. It illustrates a particular person or moment from life, and not, as in the case of idealized *hina ningyo*, anonymous figures. *Musha ningyo* may communicate core values to young boys and teach them what is important in life. At the same time they provide an excellent illustration of history, supplementing famous Japanese historical novels. *Musha ningyo* are an ideal starting point for military research on battle outfits, weapons (bows, swords), and of course the legends associated with the most important battles.

Musha Ningyo must be presented in the proper order and scenery. Though never totally rigid or codified, by the later Edo or early Meiji period, a more elaborate arrangement for the interior display existed, called *uijin mokusei*

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[32] Lea Baten, *Identifying Japanese dolls...*, 67.

[33] Alan Scott Pate, "Musha ningyo – Portrait Dolls of"...

[34] Alan Scott Pate, *Japanese Dolls...*, 76-77.

[35] The 8th century Shoku Nihongi records that the Emperor Shomu (r. 724-748) called for a 5th month *yabusame* display on the palace grounds. On that day, he and members of the court wore iris leaves fashioned into wigs, and it was decreed that all attending the event must carry these leaves as an amulet.

dan-kazari or "*First Encampment Formation*".[36] In this arrangement, the dolls were set on a tiered stand covered in green cloth (as opposed to red for the *Hina Matsuri* or "Girl's Day"). On the top row would sit a *kabuto* or a miniature suit of armor with a helmet. This would be flanked by lanterns, with flags, banners, streamers or a jinmaku (a "camp curtain") waving behind them. On the next level there would be votive elements, *chimaki dango*, sake bottles with iris leaves and trays. Below that were a war drum, *gunsen* (fan) and/or *saihai* (tasseled stick). On the lowest level were three figures: two animal, one human.[37] The exterior display became gradually more limited to banners, streamers and the like. The koinobori (carp banners) of this period are a persistent symbol of Boy's Day today, while many of the other traditions have fallen by the way-side.[38] Carp have long symbolized perseverance, courage, and accomplishment; in Chinese mythology, the carp which succeeds in swimming upstream and hurdling the upper rapids of the Yangtze river is transformed into a dragon. On Boy's Day, *koinobori* are suspended on tall poles. The largest black carp represents the male head of the family, the eldest son gets a red carp (higoi) only slightly smaller than the father, and all successive sons receive progressively smaller carp.[39] Another element that has evolved together with the musha ningyo, was *sashimono*, acting as a banner during the "Day Boy".

To better understand and recognize the present-day *musha ningyo,* we should get to know the relevant Japanese legend. This will allow us to better recognize the ningyo presented – their attributes, dates, and contexts. As mentioned earlier, *musha ningyo* can also be a starting point for the study of contemporary warriors or samurai outfits. In this article, however, we focus on the origins and the importance of ningyo, what they bring to society and what role they play. But it is important to briefly present the main figures represented, which will allow us to better recognize them. I will thus present silhouettes of those heroes whose are most frequently presented by the ningyo in the two Polish collections.

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[36] UA. Casal, *Five Sacred Festivals of Actient Japan,* (U.S.: Tuttle Publishing, 1967)*,* 47-48.

[37] On the left was a fine-haired white horse, often caparisonned, a symbol of the dragon, rain, and oceans, with many Shinto and Buddhist overtones. On the right was a tiger, symbolic of the wind and mountains, also a talisman against evil. In the middle were Shoki, the demon queller and the Chinese Sung Dynasty scholar Chung K'uei.

[38] Alan Scott Pate, "Musha ningyo – Portrait Dolls of"...

[39] Lea Baten, *Identifying Japanese...*, 67.

5.2.1 Characters in Tango no Sekku:

*Minamoto no Yoshitsune – was an outstanding general, living in the late Heian and Kamakura periods. He became famous in the Gempei war of 1180, from which he returned victorious, and was given a hero's welcome. He died by committing seppuku (ritual suicide) with his wife and daughter, betrayed by a jealous brother.[40] Yoshitsune appears as the main character in the third part of the classic Japanese tale *Heike Monogatari*, and is therefore one of the most popular characters in Japanese culture. He has been the subject of books and plays, including: *Yoshitsune Shin Takadachi* (*jōruri*), *Yoshitsune Senbon Zakura* (*jōruri* and *kabuki)* and *Kanjinchō* (kabuki).[41] Among the Ainus, the Minamoto Yoshitsune character was for many centuries surrounded by a religious cult. *Musha ningyo* show Minamoto as a chief fitted with weapons (sword and bow), in a costume that emphasizes his position. Coins with the most important Gampei battle are popular too.

Figure 2: Kintaro on a horse

*Kintaro – was a child of superhuman strength, brought up by a witch on Mount Ashigara **(Figure 2)**. He became friends with the animals living on the mountain, and later, after catching Shuten-Doji, the leader of the devils, a monster ravaging the countryside, he became a loyal warior of Yorimitsu Minamoto (Minamoto no Yorimitsu or Minamoto no Raiko), taking the name Kintoki Sakata. He is a popular hero in such stories as Mukashi-banashi and Otogi-banashi, dramatized in the Noh and Kabuki theater genres. A custom in Japan is to give boys dolls representing Kintarō on Children's Day, in the hope that they will become as brave and strong as he is. Kintarō is supposedly based on a real man, named Kintoki Sakata, who lived in the Heian period and probably came from the town of Minami-Ashigara. He served the samurai Minamoto Yorimitsu and became known for his skill as a warrior. Sakata is presented as a boy with highly developed muscles (emphasizing his strength), sometimes dressed in combat gear and sometimes presented only in his underwear (especially in illustrations of scenes from his youth and life in the mountains).

*Shoki – a legendary figure derived from Chinese tradition **(Figure 3)**. Examples from the Edo period are extremely rare – representations of the figure gained popularity in the Meiji era.

[40] Alan Scott Pate, *Japanese Dolls...*, 86.

[41] Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Mity Ajnów* (Toruń: Kirin, 2010), 15.

Shoki's history is very curious. According to legend, when the Chinese ruler Xuanzang retired, he became seriously ill. In a high fever, he had a dream where he saw a demon running into the palace. He tried to call the guards but suddenly a big bearded man appeared with a long sword and a tattered hat in the Chinese style. He grabbed the demon and sent him to hell. The emperor blushed with fear but asked this deliverer who he was.[42] The latter replied that his name was Zhong Kui and he had once been a candidate for the state service exam but had failed the exam and committed suicide on the steps of the palace. Then the emperor Gozu had arranged an honorable funeral for him and that was why he promised to spend eternity fighting demons. Then the emperor woke up and his disease had vanished. He immediately called for the court painter and ordered a portrait of Shoki (as he is known in Japan). And so he is presented as a big man with a long beard and a long Chinese-style sword and cap with distinctive Chinese wings. In the Meiji era, the significance of this character increased significantly, mainly because of the emperor, who used this legend for propaganda purposes.

Figure 3: SHOKI

5.3 Isho Ningyo

Another type of doll, called *Isho ningyo*, or "fashion dolls," presents some trends in fashion of that era. They were designed, parallel to the previously discussed ningyo, to illustrate the life of society and during the Edo period **(Figure 4)**. Here we see fascinating illustrations of trends in fashion such as *Bijin ningyo* – beautiful dolls **(Figure 5)**, presenting mainly women in fashionable clothes and hairstyles, of all ages and different social status (geishas, married women, women working in the fields). They present all layers of Japanese society. Thanks to their accessories, we can also learn about the professions in Japan at that time. A particularly dynamic subcategory of *Isho ningyo* are *Takeda ningyo*.

Takeda ningyo are dramatic figures, with faces twisted in strange grimaces and a very bold and colorfully embroidered fabric and black lacquered base (always used to support them).

Figure 4: Courtesan

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[42] Alan Scott Pate, *Japanese Dolls...*, 96-97.

Figure 5: Bijin ningyo – beautiful woman

The mentions of these dolls in the documents say that these are doll-souvenirs that can be purchased at the mechanical theatre of Takeda in Osaka (hence their name). In 1855, the mechanical doll artist Takeda Nuidonosuke chose to commemorate the passing of a young actor, Danjûrô, with a fantastic series of mechanized realistic doll tableaux depicting scenes of the young man: behind the curtain of the Kabuki theater applying his makeup, performing one of his memorable roles on stage, at leisure after his performance, and his imagined journey from this earth up to the Buddhist heaven. Each doll was rendered life-size and mechanized to replicate the mesmerizing movements of this most charismatic actor.[43] Held as part of a temple fair in Edo (present-day Tokyo), Takeda's exhibit was a resounding success, with visitors paying dearly to once more behold their beloved Danjûrô. Most of the *Takeda ningyo* presents specific forms of kabuki theater and reflect the style of *arogato* (style invented by Ichikawa Danjuro in the 17th century, characterized by a twisting of the foot and a "frozen" pose.) The dolls are a reflection of the mysterious world of *kabuki* in the Edo period.

The textiles employed in these figures, both male and female, show a preference for black velvet (birôdo) trim, rich brocade overcoats, and red silk undercoats. In a nod to chic heroic Kabuki style and fashion, the outer sleeves are usually depicted thrown back, revealing the under coat with densely embroidered sleeves.[44] The embroidery itself is alternately both generic and clue-ridden. Some of the most common designs depict the "wedded rocks" of Futami-gaura, dragons in whirling clouds, and elaborate floral patterns. These designs, executed in thick gold-wrapped threads, however, have no direct connection with the identities of the characters depicted, but appear to be simply ornamental.[45]

For the collector of antique dolls in general, and Japanese ningyô in particular, takeda-ningyô represent a still little-understood and under-explored category. This immediately striking and distinctive doll form makes a wonderful addition to any collection, providing a touchstone from which to begin an exploration of an entirely new world.

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[43] Alan Scott Pate, "Takeda ningyo. The twisted Drama of japanese doll," *Antique Doll,* October 12, 2009.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Lea Baten, *Identifying Japanese...*, 85.

5.4 Mechanical ningyo

An extremely curious kind of mechanical puppet are *karakuri ningyo*. With spring – rack and pinion mechanisms set up on the basis of the mechanical clock imported from Spain – these dolls are the first Japanese robots. They can move, serve tea, and do archery and calligraphy. There are four main types of *karakuri ningyo*: *zashiki* – popular in the home shelter, standing dolls, *dashi* – used in theaters and directed by the man behind the curtain, *Chahakobi* – popular dolls serving tea and *kobe* – small dolls, set in motion by twirling, that sway back and forth (called. dolls of mads). In the Polish collections we have just two examples of the *kobe* mechanical puppet. We should draw attention to the existence of these dolls, because of the strong connection of mechanical ningyo to traditional ceremonies and their domestic use. No other Japanese puppets have such practical applications in everyday life.

6. Ningyo in successive eras – their functions and forms

In the the Meiji period ningyo gained a new political function. With the accession to the throne of Emperor Meiji in 1868, and the overthrow of the shogunate, authority once again became centralized. Japan opened its borders, and innovation, actively welcomed by the modernizing emperor, began to flow from the West. During this period, the first prohibitions on wearing kimonos in official places (like goverment offers, etc.) appeared. People working in offices or the military had to wear western outfits. The Emperor Meiji also cultivated this new tradition, showing up at all official public functions in the uniform of the Prussian army. His spouse did likewise, putting on the most fashionable dresses of foreign designers. A collection of dolls has been preserved that was created for the silver wedding anniversary of Emperor Meiji, showing him in a uniform and hair style modeled on Western styles, and his wife in a white dress in Victorian style.[46] Meiji era dolls took on the function of political propaganda, unsurprisingly.

In subsequent periods, ningyo fulfilled the same functions as before, but also succumbed to processes of automation. Mass production for foreign collectors simplified the ninyos' form and meaning. Contemporary dolls do not have such beautiful faces or clothes. Most have similar kimonos, and present the elements of Japanese culture that are typical and interesting

[46] Alan Scott Pate, "Japanese dolls and the Imperial image," *Dolls News Magazine,* Summer, 2011.

to the average Westerner, such as beautiful geishas. On the other hand, the new ningyo fit into this new reality. Contemporary Japanese society seems to have lost its roots somewhere in favor of Western fashion – clothes, hairstyles or makeup. Yet the tradition is still alive somewhere deep inside the mentality of today's society. At present, therefore, traditional ningyo of the Edo period, ningyo-talismans and new Japanese dolls coexist in the same space and time – which also reflects a certain social perception of the world. Contemporary ningyo illustrate this in a literal way. Having always reflected the prevailing fashion, they still do this. Still they are not ordinary children's toys which we observe in, for example, the puppet Dolphi. This puppet was the work of sculptor Akihiro Enki, who made her as a birthday present for his wife. The doll measured 57 cm and had moving groove ball joints and adult proportions. Ms. Shigeta, the wife of the owner of Volks, acknowledged that the doll may have gained popularity in customers' eyes. A year later, the company released the first four models.

7. **Ningyo Conquer Europe**

Ningyo appeared in Europe in the late nineteenth century – in the then-current movement of Japonism. They were often presented in paintings, photographs, and woodcuts.[47] French painters played a large role in the popularization of the ningyo; these included Jacques Tissot (1845-1902) and Jules Adeline, who also had their own, impressive collections of ningyo. Henri Toulouse-Lautrec was photographed with a Japanese doll, dressed in a kimono; and Tissot painted them in many of his paintings. The fashion for collecting ningyo spread very quickly. In Europe and the U.S. there were collectors and antique shops[48] specializing in the collection of the Japanese ningyo. In Poland, the interest in ningyo appeared late, in the second half of the twentieth century – the fact that even Feliks "Manghha" Jasieński did not collect them attests to their lack of popularity in our country. Ningyo therefore appear quite rarely as props in Polish painting, mostly in the works of artists who lived permanently or temporarily in Paris, such as Józef Mehoffer, Gustaw Gwozdecki, Olga Boznańska.

The two Polish collections on which my research centered took shape in the late 1960s. Both collections were created through the private initiative of the owners. But they form quite a coherent, well thought out whole. In these two

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[47] Anna Król, *Martwa natura z japońską laleczką (Still life with a japanese doll),* (Kraków: Centrum Sztuki i Techniki Japońskiej Manggha, 2010), 11.

[48] Antiques shops collecting ningyo: *Jonque Chinoise, La Porte Chinoise* or *Au Celeste Empire.*

Polish collections, next to such popular ningyo as, for example, hina ningyo or musha ningyo, we also find very rare examples, such as takeda ningyo or some interesting examples of isho ningyo (the collection of Villa Japonica has a ningyo depicting a woman in a beautiful dress with natural eyelashes and hair, in a beautiful kimono).

CONCLUSION

Japanese dolls therefore bear witness to the history and customs of the Japanese people. They are not just consumer merchandise, but true works of art, a source of knowledge about past times and prevailing trends. They preserve a world of ideas and customs that have otherwise changed along with Japan and its people. On the one hand, they depict the world and the values of a particular social group or period. On the other hand, they were an important carrier of the most important elements of Japanese culture. They were, and are, not just an ordinary craft object, but a plastic record of the existing world. Today they have transformed into an unsurpassed ideal of beauty, copied by young people (it is now fashionable for Japanese women to present themselves as similar to the dolls in gestures, dress and face). Japanese ningyo are therefore an inexhaustible area of study for researchers, and not only art historians. Recalling the cited fragment from *Through the Looking Glass*, we can say that ningyo become what we want them to be – their interpretation depends only on us. Regardless of whether we are researchers, travelers or average observers – Japanese ningyo reflect feelings, gestures or situations close to all of us.

Jana Ryndová – National Gallery in Prague, Czech Republic

Minamoto no Yoshitsune.
Japanese Puppetry (Bunraku) and Graphic Art in the Collection of the National Gallery in Prague

The figure of Minamoto no Yoshitsune (源義経, 1159–1189) remains an outstanding presence, represented in nearly all genres of Japanese drama. The touching destiny of Yoshitsune inspired authors of noh plays, bunraku (jōruri) plays, and kabuki plays. Yoshitsune was born the ninth son of Minamoto no Yoshitomo; therefore he is often referred to as "The Ninth Captain Yoshitune" (九郎判官義経 – kurō hōgan Yoshitsune). The mother of Yoshitsune is generally identified as Lady Tokiwa, the second wife of Minamoto no Yoshitomo, even if some of the chronicles and theatre plays suggest that Yoshitsune was in fact born to one of Yoshitomo's concubines. In the beginning of 1160, just a few months after Yoshitsune's birth, the Minamoto clan attacked the Kyōto residence of the clan's political rival, Taira no Kiyomori. The Minamoto clan was brutally reined in, Minamoto no Yoshitomo was killed while on the run from Kyōto and all his elder sons were executed. Yoshitsune's 13-year-old stepbrother, Yoritomo, was banned to the peninsula of Izu. Lady Tokiwa and her three little sons, including Yoshitsune, were interned in the residence of Taira no Kiyomori. Lady Tokiwa eventually escaped from Kyōto through the mountainous snow-covered countryside and hid her three sons in various monasteries located on the outskirts of Kyōto. The records of Yoshitsune's early life are mainly legend-based. It can be assumed from several chronicles and theatre plays that Yoshitsune was raised

in the monastery of Kurama, where his unusual strength and martial abilities were revealed. At the age of about 16, Yoshitsune escaped to Kyōto and further to the Northeast. To avenge his father's death, Yoshitsune is believed to have attacked 1 000 people at Gojō Ōbashi (The Fifth-Street Great Bridge) in Kyōto. This literary motif is to be found for example in the anonymous bunraku play *Young Yoshitsune Attacking One Thousand People*『牛若千人切』 from around 1679.

Figure 1: Hasegawa Kiyonobu I, Yoshitsune (top left) attacking Benkei (his later vassal) at Gojō Bridge, 1883, from the *Story of Yoshitsune*『義経一代記』series, The National Gallery in Prague, inventory no. Vm 4164. Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague

Yoshitsune figures here under his infant name Ushiwaka Maru (牛若丸 – "Young Bullock"). The image of young Yoshitsune with his round face, broad cheeks and small eyes clearly corresponds with the typical wakaotoko (若男 = young man) type of bunraku puppet.

Yoshitsune's escape to the Northeast naturally became the subject of many legends and theatre plays. The legend of Yoshitsune is even tightly connected to the legend of Princess Jōruri (Pure Jade Princess), after which the genre of Japanese puppetry itself was named. The adventures of "Pure Jade Princess" were probably first published in the late 15th century in the form of *The Tale of Princess Jōruri*『浄瑠璃姫物語』 and *Story of Princess Jōruri in Twelve Chapters*『十二段草子』 – the popular adventures soon started to be staged and a new genre of Japanese puppetry, bunraku (文楽 = "joyful characters" or "joyful literature") or the so called jōruri (浄瑠璃) emerged.

In the *Story of Princess Jōruri in Twelve Chapters* young Yoshitsune makes a stop on his escape to Ōshū and rests in front of a luxurious residence. Suddenly sounds of the stringed instrument called the koto are heard from the residence's interior. Yoshitsune takes out his flute to play to the tune of the koto, which is actually played by Princess Jōruri. Hearing the clear sound of Yoshitsune's flute, Princess Jōruri sends her maidservant to ask about the player's identity. Upon this Yoshitsune and the Princess exchange poems through the maidservant and finally Princess Jōruri decides to leave with Yoshitsune. The maidservant helps to organize their escape and the young couple escapes as far as the Suruga province (the present centre of Aichi prefecture). In Suruga Yoshitsune suddenly comes down with a mysterious

illness and dies. The Princess eventually resurrects him with a teardrop which falls on Yoshitsune's body during her desperate prayers. Yoshitsune is accompanied by the Princess for a while but in the end he continues on his journey to the Northeast alone. Jōruri Princess returns to her home residence in Yahagi, and some legends say she threw herself into the river and drowned upon getting the news about Yoshitsune's marriage.[1]

Figure 2: Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1797–1858)
Jōruri hime ("Pure Jade Princess") leaving home to make her escape with Yoshitsune
53 Stations of the Tōkaidō Road series『東海道五十三対』
1843–1847
The National Gallery in Prague, inventory no. Vm 4374, from the former Joe Hloucha's collection[2]
Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague

The text in the print goes as follows:

東海道五十三對	*53 Stations of the Tōkaidō Road*
岡崎	Okazaki
矢矧の宿	The Residence of Yahagi (Yahaki)
古の駅宿なり昔牛若丸奥刕下	This old roadside inn Ushiwaka (young Yoshitsune)
向の折から爰に逗留ある矢矧の長	passed on his way to Ōshū in the ancient times.
者が娘浄瑠璃姫に深思われ比翼の	His deep affection for the daughter of the Master of the
契浅からざりしか望有身と旅路に	Yahagi Residence, Princess Jōruri, was sealed with

1 Ken'ichi Suzuki, *Yoshitsune densetsu: Hōgan biiki shūtaisei – The Legend of Yoshitsune: Compilation of the Captain's Popularity* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2004), pp. 42-48.

2 Josef "Joe" Hloucha (1881–1957) was one of the first Czech travellers to Japan and a specialist in Japanese art and culture who visited Japan twice, in 1906 and 1926.

赴く姫は別れを惜つゝ遂に館を	mutual vows; the two lovebirds fled the residence
忍び出あとをしたひてたどりしが	and set out on a journey together in distress, the Princess
道にてはからずむなしく成けるこの	leaving with heavy thoughts. This became the beginning
姫いまだ世にある時十二段の物語に音節	of the Princess's famous story described in twelve chapters
付て諷けり是浄瑠璃の初なり今	and the grave of Princess Jōruri is still to be found in
西矢矧村に其塚有	Western Yahagi (Yahaki) village.
絵師　広重	Painter: Hiroshige
版元　伊場久兵衛	Sealed (published) by: Ibaya Kyūhei

The importance of Minamoto no Yoshitsune in Japanese drama and puppetry encompasses motifs spanning from Yoshitsune's young years to his death. When Yoshitsune escapes to the Northeast, he eventually succeeds in joining the army of his stepbrother Yoritomo and in defeating the rival Taira clan. As a well renowned general, Yoshitsune beats off the head of the Taira clan in the naval battles of Yashima and Dannoura in early spring of 1185. These final battles between the Minamoto and the Taira clans and the heroic martial deeds of Yoshitsune also became the subject of many theatre plays. There is for example anonymous bunraku play, *The Battle of Yashima*『八島合戦』, written between 1684 and 1688. Several legends are connected to the battle of Yashima. Yoshitsune is for example believed to have made a jump over eight boats in his attack. Another legend claims that after the battle, Yoshitsune's boat was attacked by the ghosts of the drowned Taira warriors. The ghost of Taira no Tomomori attacking Yoshitsune is the main motif of the noh play *Benkei in a Boat*『船弁慶』by Kanze Nobumitsu, and the original noh play was later adapted in numerous bunraku and kabuki plays, including the best known play emanating from the legend of Yoshistune, the bunraku play *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees*『義経千本桜』from 1747. When the ghost of Taira Tomomori attacks Yoshitsune's boat with a spear, Yoshitsune

tries to fight back with his sword, but to no effect. The ghost is driven back only when Yoshitsune's loyal subject, warrior and a member of mountain monks' sect, Musashibō Benkei, rubs his prayer beads and repels the ghost with his chanting.

Exactly this scene from the play *Benkei in a Boat* is shown each year in the Kamezaki district of Handa town (Aichi prefecture) with the use of mechanic puppets staged on one of the festival's floats. The ghost of Taira no Tomomori walks the waves and waves his spear, Yoshitsune attacks him with his sword and Benkei rubs his prayer beads. The scene is accompanied with the recitation of the replicas from the original noh play. It is moreover worth mentioning that the part of Yoshitsune in the play *Benkei in a Boat* is traditionally performed by a child actor ("kokata" or "kogata" – 子方 – in Japanese theatrical terminology). This makes Yoshitsune, in spite of his heroic character, seemingly vulnerable and adrift, almost puppet-like.

Figure 3:
Top: Kamezaki district of Handa town (Aichi prefecture), two floats in the background (photo – the author's archive)

Bottom: *Benkei in a Boat* scene as it is shown on one of the Kamezaki festival's floats (the ghost of Taira no Tomomori in the left side of the print – holding a spear, Minamoto no Yoshitsune in the centre of the boat – raising the sword, Benkei in the front of the boat – rubbing the prayer beads, boatman at the back of the boat; the figure in the centre is a puppeteer – another of the mechanical puppets, in fact; the figure in the lower right corner is the diseur who opens the performance and manipulates the puppet embodying the puppeteer)[3]
The print was reproduced here by kind permission of the National Diet Library.

In spite of Yoshitsune's great military achievements in the battles of Yashima and Dannoura, he was denied access to Kamakura, the seat of his elder stepbrother, shōgun Yoritomo. Yoshitsune was forced to stay on the outskirts of Kamakura, in Koshigoe, and, not being granted an audience, he was eventually expelled

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[3] The print is not older than the Hōreki era (1751–1764) and it is preserved in a book entitled *Karakuri take no hayashi – The Bamboo Grove of the Mechanical Puppetry*『機関竹の林』which is stored in the depository of the National Diet Library (国立国会図書館所蔵). Reproduced in: Kazuhito Yamada, "Takeda karakuri kairaishi ni tsuite: Fīrudo to bungaku-shi no setten" – "The Role of Puppeteer in Takeda's Mechanical Puppets Show: Bond between the Open Stage and the History of Literature." *Kabuki kenkyū to hihyō – The Research and Review of Kabuki* 12 (1993): p. 93.

from Kamakura and had to escape to the Northeast Honshū. The rift between Yoshitsune and shōgun Yoritomo is the subject of, among other plays, the bunraku play *Yoshitsune's Koshigoe Conditions*『義経腰越状』by Namiki Eisuke from 1754.

Yoshitsune found exile in the town of Hiraizumi, but in the end Yoritomo's troops attacked his refuge in the so called High Residence (Takadachi) in 1189 and crushed the defenders. Upon their defeat, Yoshitsune killed his wife and child (two children, possibly) and committed ritual suicide. Yoshitsune's death is the literary subject of the bunraku play *The High Residence in Five Acts*『高館五段』by Satsuma Jōun from 1625.

The growing popularity of the bunraku genre (and, consequently, of the kabuki genre) led to a close relationship between Japanese drama and Japanese graphic art. This relationship reached its peak in the middle of the Edo period (1603–1867). Playbills, show bills, portraits of famous actors playing well-known parts, graphic works showing memorable scenes from famed plays or the play's reviews were published in great numbers. Not only was famous kabuki actors' acting reviewed, but the achievements of prominent puppeteers, bunraku diseurs or shamisen players were also subjects of common discussion and "mass" graphic production. When Japan reopened to the Western world during the Meiji period (1868–1912), these theatrical graphic materials began to be imported to Europe together with other artistic objects.

Figure 4:
Utagawa Kunichika – 歌川国周

(AKA Toyohara Kunichika – 豊原国周) (1835–1900)
Kabuki actor Onoe Kikugorō V (五代目尾上菊五郎)
(1844–1903) as Minamoto no Yoshitsune, 1872
The National Gallery in Prague, inventory no. Vm 5090
Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague
The portrait clearly shows the idealized, "hero-modelled" image of Yoshitsune developed by the authors of the theatre plays. Generally, the portraits of the actors – yakusha-e (役者絵) are an example of the close relationship constituted between the bunraku (jōruri) and kabuki genres (the adapting of bunraku plays to kabuki genre was a common praxis). Moreover, yakusha-e phenomenon is an example of the equally close relationship between Japanese drama and Japanese graphic art of the Edo period.

In the late Meiji period and in the Taishō period (1912-1926) Western collectors (including Czech travellers such as Josef "Joe" Hloucha) were encouraged by the great diversity and financial availability of Japanese graphic art to import numerous prints to the West. The collection of Oriental art in the care of the National Gallery includes about 13,000 objects, approximately 6 000 of which are objects of Japanese origin. The present National Gallery in Prague started with the establishment of the Society of Patriotic Friends of the Arts in 1796. This institution soon developed into publicly accessible Picture Gallery of the Society of Patriotic Friends of the Arts. In 1902, the Modern Gallery of the Kingdom of Bohemia, financed by a private foundation of Emperor Franz Joseph I, was established. In 1942, during WW2, the funds of the abolished Modern Gallery were transferred under the management of the National (Czech-Moravian Land) Gallery. Finally in 1949, the present National Gallery was established by law. The goal of this article is to present those graphic works from the collection of the National Gallery in Prague that have a connection with Japanese puppetry and the legend of Minamoto no Yoshitsune.

Some prints have been shown and some references to theatrical graphic art and bunraku genre made already. Here, I would like to mention the most complex play on the topic of Yoshitsune's legend, the play _Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees_, in greater detail. The play was written by Takeda Izumo (leading figure of the Takemoto-za theatre in Ōsaka), Miyoshi Shōraku and Namiki Senryū and was first staged in Takemoto-za in 1747. It is a five-act-play with numerous characters who appear and many allusions to older Japanese literary pieces.

Act one is divided into three scenes.

The first scene takes place in the Imperial Palace in Kyōto, where Yoshitsune reports the defeat of the Taira clan. Legendary motifs connected to the battle of Yashima are used here, the most outstanding one being the Hatsune Drum motif. Hatsune Drum (or "The Drum of the Initial Sound") is believed to have been used during a rain invocation ceremony by the emperor Kanmu in 788. Together with other imperial regalia, the Hatsune Drum sank to the bottom of the sea in the battle of Yashima, but the Minamoto warriors were able to fish it out. In the play, Yoshitsune is granted the precious Hatsune drum, but there are consequences connected to this gift. Minister Tomokata plots to worsen the tense relationship between Yoshitsune and shōgun Yoritomo

(even Yoshitsune's not quite voluntary stay at Koshigoe is mentioned in the characters' conversation), and therefore, pretending to be the executor of the emperor's will, Tomokata passes the Hatsune Drum to Yoshitsune, together with the order that Yoshitsune should strike both the drum and his stepbrother Yoritomo.

The second scene takes place in a hermitage in the village of Kitasaga near Kyōto. It appears to be the hiding place of Lady Naishi, the wife of Taira Koremori, and Rokudai, the little son of Koremori and Naishi. Koremori is believed to have drowned in the battle of Yashima, but his subject, equerry Kokingo, visits the hiding place of Naishi and Rokudai discreetly, bringing the news that Koremori in fact survived and is hiding on sacred Kōya Mountain. At the end of the scene, Minamoto troops storm the hermitage, but Kokingo succeeds in hiding Naishi and Rokudai in his travel baskets and take the wife and son of Koremori through to safety.

The third scene takes place in the Horikawa Residence in Kyōto. Yoshitsune enjoys being together with his wife, Kyō no Kimi, and his lover, Lady Shizuka, but this idyll is soon interrupted by the arrival of an envoy from Kamakura, Yoshitsune's father-in-law, Kawagoe Tarō. Kawagoe's entry is often staged separately and can be thought of as a separate scene. Kawagoe, though sympathizing with Yoshitsune, conveys the putative emperor's order that Yoshitsune should strike his brother, shōgun Yoritomo, and warns Yoshitsune that Yoritomo's troops are ready to storm the Horikawa Residence. Yoshitsune's wife believes that as a member of the rival Taira clan, she is one of the reasons for Yoshitsune's and Yoritomo's quarrel, and commits suicide by cutting her throat. Meanwhile, the hot-blooded Benkei attacks the approaching troops of Yoritomo. Consequently, the residence is invaded, and Yoshitsune has to flee Kyōto.

Act two is divided into two scenes.

The first scene takes place in front of the Fushimi Inari Shrine in Kyōto. While escaping from Kyōto, Yoshitsune is approached by Lady Shizuka, who actively took part in defending the Horikawa Residence and wants to accompany her lover on his flight. Yoshitsune, however, forbids Shizuka to follow him on his way and, entrusting the Hatsune drum to her, he leaves her with his loyal vassal Tadanobu, who suddenly appears on the scene, driving off the Kamakura pursuers. As it turns out in act four, Tadanobu is actually an apparition of

a white fox, Fushimi Inari being a shrine to Inari (god of rice and sake) and the fox being a traditional messenger animal of this deity. The white-fox motif is widespread in both Chinese and Japanese folklore and apparitions of white foxes are believed to be endowed with supernatural powers.

The second scene takes place at a hostelry and freight office called the Tokaiya at Daimotsu Bay in the city of Amagasaki. This scene is the famous and frequently staged climax of act two. From Daimotsu Bay, the pursued Yoshitsune intends to continue on his journey on a ship. The owner of the hostelry turns out to be the general Taira Tomomori, another member of the Taira clan who unexpectedly survived the battle of Yashima and is now in hiding. His "wife" turns out to be the imperial wet-nurse, and his little "daughter" turns out to be the child-emperor Antoku (both of them believed to have drowned at the battle of Yashima). In the end of the scene the real identity of the three characters is revealed and Yoshitsune's further journey leads to a naval scrimmage between Yoshitsune's forces and those of Kamakura. Taira Tomomori takes part in the scrimmage and in the end he ties himself to an anchor and throws himself into the sea, which is a motif to be found in *The Tale of the Heike*『平家物語』or in the play *Benkei in a Boat*『船弁慶』; the dramatic ending of the scene is known under the title *Sentry Box at Daimotsu Bay*『大物船櫓』or *Anchored Tomomori*『碇友盛』and it is sometimes staged separately.

Act three is divided into three scenes.

The first scene is set in a teahouse under a pasania tree and it is connected with the second scene of act one. The three refugees, equerry Kokingo, the wife of Taira Koremori, Wakaba no Naishi, and her little son Rokudai meet the "Villain" Gonta, who decides to take his chances and rob the three travellers of their money. He switches his own baggage for theirs and accidentally reveals the true identity of his three victims.

The second scene is entitled *Kokingo's Death*『小金吾討死』; Kokingo, Wakaba no Naishi and Rokudai are hunted down by Kamakura troops and Kokingo is lethally wounded. Naishi and Rokudai then have to go on by themselves. Kokingo's body is discovered by the owner of a nearby sushi shop, Yazaemon, father of the "Villain" Gonta. Yazaemon, with a practical plan in mind, cuts off Kokingo's head and takes it to his shop.

The third scene takes place in Yazaemon's pickled-sushi shop in Shimoichi, a village in Yoshino, one of the most picturesque territories in Japan. Yasuke, Yazaemon's adopted son, his son-in-law-to-be and presumed heir, is in fact the hiding Taira Koremori, another refugee and unexpected survivor of Yashima. Yazaemon knows the Kamakura troops are on Koremori's trail and that is why he brings in Kokingo's head, to hand it over to Kamakura officials as the head of the wanted Taira Koremori. The situation gets complicated when Lady Naishi and her son Rokudai happen to reach the sushi shop on their escape. Astonished, Naishi finds out that Yasuke from the sushi shop is in fact her husband. Meanwhile, the "Villain" Gonta also comes to the sushi shop to elicit more money from his parents. In the end, quite by chance, he takes hold of the sushi barrel in which Yazaemon had previously hidden the head of Kokingo. In spite of his bad reputation, Gonta in fact intends to protect Koremori and his family. When he discovers that the barrel he took from the shop contains Kokingo's head, he (just like his father Yazaemon before him) gets the idea of pretending the head belongs to Koremori. Gonta even sacrifices his own wife and son to hand them over to the Kamakura pursuers as Lady Naishi and Young Lord Rokudai. Tragically, Gonta's true, pure intentions are revealed too late. Yazaemon, enraged by the seemingly unprincipled, greedy behaviour of his biological son, wounds Gonta lethally. Naishi and Rokudai are saved, Koremori enters the priesthood (with the shōgun's official permission, surprisingly). Gonta's wife and son are taken away by Kamakura soldiers and Gonta finally meets his painful death. This is the most emotional and frequently staged part of the play *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees*. The plots of classical Japanese dramas traditionally reach their turning point at act three, the theatrical term being "the twist (or the tragedy) of the third act" (sandanme no higeki – 三段目の悲劇). The "tragedy of the third act" is an inherent and very emotional part of Japanese drama and the twist in the plots of the plays often reflects the particular Japanese attitude to loyalty (parent-and-child relationship, lord-and-vassal relationship).

Figure 5:
Top: "Villain" Gonta taking the wife and the son of Yasuke (Taira Koremori) as presumed hostages[4]
(Inventory no. F60-01386, reproduced here with a kind permission of the Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.)
Bottom: Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786–1865)
Segawa Kikunojō V performing a quick-costume-change (hayagawari – 早変わり), playing the double role of Osato (the daughter of the sushi shop owner Yazaemon) and "Villain" Gonta (the son of Yazaemon), 1829
The National Gallery in Prague, inventory no. Vm 1482, purchased by the National Gallery in 1959, from the former collection of Joe Hloucha
Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague

Act four is divided into three scenes.

The first scene is a typical, even obligatory part of a Japanese drama, called "the journey passage" (michiyuki – 道行). In the case of the play *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees* the journey is the one that Yoshitsune's vassal Tadanobu and Yoshitsune's mistress Shizuka make to Yoshino and the passage is entitled *The Journey with the Drum*『初音の旅』; Shizuka is originally ordered to return to Kyōto, but she doesn't give up and, holding on to her Hatsune drum, she follows Yoshitsune on his way. It is a lyrical dancing scene set in the aesthetically pleasing early spring landscape of Yoshino with an added allusion to the legend of the battle of Yashima (folk songs and verses from the noh play *Kagekiyo*『景清』 are cited here).

The second scene takes place in the Zaō Hall of the Zaō monastery hidden in the hills of Yoshino. The local monks meet to decide whether they should protect Yoshitsune against the shōgun's wrath and grant him an asylum or not. This scene functions merely to link the plot together and is not staged very often.

The third scene takes place in the mansion of Kawatsura Hōgen (abbot Kawatsura). Yoshitsune is hiding here, hoping to explain himself and gain the trust of his brother, shōgun Yoritomo, again. Yoshitsune's vassal Tadanobu, who reports that he returned to his home province because his mother had fallen seriously ill, also comes to the mansion; just when she died, Tadanobu got the news about Yoshitsune's trouble, and as soon as his mourning time

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[4] The photo was used by Stanleigh H. Jones with the permission of the Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum of Waseda University in Tokyo.
Reproduced in: Jones, Jr., *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, p. 182.

was over, he set out on a journey to support his lord. From Tadanobu's report it is clear that he cannot be the man to whom Yoshitsune entrusted his armour earlier. Neither can he possibly be the same man whom Yoshitsune ordered to guard Lady Shizuka at Fushimi Inari Shrine (compare the previous summary of act two). By the time of the real Tadanobu's arrival, Yoshitsune's mistress Shizuka has reached the residence as well, and when confronted with the real Tadanobu, she reveals the fact that she had been accompanied by a white fox transformed into Tadanobu's apparition. The white dog-fox was actually lured on by the sound of the Hatsune drum every time Shizuka hit the drum, because the Hatsune drum was once covered with the skin of his fox parents. Yoshitsune, moved by the fox's filial devotion, eventually gives the Hatsune drum to Tadanobu the Fox. This part of the scene is even entitled *Tadanobu the Fox*『狐忠信』; in the final part of the scene, Kawatsura's residence is attacked by the monks of the Yoshino monasteries, who have secretly decided to turn Yoshitsune in… The grateful white fox, in the shape of Tadanobu, drives the monks away using his magical powers.

Act five consists of only one scene only and is staged surprisingly seldom.

The only scene in act five takes place in the mountains of Yoshino, where the fight between Yoshitsune's supporters and his rivals continues. Tadanobu the Fox helps the real Tadanobu to avenge Tadanobu's brother's death, Yoshitsune's rivals are defeated and in comes the Kamakura envoy and Yoshitsune's father-in-law, Kawagoe Tarō, together with minister Fujiwara Tomokata, bringing the news that Yoshitsune is cleared of all suspicions and that he can take his revenge on Tomokata. Minister Tomokata is beheaded, with Yoshitsune's consent, by one of the monks of Yoshino, who turns out to be Taira Noricune, the third hidden survivor of the Yashima battle. With the beheading of the devious minister Tomokata, the karma of all the characters in the play *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees* symbolically reaches its climax.

Figure 6: Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786–1865). Triptych showing a scene from the play *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, 1859. The National Gallery in Prague, inventory no. Vm 5554 Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague. Crucial scene from the fourth act of the play *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, written by Takeda Izumo, Miyoshi Shōraku and Namiki Senryū, first staged in 1747. Yoshitsune, holding

the Hatsune drum, stands in the centre; on the left side kneels Tadanobu the Fox; on the right side kneels Yoshitsune's lover, Lady Shizuka. The scene takes place in the back yard of abbot Kawatsura's residence.

Figure 7:

Top: A white fox transforming into Tadanobu, one of Yoshitsune's vassals. The puppeteer is lowered to the stage with the use of a pulley mechanism so that the fox appears dramatically, as if jumping onto the stage. This is not, however, the usual performing praxis any more. (Inventory no. F60-01385, reproduced here with a kind permission of the Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.)

Centre: Tadanobu the Fox. The puppet is extraordinary for its costume and the shape of its hands. The white costume is decorated with the motifs of flames symbolizing the magical powers of the white fox. The hands of the puppet are particularly curved to resemble fox's claws and this special sign of the puppet is actually called "fox's claws" or, more literally, "fox's hands" (狐手 = kitsune-de).[5] The photo was reproduced here with the kind permission of Mr. Stanleigh Jones.

Bottom: Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786–1865)
Ichikawa Danjūrō VII in civilian clothes, taking a typical fox's position; the print contains lines from the play *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, ca 1825
The National Gallery in Prague,
inventory no. Vm 5062, purchased by the National Gallery in 1979
Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague

The motif of Tadanobu the Fox symptomatically illustrates the bond between Japanese puppetry and kabuki theatre, as well as the pictorial side of Japanese drama as reflected in Japanese graphic art (especially in the late 18th and 19th century ukiyo-e).

The prints reflect the character of Tadanobu the Fox, including typical aspects of the actor's movement and expression, and these are clearly derived not from a natural fox's behaviour, but from the fox's image incorporated into the puppet of the white fox and, in particular, the puppet of Tadanobu the Fox itself. The graphic art here reveals the tension between animal, human and puppet present in the character of Tadanobu the Fox.

5 Photo by Stanleigh H. Jones. Reproduced in: Jones, Jr., *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, p. 243.

The author hopes to analyze more such examples of the unique bond between Japanese drama and graphic art, based on artistic pieces from the collection of the National Gallery in Prague, in the future.

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Poupak Azimpour Tabrizi – **University of Tehran, Iran**

Handmade Dolls of the Iranian Nation, the Representatives of Culture and Civilization

Female power and the deities who represent it played an important role in most prehistoric communities according to numerous sources. The various forms of such worship show adoration of reigning goddesses.

"This aspect reveals female power, showing a mother giving life to, nursing and feeding other living beings. These figures have a general form, lacking specificity. They reflect the importance of female power and the 'Great Mother.' The Great Mother is formless, according to analytical psychology, but it is expressed in image that always accompany man. The manifestation of these beliefs are depicted in the forms of the early goddesses, myths and man-made creatures.

"The figures are very simple: without hands and often T-shaped. Furthermore, the figures are depicted in different styles, ranging from realistic to abstract, and in between these two approaches. However, a tendency towards abstraction and simplification of forms is distinguishable in Iran."[1]

In those days a woman was considered a complicated being, as can be seen in the statuettes from that time. In the ancient universe, a woman was considered a mythic symbol, according to anthropologists and archaeologists. Female deities are the first figures to display female characteristics. Female deities represent not only human motherhood but represent the mother of all living beings as well.

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[1] Kani, Shahin. "Female Ritual figures in the Plateau of Iran," *Art Journal*, Summer 1980, No. 48, pp. 96-10.

In the ancient world of the Iranian mythology, woman is sacred and most of the deities depicted are females.

The sculpture of ancient cultures, for example from the Neolithic age, also shows veneration of female deities, depicted in statues or statuettes.

The culture of a civilization can be known through studying objects excavated from ancient ruins. The figures and statuettes discovered in Iran are closely related to dolls later produced by the Iranian tribes. One can find many things in common. A doll can reveal much about the human life it represents or symbolizes. By making dolls, man expresses his needs, desires, passions and pains. Dolls were ritualistic objects before being used for entertainment. Doll-making represents one of man's first ways of expressing curiosity to find out the meaning of creation. It is due to resemblance of doll to man. Humans try to reproduce an image of themselves by means of other things; and therefore figures and statuettes are among the man's oldest artifacts. The first known figures represent women, possibly due to the close connection between women and birth or creation. Also, woman has a deep connection with fertility and the word "earth;" she gives life through her child-bearing. *The Great Mother* and "mother earth" are two terms that refer to child-bearing goddesses used in many civilizations to symbolize not only pregnant women, but the symbolic shelter and protection associated with the feminine. Most Iranian dolls are female, too, and just like real women, have their own maternal, feminist and fertile qualities in addition to their typical charming beauty. Though it is not possible to explore all the details in this brief presentation, I will take a comparative look at Iranian toy dolls and ancient figures and introduce some dolls from various regions and tribes in Iran, paying attention to their dresses, facial expressions, and local beliefs.

Conservation and revival of local and tribal dolls of a country is one way to preserve some parts of our culture for future generations; at the same time, this can prevent us from forgetting and losing our cultural inheritance. Reviving these dolls will result in the revival of some parts of our customs and traditions in clothing, make up, decoration, songs, lullabies and legends of the culture of each tribe. Therefore the dolls should be seen as complete cultural representatives of each nation, their presence in children lives providing a connection to the lives of tribal and national cultures. To stop making and buying commercial dolls – which only benefit capitalism – would be a big step towards refocusing our children on our own rich national culture.

Figure 1, 2: Gorjuq- Golestan Province- Turkmen Sahra County which is a region in the northeast of Iran near the Caspian Sea, bordering Turkmenistan

Figure 3: Galin – East Azerbaijan Province

The Dolls of "Turkmen Sahra "

These dolls are made in keeping with the aesthetic of Turkmen women's clothes, ornaments, and makeup. A piece of wood is used for the body, a button for the head, and a very simple dress – much simpler than the way real women dress in the region – covers the doll. A ring on top of the head, covered with a scarf, is a symbol of marriage. The fact that these dolls don't have faces results from a religious belief. The Turkmen tribe is Sunni and opposed to such pictorial representations, which they believe can lead to adverse consequences. When they make a figure, they therefore put an obvious inaccuracy in it to emphasize that creation is only for God and man can never make a complete and perfect creation **(Figure 1, 2)**.

The Dolls of Kermanshah

In Kermanshah, women are very active and do much of the tribe's work. Dolls with veils or head coverings represent women whose husbands have gone to war but have not yet returned.

Dolls of Azerbaijan: Galin

The tribal and nomad women of Azerbaijan are some of the few women who work very hard alongside their men to protect the tribe and do agricultural and herding work. They are usually great horse riders. Covering their mouths shows a kind of respect and adherence to Azari tribe customs. **Yashmagh** means *to cover* and it is said "the quieter a bride is, the higher her decency is and her husband's family respects her much more for it." Yashmagh is a symbol of virginity and marriage among the Azerbaijanis **(Figure 3)**.

Dohtoluk

Dohtoulou means "little girl," and this doll, too, is designed according to the dresses of local women and is very beautiful and glamorous. As the people of this area are Sunni too, the doll can't fully represent a human body or else a great sin is committed;

so, in order not to suffer divine retribution, they should keep compliance with God's laws. The doll is very abstract but children accept and love it and create their own imaginative world with it **(Figure 4)**.

Doll of South Khorasan Dotook:

As this region is adjacent to Baluchistan and because of the immigration of Sistan and Baluchistan tribes to here, most of the dolls' faces – for example are decorated with a beauty spot (a symbol of beauty) beside the lips – and ornaments are a combination of different tribal beliefs of these areas. A doll with a face wrapped with threads is a symbol of the sun, which in the ancient Iranian beliefs represents the goddess of fertility. This belief, revived by a doll maker – an elder of this tribe – shows how a belief can live on for thousands of years **(Figure 5, 6)**.

Bazbazak Doll of Bakhtiari

Bazbazak is a doll of the Bakhtiari Tribe that girls make in their childhood and their teenage years and practice and learn everyday life with it. They learn a traditional dance named *Dastmal Bazi* (handkerchief-game) with these dolls. As for the name of the doll, it is a repetition of two words – *Baz- Baz* – and the diminutive suffix of "*ak*" at the end conveys a childish feeling. Bazbaz means the one who dances and is a doll-play slang used during children's dances, performances and play.

The bazbazak doll has all the ornaments and decorations of traditional Bakhtiari dresses. To decorate the doll's head with hair, goat hair or even girls' hair is used **(Figure 7)**.

Boi Gelamkor (the Kilim-weaver doll) Doll of Kermanshah

Working has no age boundary among the nomads, and even children do work suitable for their physical abilities. The kilim-weaver's doll is a gift from mothers to daughters who weave kilim, for though they work they are still children and need to play. A kilim-weaver's doll enters girls' lives in their

Figure 4: Dohtoluk-Hormozgan Province

Figure 5, 6: Dotook – South Khorasan Province -Tajmir village

Figure 7: Bāz Bāzak-Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad Province

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Figure 8: Boi Gelem kor-Kermanshah Province-Harsin County

childhood or teenage years. The period is short enough that it can be filled with one doll. They weave during the day and play with their dolls in the evening; in other words this doll is a bridge between their world of youth and adulthood.

Kilim weaving has a long history in Harsin, probably older than the oldest living people there. From long ago, women in Harsin used to spend most of their time on weaving kilims, supplementing their families' income. Every mother used to teach this art to her daughter and when the daughter learned it, she would be ready to marry. To encourage their daughters to weave, mothers used to make a doll and a small kilim. Girls found weaving attractive when it was combined with doll play (**Figure 8)**.

Beyg'ak Doll of Boushehr

Beyg'ak is also known as the Robed Doll and *Bah'ig*. Bey'gak is derived from the word "beig" which means "bride" in the Boushehri dialect. The –*ak* suffix is a diminutive at the end.

Figure 9: Beygak-Bushehr Province

The doll is made from two pieces of wood, some clothes and a circular plate (in recent times, it could be a jam jar lid). In the past, mothers and grandmothers used to make this doll so their daughters could play with it in the evenings. At the beginning of their use, when the dolls are still "girls," they don't have faces, but the faces are drawn on them during play, after marriage (**Figure 9)**.

The blank and featureless face of the Beyg'ak is a specific characteristic. In fact, the doll is designed, in a way, to let the girls draw their faces and give them life. This role-playing begins the moment the child starts to play with the doll. The child draws the face by using her immediate feeling about the doll. This almost looks like a puppet show completed with the doll playing a part of the show.

Dohtoluk

Dohtoluk is a small size doll just few centimeters. In the local dialect Dohto means "girl" and "luk" means little. This doll is from Hormozgan province.

Pea Doll (arusak-e noxodi')

In old times, and especially during cold winter nights, grand-mothers and mothers would make a small doll from peas and a piece of clothes. It somewhat resembles a human face, so the protruding part of the pea can be used as the doll's face.

Golbe Vi Baazi Vaaz Doll of Kermanshah

It means a bride playing with flowers. This is one of the local dolls of the Kurd areas in Kermanshah province and in Sahne town that used to have a special place for older generations. The doll is given to a bride at her wedding: wishing her a safe delivery and good health, with nice, happy children. This is a memorable and blissful doll and socially and traditionally believed to be quite important to older generations (**Figure 10**).

Figure 10: Golbe Vi Bāzi Vāz-Kermanshah Province – sahneh County

Lo'batak

For years, people of Sistan used to make these dolls and let their children play with them. In the past they used to cut straight branches off a local tree named Gaz to make this doll. The branches were wrapped in white stripes to produce a human-body shape; then hats, kerchiefs and Chadors were added. Today, polished wood is used as the main part and the curves of the body are made of clothes, put under the dress. The dress is changed, too, these dolls wear elegant local dresses, instead of a chador (**Figure 11, 12**).

70 or 80 years ago, Lo'bats didn't have any facial features as their faces were veiled, but today they have facial features.

Their eyes and eyebrows are stitched or drawn in black or red herbal ink taken from a local plant named Zirbak. Each side of the face is painted and then, for the doll's hair, goat hair or wool is used on her head and fixed on the two sides with decorative pins. A small hat is put on the head and a silk scarf goes on top of that. The dress of the doll is made like the traditional dresses to put on. Copper wire and golden threads are used to make decoration.

Figure 11, 12: Lo'batak – Sistan and Baluchestan Province

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Leyli

Leyli is a term used for dolls and is a symbol of beauty in some provinces of Iran like: Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad, some parts of Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari and Fars. If we take that this term is derived from the name Leyli, we can interpret it as having symbolic and aesthetic significance. In semiotics, popular terms used for dolls are found to have archetypical character. The way people look at dolls when their daughters play with them relates to their ideals and hopes for their children; in other words, the importance of Leyli, derived from literature and stories, relates to their conversion into real life and form. From an aesthetic point of view, a doll joins together physical beauty and an ideal. It teaches a lesson to girls that, in addition to having an exemplary status, their dolls have a means of reaching that high status, too. That is to say that Leily, the subject of Majnoon's lover, is born again and duplicated in dolls representing a root of beauty and grace in the highest form. In different places we can find some definitions of Leyli:

According to the elders (grandfathers and grandmothers) the name is derived from Leyli. Leyli is the symbol of beauty and perfection in Persian literature. Today, in spoken language, Leyli is applied to all dolls **(Figure 13)**.

Figure 13: Leyli – Bushehr Province

Vayl

In vernacular and local dialect of Talesh, Vayl means doll. Taleshian mothers use cross-shaped wood covered with clothes to make a doll. Sometime the skeleton is also made from pieces of clothing. Then a face is added and local dress is put on it.

At the End

Conservation and revival of local and tribal dolls of a country is one way to preserve some parts of our culture for future generations; at the same time this will prevent us from forgetting and losing our cultural inheritance. Reviving these dolls will result in the revival of some parts of our customs and traditions in clothing, make up, decoration, songs, lullabies and legends of

the culture of each tribe. Therefore the dolls should be looked as complete cultural representatives of each nation and their presence in children lives will connect to those lives of the tribal and national cultures. To stop making and buying commercial dolls – which only benefit capitalism – represents a big step towards refocusing our children on our own rich national culture.

This article has been written based on my field investigation. It is original and involved fieldwork that included many years travel to villages and research among different tribes and ethnic groups in Iran.

Lenka Gyaltso – National Gallery in Prague, Czech Republic

Losel Dolls

Abstract

The project of creating a collection of Losel Dolls started in the 1980s in the south India. Monks from the Drepung Loseling monastery made dolls dressed in Tibetan traditional clothes. The clothing was not just a random copy of contemporary fashion but was connected with research on the original appearance, shapes and materials of the clothes worn in Tibet before the Chinese invasion in 1950. Tibetan refugees provided help with their own pieces of clothing or old pictures which they brought with them to India. Other sources, such as images recorded by foreign travelers, were used as the basis and inspiration for creating the dolls´ clothes. Tibetan exile institutions started using them to represent Tibetan traditional costumes, culminating in the founding of the Losel Doll Museum in the Norbulingka Institute in Dharamsala just a few years ago.

Introduction to Tibetan Clothes

Clothes in general provide not only a practical covering and protection for the body but have other obvious or hidden meanings. Clothing is connected with social status, age, and gender. The development of each piece of clothes has its own history and can tell a story of the environment, of the society, and of cultural influences and inspirations. It symbolizes affiliation with a social group; a change of clothes can help someone make a new identity and integrate within a group. Forms of dress can represent the wealth and privilege of the wearer. Not only can expensive material, decoration, and

jewellery be signs of social position and power, but headwear can also signal them. Some clothes are also connected with a specific period in people´s life or with transitions and rituals.

Traditional Tibetan costumes went through different stages of historical development, but not so radically differentiated as in Western culture. Their shape and cut stayed the same, though the materials and designs changed and became simplified and more comfortable for daily use. The obsession with luxury clothes and huge, expensive jewellery was criticized by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso (1876-1933). The powerful voice of the Dalai Lama was heeded to a greater or lesser degree by most Tibetans. In 2006, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso (born in 1935) called on them to stop using fur and animal skin. He appealed to Tibetans to think about the protection of endangered animals who die at hunters´ hands for their precious fur. This is true of the snow leopard, tiger, and the Tibetan antelope *Chiru*. Tibetan *Chuba* coats and hats were particularly affected by that restriction, and tailors started to create other decorations for the hems. Nowadays textile hems, e.g. brocade or silk, embroideries, tie-dying, or imitation animal skins are used. To eliminate or reduce the desire for animal skin, it was recommended that fur-decorated Chubas be burned, and the recommendation was followed in many parts of Tibet. After the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950, many old traditions were changed or lost. The nobility disappeared and their costumes too. The complicated hairstyles formerly popular among noblewomen, such as *Padug* or *Pago*, as well as their costly jewellery, are no longer to be seen. Clerics no longer wear their two top-knot hairstyle and their golden silk *Chubas* can only be seen in old photographs. But regional costumes still retain their specific shape, though they are worn in simplified form and just occasionally. Traditional habits of dress in Tibet are mostly followed by the older generation and in remote village areas. Women, especially, wear *Chubas*, while men wear them mostly on important days of the Tibetan calendar, such as the Tibetan New Year *Losar*, festivals connected with the events of Buddha Gautama´s life, or some Buddhist teachers´ birthdays. The atmosphere of old times in Tibet, meaning before 1950, can only be found in the old photographs, movies, or museums. A very interesting photographic archive is located in the British Museum in London, and another in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, where over 6,000 photographs of Tibet, from 1920 to 1950, are deposited. Collections of mostly black and white pictures of British diplomats and travellers can be considered a treasure and a reminder of old times in Tibet.

Besides historical relics of Tibetan traditional costumes, it is possible to see ancient Tibetan culture in an exhibition of Tibetan dolls dressed according to Tibetan tradition. The most authentic and beautiful dolls are made by monks from the Drepung Loseling monastery and are called Losel Dolls; the name Losel is an abbreviation of Loseling.

Losel Dolls have enchanted me for many years. They have become an important source for my research about Tibetan traditional clothing because their creators have tried to be historically accurate in their clothes, depicting the Tibetan nobility and clergy and showing many regional differences. Their precise work on every detail of dress and jewellery has made the dolls objects of art and representatives of Tibetan folklore at the same time. My visit to the Losel Doll Museum was a great and exciting experience for me. I have tried to trace the dolls in other north Indian institutions as well, and would like to do the same in museums abroad. It is an exciting and long-term mission for me. This contribution is just a partial result of ongoing research and can be considered an introduction to the topic of Losel Dolls.

Kalsang Yeshi

The idea of creating Tibetan costumed dolls comes from a Tibetan gentleman who played an important role in the development of Tibetan exile society after the Fourteenth Dalai Lama´s escape to India in 1959.

Kalsang Yeshi was born in Lhasa in 1941. After finishing his studies, he entered Drepung Monastery in Nyare Khamtsen of Loseling College. He studied there till March 1959 and then fled to India, where he arrived in April 1959. He was selected from among 1500 monks to continue his studies in a camp in Buxa, Assam, and afterward became a famous debater. In 1961, a teacher´s training school was established in Dharamsala and Kalsang Yeshi was chosen from among the group of thirty monks and lamas for a two-year training course. In 1963, he started to teach at Tibetan schools, and in 1969 he entered the Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies in Varanasi and obtained the *Acharya* degree in 1972. Between 1973-79 he lived in the US, where he studied English, and taught Tibetan at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Virginia. In 1979 he moved back to India and brought his French-American wife Kim to Dharamsala. 1979 he was elected as Tibetan People´s Deputy representing the *Gelugpa* School. In 1983, he started to work

in the Department of Religious and Cultural Affairs,[1] and in 1989 Kalsang Yeshi was appointed as *Kalon* (Minister) for Religion and Culture. Among other activities he developed the Norbulingka Institute which became the most important center in the world for preserving Tibetan culture.

Norbulingka Institute

Norbulingka means the Jewel Garden and it is the name of the Dalai Lama´s summer palace in Lhasa. The same name was chosen for the Tibetan culture and art institute built in India. The idea of creating the Norbulingka Institute was formed in the 1980s when the situation of Tibetan refugees was becoming stabilized, many monasteries were reestablished, and an education system was created. The political situation in Tibet was also loosening in the 1980s and communication between Tibetans in India and Tibetans in Tibet became easier.

In 1988, the Department of Religious and Cultural Affairs, with the help of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, bought a piece of land in the valley below Dharamsala, in Sidhpur. The ground plan was made according to the body proportions of the *Boddhisattva* of compassion, Avalokitesvara, where the temple represents his head. Kalsang Yeshi was appointed as the Director and his wife Kim as Managing Director by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1991. The Norbulingka Institute was registered as a Trust and His Holiness become its Chairman.[2]

The building of the gatehouse of Norbulingka began in October 1988. One year later Temba Chophel and his students from Lhasa arrived and began to decorate the main gatehouse. Many other Tibetan artists joined later, and the Institute was inaugurated in 1995.[3]

Its training program focuses on traditional Tibetan art, especially *Thangka* painting, appliqué and statue making. There is also a research and publication center of Tibetan literature.[4]

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[1] "Kasur Kalsang Yeshi." Last accessed May 2, 2014. http://www.loselingmonastery.org/index.php?id=67&type=p.

[2] "Kasur Kalsang Yeshi." Last acessed May 2, 2014. http://www.loselingmonastery.org/index.php?id=67&type=p.

[3] "Doll Museum." Last accessed March 9, 2014. http://www.norbulingka.org.

[4] Recently there was a documentary film entitled *Jewel Garden* made about the Norbulingka Institute. The director was Apoorva Gandhi, who studied at the National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad. It introduces the Norbulingka Institute, its activities and employees, with keynote speaker Kim Yeshi. Unfortunately, the Losel Dolls are mentioned only briefly, without any description. The movie was shown also in the Buddhist Film Festival Europe 2014 and it is accessible on Norbulingka Institute´s Facebook page (updated on August 29, 2014).

The main Temple is called Deden Tsuglhakhang and its main statue is a 14 ft high gilded Buddha Gautama. The interior of the Temple is filled with many Tibetan *Thangka* paintings and murals. The Losel Doll Museum is located next to the Temple **(Figure1)**.

Figure 1: The Losel Doll Museum

Losel Dolls

Losel Dolls started to be handicrafted by Tibetan monks of Drepung Loseling Monastery in Karnataka in South India in 1983. The project began thanks to Kalsang Yeshi´s ties to this monastery. The main goal was to preserve the tradition of Tibetan costumes and traditional crafts. Costumed dolls were not traditionally made in Tibet but they started to be handicrafted in the exile community to represent ancient Tibetan culture.

In 1984, the team of monks creating the dolls moved to Dharamsala. Pema Lhudub designed the doll´s body, Lhabab and Namgyal the dress.[5] The dolls were about 50 cm high, their body was constructed of wire, wool and papier maché, hands of synthetic resin and heads of fine clay. In the end, the faces were painted and human hair attached. Their clothes were made of cotton, wool and silk and detailed jewellery and other accessories were added to make the impression complete.[6] Losel Dolls were made in series of 11 or 12 and it took to finish them five to six weeks to six people. They started with more than 170 different types and each of them has its own features, its own first name, and the surname Losel.[7]

Losel Dolls were presented and described at the Norbulingka Institute website. I could access it as recently as 2006 but in 2008 it was no longer accessible. The Norbulingka Institute website changed, and a lot of previously available information of considerable interest disappeared. But the dolls have finally been given their own museum since the Losel Doll Museum was founded.

[5] "Losel Collectors´ Dolls." Last accessed June 1, 2006. http://www.norbulingka.org/site/losel/losel.htm.

[6] "The Norbulingka Institute Exhibits. Losel Doll Museum." Last accessed May 5, 2014. http://www.tibet.org/norling/exhibits/dolls.html.

[7] "Losel Collectors´ Dolls." Last accessed June 1, 2006. http://www.norbulingka.org/site/losel/losel.htm.

Losel Doll Museum

The dolls in the display are divided into several groups, according to the three Tibetan regions of U-Tsang, Amdo and Kham, and there are also groups depicting Tibetan monastic life, the ritual *Cham* dance, *Lhamo* opera, historical figures, including Tibetan kings or Buddhist masters, and also scenes of daily life in traditional Tibet.

Tibetan way of life

Traditional Tibetan society was divided into five basic groups – farmers, nomads, merchants, clergy and nobility.[8] Rule was divided between the clergy and the nobility and these rulers, owned the land where their serfs, classified as Miser,[9] *Yog*,[10] or *Tseyog*, worked.[11]

Another classification according to lifestyle divides Tibetan inhabitants into two groups – settled, mostly farmers (*Rongwa* or *Zhingpa*),[12] and nomads, mostly herdsmen (*Dogpa*).[13] Nomads live mainly in the Changthang plateau, high altitude plateau in the north of Tibet. Agriculture had already become important in Tibetan culture during the period of the Tibetan kingdom, since the first seat of Tibetan kings was located in the Yarlung river valley, and political and cultural power were concentrated there. Herdsmen and peasants exchanged their products and got from each other the necessities for their everyday life. They usually met in the tenth month of the Tibetan year,[14] and some peasants and nomads made an economic union and traded exclusively with each other.[15] Also some craftsmen and merchants came regularly to the villages or joined annual markets. *Samadogpa* means neither peasant nor herdsman and could be translated as "semi-nomad." These families are settled but own big animal herds; therefore some family members take care of the animals in the mountains and some live in the valleys and work on the fields.[16]

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[8] Norbu and Turnbull, *Tibet*, 49.

[9] *Miser* means "wordly yellow people" and *miser* were practically independant peasants.

[10] *Yog* means servant or slave and *tseyog* lifelong servant or slave.

[11] Cybikov, *Cesta k posvátným místům Tibetu*, 111.

[12] The names are derived from *Rong*, valley in Tibetan, or *Zhing*, field in Tibetan.

[13] *Dog* means remote area in Tibetan.

[14] Tibetan New year *Losar* usually starts between the end of January and beginning of March because Tibetans follow the Lunar calendar.

[15] Norbu and Turnbull, *Tibet*, 72.

[16] Gold, "Tibetans and Their Way of Life," 278-279.

Merchants belonged to a special class and they provided the villagers and nomads with goods they were not able to produce or exchange among themselves. Professional merchants or owners of big farms also handled the trade with neighbouring countries and transported the goods with yak or camel caravans.[17]

Tibetan kings

There are not many archeological sources on the oldest history of Tibet and no tombs of the first kings have been found. According to Buddhist tradition, the origin of the Tibetan kings was connected with a descendant of a noble family in Magadha, located mainly in the region of India now called Bihar.[18] According to legends, the first kings used a celestial rope called *Mu* to enter the earth from the sky. They stayed on the earth till their sons were able to rule by themselves; then the fathers returned to the sky.[19] The first king was called Nyathi Tsanpo and he and six subsequent kings are said to have returned to the sky because their tombs couldn´t be found. Digum Tsanpo, the eighth king, is said to have cut the rope by mistake, causing him to stay.[20] This theoretically explains why his tomb was found – it is located in Kongpo and is called the First king´s tomb.

Figure 2: Losel doll of the thirty-third Tibetan king Srongtsen Gampo (probably 617-649).

The rule of Tibetan kings solidified in the seventh century. During that time they moved from the Yarlung river valley to Lhasa, which became the capital. The most famous was the thirty-third king, Srongtsen Gampo (probably 617-649), during whose reign Buddhism spread in the country, the Tibetan script was created and the basis of Tibetan culture was laid. In the Losel Doll Museum´s exhibition, he is shown on the throne with other important kings on the sides **(Figure 2)** – on his left hand, Trisong Detsen (755-797) and on his right hand, Ralpachen (815-836). Three of them are called *Dharma* kings (*Chogyal* in Tibetan) because they established Buddhism in Tibet. Trisong Detsen is said to have invited the Indian Buddhist masters Padmasambhava, Shantarakshita and Vimalamitra

[17] Yuthok, *House of the Turquoise Roof*, 198.

[18] Žagabpa, *Dějiny Tibetu*, 35.

[19] Gjalcchän, *Zrcadlo králů*, 56.

[20] Žagabpa, *Dějiny Tibetu*, 35.

to Tibet. During his reign, the first Tibetan monastery, Samye, was established by Indian master and magician Padmasambhava. Trisong Detsen held a famous debate in Samye between the representatives of Chinese and Indian Buddhism in 792-794.

The winner is said to have been Kamalashila, a student of Indian master Shantarakshita. Ralpachen was a great supporter of Buddhism, and he invited many craftsmen, scholars and translators from China, Kashmir, Nepal and Khotan. He encouraged the scholars to translate *Tripitaka*[21] and *Tantras*[22] into the Tibetan language.

There is not much information available about the ancient rulers´ clothes. Tibetan kings probably wore a sash rolled around their hats and their headwear looked like a turban.[23] Their robe was probably very loose with long sleeves and a long skirt, resembling the robe of Persian kings. The shoe tips were turned upward.[24] As a sign of their power, they probably wore huge golden earrings and jewellery on their chests, all set with many precious and semi-precious stones.

According to some Chinese sources, the material of the kings' clothes changed after Srongtsen Gampo married Chinese princess Wencheng in 641. The king replaced his felt and fur robe with a satin and silk one, and the Tibetan nobility followed him.[25]

Tibetan kings ruled until the ninth century in Tibet. The tradition of Tibetan kings was then revived by Changchub Gyaltsen (1302-1364) who tried to rebuild the Tibetan kingdom and founded the rule of the *Phagmodu* clan (1359-1436). He ordered noble officials to wear clothes typical of the earlier historical period of kings´ rule while celebrating the Tibetan New Year. This custom was called *Rinchen gyacha* ("huge precious decoration") and disappeared after two centuries with the end of the rule of the Rinpung lords (1436-1565).[26]

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[21] The Sanskrit term *Tripitaka* means wordly Three baskets and contains three main categories of texts (*Sutra*, *Abhidharma* and *Vinaya*) that build the Buddhist canon.

[22] Sanskrit term *Tantra* means wordly Looms or Weavings and refers to scriptures of esoteric traditions rooted in Hinduism or Buddhism.

[23] Some surviving statues of Srongtsen Gampo wear a red, white, or golden turban, but his headwear is mostly described as red.

[24] Žagabpa, *Dějiny Tibetu*, 32.

[25] *The Clothing & Ornaments of China´s Tibetan Nationality*, 2.

[26] Žagabpa, *Dějiny Tibetu*, 114.

Tibetan nobility

Education and social status enabled the nobility to participate in the cultural, economical and political development of the country.[27] Even though they usually had their homesteads in the countryside, they worked in the cities, the closer to Lhasa the more powerful. Tibetan nobility (*Yarab* in Tibetan) appeared with the first kings and since the reign of Srongtsen Gampo they have been divided into several ranks.[28] An ordinary cleric could also become a member of the nobility as a reward for his work. The nobility mostly worked in the government offices; very often a son continued to work on the same position as his father.[29] The nobility didn´t pay taxes, but supplied the government with officials and soldiers. The officials (*Dungkhor* in Tibetan) started their training at the Financial department (*Tsikhang* in Tibetan) where they studied accounting and correspondence skills.[30]

The Losel dolls´ display introduces two important officials under Srongtsen Gampo – Thonmi Sambhota, standing on the king´s left, and Minister Gar, standing on the right. Thonmi Sambhota created Tibetan script based on *Gupta* and *Brahmi* script; he is holding a Tibetan book in a silk cover. Minister Gar brought two wives, Nepalese Brhkuti and Chinese Wencheng, to Srongtsen Gampo; he holds a stick in his hand.

Noblemen and noblewomen are shown in the Central Tibetan section. These are Tibetan officials in the clothes of ancient kings, worn at New Year celebrations: *Trunkhor* in *Gyalu che* dress (a prince´s costume) which was worn on the second day of the New year, *Tsipon* with a red felt overcoat signifying the third official rank and the position of a judge; an official in a summer hat (*Yarzha* in Tibetan) represents the male element, while a noblewoman from Tsang with her complicated *Pago* headwear and a woman from Central Tibet in her *Padrug* headwear represents the female element.

There are also children of nobility playing and wearing the same style of clothes as their parents, except the small girl doesn´t wear an apron with horizontal stripes, which was a sign of married women, or *Padrug* or *Pago*, signs of adult girls.

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[27] Gold, "Tibetans and Their Way of Life," 279.

[28] Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 131-132.

[29] Norbu and Turnbull, *Tibet*, 49.

[30] Bell, *The People of Tibet*, 86.

Tibetan clergy

Buddhism spread in Tibet from the 7th century on, and became an important part of Tibetan culture. During the reign of Trisong Detsen, the tradition of monastic officials was founded – the king made his ministers take monastic vows and promised to take care of all their needs. With the reign of King Ralpachen, the clergy gained more influence on social and political development, and monks started to serve as envoys and mediators. For example, the Tibetan-Chinese peace in 821 was negotiated by Tibetan and Chinese monks.[31]

The monastic system was developed in Tibet in the eighth century. Monasteries attracted more and more people who became monks and also sponsors who supplied them with all necessities. Monasteries more over didn´t pay any taxes but provided the government with officials (*Tsedug* in Tibetan).[32] After a dark period in the ninth and tenth century, Buddhism begun to flourish again and many Tibetan Buddhist schools, called reformed schools, or *Sarma* in Tibetan, were founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (e.g. *Kadam*, *Kagyu*, *Sakya* school). The old tradition was called *Nyingma*, or old school. The *Gelug* school was founded in the fourteenth century, and later became the most widespread and powerful one, as it still is now.

In 1642, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617-1682), the leader of *Gelug* school, became the spiritual and secular leader of Tibet. The government system was reformed and a ministerial council, *Kashag*, was founded in 1751.

The monastic clothes were basically the same for the several Tibetan Buddhist schools, with some differences in details and colors. Only the headwear is a distingushing characteristic at first glance. The *Gelug* school, as a reformed school, was distinguished from the other schools by its use of a combination of maroon with yellow or orange in the monks´ robes. High lamas wore yellow or golden silk or brocade robes for their teachings on special occasions or for celebrations. There was a variety of headwear and the spiritual leaders of Buddhist schools in particular wore very elaborate hats. The *Karmapa*, leader of the *Karma* school, wore a black hat; the *Sakya* hat was made of black velvet and a red part resembling a cockscomb, while the *Nyingma* high lama's hat resembled a lotus flower.

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[31] Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 143.

[32] Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 129.

According to their rank, monks' robes were made from different materials and more accesories were used. Ordinary monks wore robes made from a maroon woolen textile called *Purug*, but high-ranking monks and lamas wore clothes made from fine materials, such as silk, brocade and satin, which they obtained from their patrons and sponsors. Some textile gifts were made in the Chinese emperor´s workshops for use in Tibetan monasteries.[33] The color yellow and the motif of a five-clawed dragon[34] were reserved only for the Chinese emperor, but yellow silk robes were worn by the Tibetan officials from the fourth and higher ranks.[35]

Ordinary monks wore a *Mayog* skirt and a *Togo* vest. The upper skirt *Shamthab* was tied to the waist by a belt and a *Zen* shawl was worn over the shoulders. All these pieces of clothes were made from maroon woolen textiles. Higher lamas could wear yellow vests and a special *Dagam* coat and accessories at the waist, such as a *Chabril* vessel.

The monks wore boots with leather soles and maroon top parts. There were two kinds of boots – *Sazonpa* with a tip upward and a brocade stripe in the middle and *Razonpa* with more layers of leather building the sole.

Figure 3: Black hat dancer

The monastic clothes in the Losel Doll Museum mostly represent monks from the *Gelug* school but other schools can also be seen in pictures of yogis and nuns – monks in debating posture, performing tantric rituals, female yogini practicing *Cho* rituals, *Terton*, a treasure finder[36] or a Black hat dancer **(Figure 3)**. A great variety of monks' activities and different forms of Buddhist practice is shown in the display, but the reality is much broader.

Monks performing the Throwing of *Tormas*[37] are depicted with ritual instruments and other necessities, being followed by attendants, laymen and the Tibetan army as was usual during this festival in ancient times. The background of the scene is made by a wall with a painting of the Potala palace.[38]

[33] Brix, *Der goldene Faden*, 296.

[34] The five-clawed dragon started to be used on officials' clothes during the reign of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Before that officials could use the three clawed dragon motif on their robes only.

[35] *The Clothing & Ornaments of China´s Tibetan Nationality*, 181.

[36] *Tertons* were important for the Buddhist doctrine because they found the hidden Buddhist texts which were hidden by the ancestors and were supposed to be discovered at the appropriate time according to the legends.

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[37] *Torma* means a butter offering cake.

[38] Potala palace was a traditional seat of Dalai Lamas in Lhasa since the17th century.

The Throwing of *Tormas* was held in Lhasa on the fifteenth day of the first month at the end of the *Monlam* festival, also called the Great Prayer festival. The monks were followed by two *Yasor* generals in Mongolian-inspired fur clothes, their attendants, five hundred horsemen and five hundred infantrymen.

Regional clothes

There is a lot of variety in the regional styles of clothing and decoration in Tibet. Colors, shapes and patterns differ and jewellery, hairstyles and headwears are the most varied features of local styles. Celebrations and festivities were the best occasions to wear the best and most complicated forms of dress and jewellery.

In the Losel Dolls display, all three Tibetan regions are repre- sented, but the Central Tibetan (U) costumes are the most nu- merous among them. Central Tibet is introduced not only with a display of Central Tibetan costumes but also in the scenes of the Market in Lhasa and the performance of *Mani* lama,[39] the Throwing of *Tormas*, Picnics and Leisure and Navigation in Tibet **(Figure 4)**.

Figure 4: Navigation in Tibet

Lhasa was a political, economic, religious and cultural center from Tibetan ancient times. The background for the scenes located in Lhasa is created by painted depictions of the flat roofs of Lhasa houses and golden roofs of the temples. Ordinary Tibetan people´s clothes are depicted during a picnic, at the market, or while traveling. This kind of dress without fur and skin decoration can mostly be found in the Tibetan exile community in India nowadays.

The Lhasa urban lifestyle could also be seen as a possible way for exiled Tibetans to follow today. The seat of the Tibetan government in exile is in Dharamsala, a mountainous area which resembles the Tibetan landscape. Lhasa costumes are elegant and modest in colours, shapes and decorations, and preferred colors are dark, such as black and blue; the stripes on aprons are also not as bright as in other regions. The Lhasa style of fashion

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[39] *Mani* lama was a travelling lama who introduced Buddhist doctrine to the lay people by telling Buddhist stories, often used *Thangka* paintings to awake the imagination of the audience.

does not waste much material on wide *Chuba* coats; women's and men's shirts follow the contours of the body more closely, in particular the sleeveless woman's *Chuba* called a *Chuba phume*.[40]

Tsang means the Western region of Tibet; sometimes it is joined together with U as U-Tsang, dividing Tibet into three provinces. Ngari is the border area with Turkestan, Nepal and India and cultural influences on local dress have caused a great variety in costumes there. Ngari, as a remote area in the western part of Tibet, preserved some elements of costumes from Tibetan ancient times, especially from the ancient kings´ robes.[41] This area is very important because of the sacred Mount Kailash where Buddhist, Hinduist and Jainist followers make pilgrimages. A painting of Mount Kailash is necessarily present in the display. Dolls in costumes from Rungjung and Purang are shown. They wear typical warm woolen overcoats and festive clothes with elaborate jewellery and red anchor-shaped hair decorations.

Southeastern Tibet or **Kham** is called the region of the best men, the best heroes. The hero´s hairstyle is made of plaits with red strings wrapped around the head. Women usually wear a lot of small plaits, often with added silk threads or yak hair. Khampa´s spacious *Chuba* was often decorated with fur, and the most popular hat was made of fox fur. Both women and men prefered big jewellery of big precious or semi-precious stones like coral, turquoise or amber. Many utensils that were used daily hung at their waist, including, for men, knives, flints, small pouches of *Tsampa*[42] or eating accessories, and for women, milking hooks and manicure or sawing kits.

Kham is represented by costumes from Derge, Lithang, Tehor (Kanze), Bathang, Khongjo, Gaba, Gyethang and Ju. Kanze is an agricultural area where women wore dark-colored aprons. Rich merchants, landlords or nobility in Derge liked to show off their property and they loved very spacious *Chubas*, sometimes they even wore two *Chubas*, one on top of the other.[43] Bathang was an important point on the trade route between Tibet and China, and the Tibetan and Chinese cultures influenced each other there. Chinese

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[40] This may be one of the reasons why Tibetan men in Indian exile communities claim that *Chuba phume* is very suitable for Tibetan girls and make them more beautiful and attractive. The male *Chuba* is more spacious and quite different from modern Western clothes, and Tibetan men consider it too problematic to wear, especially in warm areas.

[41] *The Clothing & Ornaments of China´s Tibetan Nationality*, 30.

[42] *Tsampa* is roasted barley flour, basic Tibetan food.

[43] "Losel Collectors´ Dolls." Last accessed February 12, 2006. http://www.norbulingka.org/site/losel/losel.htm.

minority cultures were also influential in Gyethang. The women wore a dress with a vest, a dark apron, and trousers. Their plaits were hidden beneath a garment wrapped around their head. Lithang women used to wear a golden or silver head decoration with a coral stone in the middle called *Garga*; there could be as many as six of them on one woman´s head.[44]

Northeastern Tibet or **Amdo** is known as the region with the best horses. People's life there is connected with their livestock, and they often live at high altitudes, 4000 meters above sea level and higher. The main material for their clothes was skin, often goat or sheep. Their *Chubas* were usually thick, heavy, and spacious. They were decorated with brocade fabric or leopard or otter fur. Leopard and tiger skin used to be signs of prestige for brave soldiers who had shown special skills on the battlefield during the ancient time of kings.[45] The *Chuba* worn at Amdo festivities was made of fine lamb skin. Amdowas wore the same accessories at the waist as Khampas. The hairstyles of women and men in Amdo were like those in Kham; men wore plaits around the head, women a lot of small plaits and, often, fur hats. The herdsmen especially loved fox fur hats decorated with the fox's head and tail.[46]

The Amdo costumes in the museum present the areas of Takser, Rebkong, Kumbum, Kokonor, Kongpo (between Central Tibet and Amdo) and the land of Goloks (between Amdo and Kham) **(Figure 5)**.

Figure 5: Losel dolls from the land of Goloks (between Amdo and Kham)

Most of these areas are inhabited by nomads. Nomads living on the coast of the Kokonor lake build tents with black yak hair and they regularly move with their huge herds of sheep and yaks. Women there traditionally wore long wide fabric bands with round silver decorations in their hair which cover half of their backs, resembling fish tails in their shape. Goloks, a wild tribe of warriors inhabiting the Amnye Machen mountain range, dressed in sheepskin *Chubas* in the mountains throughout the year. The men wore leather trousers, only occasionally worn by nomads elsewhere.[47] Women have 108 plaits and fabric bands with round silver decorations in their hairdo. Huge round *Gau*, charm boxes, were popular among Gologs.

[44] "Losel Collectors´ Dolls." Last accessed February 12, 2006. http://www.norbulingka.org/site/losel/losel.htm.

[45] Hua, *Zhongguo fushi*, 129.

[46] *The Clothing & Ornaments of China´s Tibetan Nationality*, 8.

[47] Ekvall, *Fields on the Hoof*, 66.

Kongpo is a lowland forest area in southeastern Tibet. People there used to work in the agriculture and forest and did hunting. Women and men wore a poncho-style woolen or leather coat. The women in Kongpo didn't wear aprons. There were typical black or purple round woolen hats hemmed with brocade and two triangular edges for women and black or purple woolen boat-shaped hats hemmed with brocade for men.

Lhamo opera

Lhamo opera originated in the fourteenth century. Thangtong Gyalpo established a troupe of seven beautiful sisters who performed Tibetan folk opera pieces based on Buddhist teachings and Tibetan historical figures to raise money for building bridges and ferries all over Tibet. *Ache Lhamo* (Sister goddesses) became very popular and their traditional stories of love, devotion, good and evil are still performed today. *Lhamo* opera is a day-long performance played outdoors combining song, dialogue, dance and pantomime. The music is made by cymbals and drums, and the costumes imitate the clothes of the old Tibetan aristocracy. Some characters wear masks which express their personalities. The Losel Doll museum shows the play *Norsang*, adapted from *Kangyur*, a basic book of Buddhist doctrine con-taining the words of Buddha. Prince Norsang´s story describes the obstacles he faced together with his celestial wife, the goddess Yidrok Lhamo, how their love life was interrupted and almost ruined by the misdeeds of the high priest and Norsang´s other 500 jealous wives. But in the end they overcome all of their difficulties, are reunited and live on in marital bliss.[48]

Ritual Cham dance

The *Cham* dance is considered a form of meditation and an offering to the gods. It spread throughout Tibet in the eleventh century. It is performed by monks in masks and brocade costumes accompanied by musical instruments such as cymbals or the Tibetan lute, the *dramyin*. Some monks wear animal head masks and masks depicting wrathful deities. The dance is performed on special occasions, e. g. at the New Year celebration. The Losel Doll Museum depicts the dance performed on the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month

[48] The same play is presented in a display of TIPA, Tibetan Performing Art Institute, in McLeod Ganj, India. The dolls resemble Losel Dolls but they are different even though also preciously made.

in the Tibetan calendar – a deer destroys the dough figure which represents all the evil of the past year, ridding the new year of obstacles. The *Cham* dance display is the first one in the Losel Doll museum exhibition, an introduction, but it will be the last one mentioned in our article.

The Losel Doll museum is not huge in terms of exhibition area but it is rich in content and it aims to introduce ancient Tibetan culture in all its vastness and beauty through carefully chosen topics and items.

The Losel Dolls which represent each particular Tibetan region can be found in other museums in northern India. There are usually six of them – female and male figure from U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo. I saw them in the Tibet Museum in McLeod Ganj and Tibet House in New Delhi but I believe there are more places in India which house Losel Dolls.

Losel Dolls abroad

The first exhibition of Losel Dolls outside Tibet or India was in the United Kingdom. The dolls were displayed in the Dean´s Library in Westminster Abbey in London in 1984 and they charmed many visitors with their beauty. Because they became so popular, replicas of these dolls started to be made and sold by the Dalai Lama's Save Tibet Campaign in the 1980s.

Later on, more exhibitions in different places in the world were organized and Losel Dolls were shown in various museums around the world. Some recent exhibitions include projects in Atlanta, Georgia and Fort Collins, Colorado in the US.

A branch of Drepung Monastery in Atlanta built the Loseling Gallery, in which over 200 Losel Dolls are displayed – they were crafted by two monks at the Indian Drepung Monastery, Geshe Pema Lhudub[49] and Geshe Yeshe Thokme, especially for the Atlanta center. It took them a few years to create a complete collection of Losel Dolls, the only one in North America.[50] The dolls were produced within the Emory University´s Himalayan Arts Program, sponsored by the Rubin Foundation and within the framework of the Emory-Tibet Partnership. Some of the dolls were presented at Emory

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[49] Pema Lhudub was the designer of the doll´s body who was involved in the Losel Dolls project from the beginning.

[50] Exhibition: "The Loseling Dolls. Sharing the Culture and Tradition of Tibet." Last accessed April 20, 2014. http://www.drepung.org/Changing/ChangingMenu/Dolls-Exhibit.htm.

University in October 2008 at the exhibition *The Loseling Dolls and Traditional Costumes of the Tibetan World*. Emory-Tibet Partnership was founded in 1998, and Drepung Loseling Monastery, an affiliate of Emory University, has taken part in many Tibetan events in Atlanta.

The Global Village Museum of Arts and Cultures in Fort Collins, Colorado, held an exhibition called *Tibet: Rooftop of the World* in 2011. Its main attraction consisted of 45 Losel Dolls collected by the museum's co-founder, Jeanne Nash, a local artist who has collected artifacts of folk art from different cultures in the course of her travels around the world since 1989. Her collection of artifacts, together with the collections of folk art belonging to John Roberts and Stewart Price, form the basis of the permanent exhibition.[51]

Summary

The **Losel Doll museum** represents old Tibetan culture for modern Tibetan exile society in Dharamsala. 158 costumes dolls are divided into fourteen groups which enable the visitor to feel a touch of old Tibetan history, culture and way of life. Historical figures shown include the Dharma kings from the seventh or eighth century; religion and culture are represented by Milarepa, the Tibetan yogi and poet from the eleventh century. The Tibetan way of life is shown in the scenes from Lhasa market, picnics and nomadic tents but there is scarce information about farmers. The only forms of transportation depicted are the coracle and yak skin boat, although a display of animals used for transportation, such as yak, donkeys, camels, and so on, may be interesting to visitors. Regional costumes are divided into Central and Western (U-Tsang), Northeastern (Amdo) and Southeastern Tibet (Kham). Religious costumes introduce monks and nuns from different schools and with different kinds of praxis or rituals. The scenes of the Throwing of *Tormas* present a celebration, a religious activity, and also a historical tradition connected with the New Year, *Losar*, and *Monlam,* Great Prayer festival. Art performances are represented by the *Cham* monastic dance with masks and *Lhamo*, the lay opera partially with masks. The Buddhist doctrine is manifestly or latently present in almost half of the display, which is actually in proportion to its presence in Tibetan people´s lives.

[51] "Review: Global Village Museum of Arts and Cultures." Last accessed April 15, 2014. http://www.muse-umroadtrip.com/global-village-museum-of-arts-and-cultures/.

The set of Losel Dolls could show even more of Tibetan culture and about 200 different figure types have been separately created and exhibited in Atlanta, US. These dolls can attract not only children and fashion fans but anybody who is interested in the history and culture of the Tibetan nation. Even though they are made very precisely, they can´t depict all the details of the ancient clothes; but they do so enough to have an impact on our imagination and allow us to dream about old Tibet and its rich culture.

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Marta Branco Guerreiro – **Museu da Marioneta, Lisbon, Portugal**

Marionetas de São Lourenço: The puppet as an artistic object, from the stage to the museum

Puppetry is a great art
and theater is just a small part of it
Bread and Puppet[1]

What is the lifetime of a puppet? Can we consider it only the time it is on stage, interacting with other puppets, actors and the public? The time when the play for which it was designed is being performed? And afterwards, what opportunities are there for it? Often it is in this a posteriori that it can survive, even if only through the weak light of that ephemeral moment that was the theatrical performance – if this is true for the theater of actors, it is even more pertinent to the theater of puppets.

Based on an analysis of the works of the theater company *Marionetas de São Lourenço* this article seeks to explore the potential of the puppet by taking into consideration not only the different aspects worked on by the group but also the possibility of the afterlife – or of "another" experience – of the puppet-object off stage, apart from the time when it comes to life through manipulation. The São Lourenço puppet company has, up to now and for a number of reasons, been unique in the history of the puppet theater in Portugal. Its work has opened doors for contemporary puppetry, providing it with an artistic status that few previously recognized.[2] That was largely due

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[1] Cited in Vaz, Helena, "From the art and science of puppetry to the theater of António José da Silva" in *Exposição Espectáculo sobre a obra de António José da Silva* (Lisboa, Centro de Arte Moderna Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984).

[2] "The first artistic project for a puppet theater will have been Mestre Gil's Theater, created by Augusto Santa Rita (1888-1956), a poet, brother of the painter Santa Rita" in Vieira, Luís, "Marionette, Puppet, Dummy, Roberto, Muppet, Doll" in *Museu da Marioneta de Lisboa, Catálogo da Exposição* (Lisboa: EGEAC, 2005), 55.

to the artistic background of the three principal mentors of the company: Helena Vaz[3] worked on the production of puppets and the set design, José Alberto Gil as composer and playwright, and Fernando Serafim[4] as tenor.

In 1973 the company was created under the name of Companhia de Opera Buffa, with the revival the traditional puppet theater repertoire as one of its main objectives. Two years later, in 1975, the group decided to change its name to Marionetas de São Lourenço,[5] this time with the purpose of traveling around rural areas of the country. This change probably had something to do with the historic moment Portugal was going through at that time, a post-revolutionary period.[6]

We could divide the history of the puppet theater in Portugal before the creation of the company into two strands. The first consisted of traditional puppeteers who took their puppet pavilions to fairs all over the country or traveled throughout the country with their individual booths acting out traditional Dom Roberto[7] performances. The other strand that appeared later was more educational, targeted mostly towards children.[8] One of the objectives of the company was to deconstruct the generalised idea that puppet theater existed to entertain children, and thus to transcend the dichotomy between the didactic or edifying and the popular.

The company created several genres[9] and in different areas that contributed towards the success it had with the public and its place in the history of the puppet theater in Portugal.

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[3] Having previously studied painting, since 1970 she has dedicated her time to scenography and the manufacture of puppets, having received a stipend in 1976 and 1977 from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation to "study archaic forms of story-telling that covered the study of stage machinery, set design, sets and theatrical composition of figures." Helena Vaz, *Exposição Espectáculo*.

[4] Fernando Serafim also worked as a tenor in the national opera theater: Teatro Nacional de São Carlos.

[5] During the 70s the company mostly used the name "Marionetas de São Lourenço e o Diabo – São Lourenço Puppets and the Devil," having later shortened the name to "Marionetas de São Lourenço," its usual name and the one we have adopted for this article.

[6] On 25 April 1974, the government of Portugal underwent a peaceful military coup that put an end to the dictatorship known as the Estado Novo.

[7] "Dom Roberto" or "robertos" is the name given to traditional Portuguese puppets, counterparts of Pulcinella, Punch or Guignol.

[8] Besides the Teatro do Mestre Gil, there are other projects such as Teatro de Branca Flor by Lília da Fonseca and Robertoscope that are linked to the idea of education through art.

[9] "*Le groupe créa ou reprit plusieurs genres de spectacles, comme l'opéra-bouffe portugais pour marionetes, la charrete-spectacle (reconstitution du théatre ambulant), le cicérone-chanteur, la conférence illustrée, etc., tout en s'ouvrant à diverses formes historiques et musicales comme le romencero traditionel, le comédie musicale et la revue de music-hall.*" Ribeiro, Rute, "São Lourenço (Marionetas de)" in *Encyclopédie Mondiale des Arts de la Marionnette* (Monpellier: UNIMA/Éditions L'Entretemps, 2009), 618.

1. The theater-cart and theater as a catalyst of memories

This Puppet Group understands that by way of decentralisation it can show that there is a Portuguese cultural heritage that can be used and can show the public, who does not even know it exists and therefore does not know it belongs to such public, how to "read it," just as one teaches a starving man how to open a tin of sardines.[10]

Figure 1: Performance on a Theater-Cart in a village in inland Portugal

In its itinerant project, the company sought to reach the public of small villages in inland Portugal that rarely had access to the regular cultural productions of the major urban centres. The company built a theater-cart for this purpose **(Figure 1)**, intending to use it to reproduce the travels of formerly existing troupes of travelling players. In an attempt to enhance our cultural heritage, the repertoire of these tours consisted of traditional Portuguese texts. The recuperation of this repertoire was one of the most distinctive features of the group. In the early years of its existence, the company staged plays inspired by the traditional Portuguese songbook – by songs such as "O Conde da Alemanha," "Gerinaldo, o Atrevido," and "Romance de Dona Mariana," all of them around the subject of illicit amorous relationships – and with the intention of bringing the population closer to narratives still present in their collective memory, and thereby functioning as a catalyst of near-forgotten memories.[11] This type of representation resulted in real involvement on the part of the public who felt that the stories belonged to them, thus surpassing more erudite forms of theater. These stories, poetic and musical narratives full of complex characters, were the people's common heritage that had been transmitted over time and that the company made visible by way of performances.

By staging a romance two parallel and simultaneous discourses are triggered: the oral narrated discourse and the visual scenic discourse. This game of narratives around the same characters gives them great scenic power, thus rendering them at the same time majestic

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[10] Marionetas de São Lourenço, "Maria Parda, Farsa Musical," program from the performance presented at Ar.co, Lisbon, 1978.

[11] As was expressed in the first edition of *Cancioneiro Popular Português*, these narratives were almost lost or were being relegated to the side-lines, although still present in the memory of the oldest generations: "What we wanted to do (…) was return to the Portuguese people the legitimate heritage that belongs to it and not always judged as one of the most precious parts of its common heritage." In Giacometti, Michel and Lopes-Graça, Fernando, *Cancioneiro Popular Português* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1981), p. 5.

and mysterious, and their conflict results in not knowing whether the adventure shall be a tragedy or comedy.[12]

These romances were produced in the form of *opera buffa*, by putting the texts to music and singing the poems, emphasizing the distinction between the "narrated oral discourse" and "the scenic visual discourse," with different value being given to each of the two types of language: written and visual. A poem with approximately 100 verses could result in a performance of close to one hour, given that references to the modern world were enunciated by the voice of the narrator, who operates like a classical "chorus." The *opera buffa* combines the various kinds of stories that the company staged, uncovering the different facets of the characters:

There could not be a better genre than opera buffa *to get the gears of the mechanics of such a wealth of characters moving. Opera buffa, as the term itself indicates, allows its characters to deconstruct themselves, revealing their true but hidden laws; it allows its majestic, haughty and gloating figures to disappear to the sound of bel canto, releasing the breezes and the direction of the wind*.[13]

An example of this revelation of the "hidden laws" of the characters appears in *Maria Parda – Farsa Musical*, an adaptation not of a traditional text but of a work by Gil Vicente, a 16th century Portuguese playwright. In this play, put on stage several times in the theater-cart, the female character Maria Parda walks through the streets of Lisbon in pursuit of a tavern with wine, as she categorically refuses to drink water, resulting in her dying of thirst. The comic character associated with the story draws our attention to one of the factors frequently present in the plays performed by the company: in their struggle for survival, these characters show their vivacity and strength, refusing to abandon their initial goal. This character was much appreciated by rural audiences: "*The people really took to our characters on the stage before them, as their memories caught fire and they started to tell stories from their childhoods, stories of troupes of travelling performers who had been there before*."[14] The actual object, the cart, now adapted to the theater, conjured up the idea of travelling, moving around and something ephemeral for these populations, which made the presence of the group – clearly defined from a temporal viewpoint – a moment of reunion for the community, resulting in the triggering of collective memories.

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[12] Marionetas de São Lourenço, *Dona Mariana, Breves referências sobre o Espectáculo* (Lisbon: Ar.Co, 1976).

[13] Ibid.

[14] Vaz, Helena, Interview for the program "Mulher/Mulheres", RTP, 1979.

2. Adaptation of Operas by António José da Silva, aka "The Jew"

Writing is an act of risks, and without risks and scratching, nothing is written.[15]

In the history of puppet theater in Portugal there is an indispensable period and author: in the 18th century António José da Silva, known as "the Jew,"[16] was the first playwright to write exclusively for puppets, with a theater dedicated to this art in Bairro Alto, Lisbon where, as director and programmer, he presented the performances. He was also responsible for the transition in Portugal from theater as a mostly private phenomenon (court theater) to a public performance. The fact that his operas[17] were sung in Portuguese greatly enhanced their popularity.

It is true that in 18th century Europe there already existed theaters dedicated to puppet opera where wooden "actors" imitated the movements of opera actors on small stages.[18] However, António José da Silva, writing specifically for puppets, addressed the characteristics of "a puppet being" in his plays – with such terms as "wire soul," "mechanical fool"[19] – reflecting on the ontology of the puppet. He thus provides the puppets with a degree of complexity, previously non-existent in the genre, giving them all the characteristics of a complete Being. Da Silva described his goal as finding "another territory which is no longer that of naturalism or analogy but rather that of the action in itself judged only by its pure aesthetics or by the language of forms, by the laws of movement, of geometry."[20]

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[15] Marionetas de São Lourenço, *D. Quixote*, program of the performance presented at Ar.Co, Lisbon, 1980.

[16] António José da Silva was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1705, and died in Lisbon on the orders of the Inquisition, accused of heresy, in 1739. Cruz, Duarte Ivo, *História do Teatro Português* (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 2001), 98.

[17] The composer of the music of these works was António Teixeira, who studied in Italy with a scholarship from the king D. João V. See further: Ferreira, José Alberto, "Les Marionnettes du Bairro Alto," in *PUCK, L'Opéra des marionnettes*, 16 (2009): 57-60.

[18] Leydi, Roberto, "Le théâtre lyrique de marionnettes à Venise" in *PUCK, L'Opéra des marionnettes*, 16 (2009): 15-24.

[19] These and other expressions are used in António José da Silva's texts, leaving no doubt whatsoever that the operas were written for puppets: "One cannot really doubt that the performances at Teatro do Bairro Alto used puppets. There are frequent allusions in the Jew's operas to the material aspect of this theater, Caranguejo even saying: 'Quando frates sunt bonis, sunt bonifrates.'" In Barata, José Oliveira, *António José da Silva, Criação e Realidade* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985).

[20] Vaz, Helena, "From the art and science of puppetry to the Theater of António José da Silva" in Exposição Espectáculo sobre a obra de António José da Silva (Lisbon: Centro de Arte Moderna/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1983), 34.

It was therefore obvious that, in order to recover the traditional repertoire, the Companhia de São Lourenço should produce some of António José da Silva's plays. According to Helena Vaz, da Silva was the creator "of a new form of theater, the puppet opera, where several artistic media contributed towards its final expression: literature, stage machinery, music and intrigue with a degree of complexity and association of speeches which can only be found in oriental puppet theater."[21]

"A Vida do Grande D. Quixote de la Mancha e do Gordo Sancho Pança"[22] **(Figure 2)** is one of the plays adapted by the company. The repertoire of António José da Silva was closely related to Spanish comedies of the 17th and 18th centuries, towards which both the years of the Spanish occupation and the presence in Portugal of Spanish theater troupes contributed greatly. His re-writing of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* into a version adapted for the puppet theater demonstrates this Spanish influence. Here we are faced with a complex meta-textual situation. If it is true that Cervantes' work incorporates a number of chivalric novels,[23] the Jew recreates that work[24] with added layers of irony. In turn, the Companhia de São Lourenço copies the modus operandi of the Portuguese playwright by quoting multiple voices and layers of text and by rewriting parts of the source.

Figure 2: Puppet from *Dom Quixote*

> By reconstituting the author's writing mechanisms, a number of excerpts were "rewritten" and new texts included, but always respecting the spirit of the work, i.e., "by using" the Jew's text, according to the same mechanisms by which he "used" and "rewrote" the text of Cervantes.[25]

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Besides this play, staged in 1980, the company also performed *Os Encantos de Medeia* in 1989, and even constructed puppets for *As Guerras de Alecrim e Manjerona*, which was not performed however.

[23] "Additionally, parts I and II of *Don Quixote* relate numerous stories from other novels that are them-selves serialized within *Don Quixote* by being retold and extended across numerous chapters. So famil-iar had audiences become with exposure to multiple story formations that Cervantes, drawing on the seventeenth century's famed play-within-a-play motif, included numerous story 'digressions' in his *Don Quixote* sequels." Ndalianis, Angela, *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment* (Cambridge/Massachusetts, London/England: The MIT Press, 2004), 46.

[24] "The course of António José da Silva, as regards his work as reproducer of the sources that inspire him, seems to have been consistent from the beginning of his production. In a century where the nation of plagiarism was very different for ours today, António José da Silva had no qualms about reproducing dramatic material (and there was a great deal of it), that was normal at the time." Barata, José de Oliveira, "O Judeu António José da Silva," 23.

[25] Marionetas de São Lourenço, "D. Quixote, um Espectáculo de António José da Silva, o Judeu" program of the performance presented at Ar.Co in Lisbon, 1980.

The adaptation of the work actually creates new characters, rendering tangible what was merely implicit:

> In our interpretation of the text we considered that the most important, because essential, character was a figure who was not of a tangible nature and who we decided to "incarnate": justice. It is in the pursuit of justice that the knight errant D. Quixote moves, justice is the first thing that Sancho administers when he finds himself governor of an island, and we all know that the author himself was involved with justice, as if the underlying fire in his work had to come out through the author, burning him.[26]

Just like da Silva, the company endeavored to integrate erudite aspects of the theater with popular aspects: on the one hand, the lyric theater, the opera and on the other, the traveling theater and proximity to different audiences. We are therefore faced with multiple instances of rewriting: the Jew rewriting Cervantes and being rewritten by the Companhia de São Lourenço; texts within texts and the puppet theater circulating between different (re)writings. It is not by chance that the puppets are already present in *Don Quixote* when the famous nobleman attends a performance of puppets in the famous scene of the retable of Master Pedro (chapters XXV and XXVI):

> Cervantes voit dans le théàtre de marionetes en tout cas, une mise en abîme baroque de la fiction sans doute mais aussi une instituition sociale irremplaçable: un espaçe où le vrai el le faux trouvent un étrange mais utile compromis. (…) C'est que les marionnettes introduisent dans la fiction la notion de simulacre, affiché ou escamoté.[27]

3. The remnants of the baroque theater and the importance of illusionism

> The secret is not to give them what they want, but to make them want what we give them.[28]

The approach to the theater of António José da Silva coincided with the development of baroque theater, in the era that saw the birth of opera.

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Gilles, Annie, "Marionettes et marionnettistes dans l'ouevre de Cervantes: la fiction dans la fiction" in *Images de la marionette dans la littérature* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1993), 11-16.

[28] Statement made by the character Barnum in the show "The Peerless Prodigies of Dr. Barnum."

As Calderón de la Barca perceived, the world becomes a stage and life a dream: the image of the theater in the theater and fiction in fiction renders the border between fact and fiction hazy, illusion becomes a veil behind which reality loses itself. The Companhia de São Lourenço knew how to incorporate these elements, using not only da Silva's works, but also those of Nicola Sabbatini.[29] Machines on stage reproducing sounds of nature (such as wind and thunder) or mechanisms causing movement (for example, simulating the movement of clouds), just as Sabbatini had invented them in the 17th century – in his treatise *Pratica di Fabricar Scene e Machine ne'Teatri* – were reproduced and placed on stage, replicating the baroque principle according to which everything contributes towards the immersion of the spectator in the theatrical performance, which resulted in the practice of including sound and visual effects in productions of plays.

Both the use of puppets and the type of manipulation used by the company – with the puppeteer dressed in black from head to toe behind the body of the puppet – made the question of illusionism even more relevant where the "real" movement of the actor behind the "pretend" movement of the puppet contributed towards the commingling of real and unreal in the spectator's vision.

> *Puppetry plays out in the territory of the evidently make-believe. It is an illusion that is created and broken simultaneously. This play between the living and the inanimate, between life and death, and between existence and non-existence are at the heart of this medium of theater and allow it to play in the realms of illusion and perception, of the layered concept of the self and the complex experience of being human.*[30]

A great study of the role of illusionism in the theater, and the function of pretend reality on stage, was Solveig Nordlund's play *Barnum*, produced in 1987. Presenting characters from the circus run by impresario P.T. Barnum, the company also intended to recreate/pay tribute to a man who had a profound knowledge of the mechanisms of show business and the psychology of audiences. Barnum had a very modern concept of performance; he was a true master of illusionism, showing not what the public wanted to see but what

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[29] In the catalogue of "Exposição Espectáculo sobre a obra de António José da Silva" patent in CAMJAP in 1983, Helena Vaz states: "Finally, I would like to dedicate this exhibition to some of those whose work is based on the mechanical processes of provoking feelings: ANTÓNIO JOSÉ DA SILVA, NICOLLA SABBATTINI, P.T. BARNUM and HOUDINI."

[30] Janni Younge, "Creating Resonance in Emptiness with Puppet Theater," paper presented at *Puppetry and Post-Dramatic Performance: An International Conference on Performing Objects in the 21st Century*. Connecticut: University of Connecticut, April 2011, 18.

he wanted them to see. The performance was also a reflection of contemporary culture: one of the characters was the minister of culture who, being invited to go to the theater, ends up on stage giving his own opinion of the company and how to make the play cheaper, even suggesting some of the musicians be fired.

In this case as in that of *Don Quixote*, the company comes close to what has been called neo-baroque aesthetics,[31] and what William Eggiton talks of in his book *The Theater of Truth. The Ideology of Neo-baroque Aesthetics*, where he defends the notion that the strategy of baroque has to assume the existence of a veil of appearances behind which the truth resides:

> *The baroque puts the incorruptible truth of the world, that underlies all ephemeral and deceptive appearances, at center stage, making it the ultimate goal of all inquiry; in the same vein, however, the baroque makes a theater out of truth, but incessantly demonstrating that truth can only be an effect of the appearances from which we seek to free it*. (…) *This strategy, which I call the* major strategy *of the baroque, assumes the existence of a veil of appearances, and then suggests the possibility of a space opening just beyond those appearances where truth resides.*[32]

4. The end and the beginning: the puppet as an artistic object

> *If Don Quixote flies, it is independently of the laws of gravity, if the Cart of Faeonte falls, it is independently of gravitational laws, if Sacatrapo's head comes loose after a slap from Harpia it is independently of the laws of anatomy, just as the mountain of Medeia rises against earthly laws.*[33]

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[31] Though not created by Omar Calabrese, the concept of the neo-baroque was disseminated by him:

"My general thesis is that many important cultural phenomena of our time are distinguished by a specific internal 'form' that recalls the baroque. (…) naturally, the reference to baroque works by analogy, and in many cases I shall try to make the analogy clear. But this does not imply in any sense a hypothetical 'recuperation' of the period. (…) What must be made clear, then, is exactly what I mean by 'baroque.'"

"In order to do this I should like to draw once more upon one of Sarduy's intuitions. He defines 'baroque' not only, or nor exactly, as a specific period in the history of culture, but as a general attitude and formal quality of those objects in which the attitude is expressed. In this sense, the baroque might be found in any epoch of our civilization." In Omar Calabrese, *Neo-baroque. A Sign of the Times* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1992), 15.

[32] Egginton, William, *The Theater of Truth. The Ideology of the (neo)Baroque Aesthetics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 2, 3.

[33] Vaz, Helena, "From the art and science of puppetry to the Theater of António José da Silva" in *Exposição Espectáculo sobre a obra de António José da Silva* (Lisboa: Centro de Arte Moderna/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1983), 34-35.

The puppet theater functions as a perfect union between theater and visual arts. The puppet as a physical object must contain the ideal conditions allowing it to receive life through its manipulator. Helena Vaz, being simultaneously creator and manipulator was, more than anyone, aware of this. On stage, the manipulator is only the driver who gives the puppet life, giving up its own on behalf of a being that becomes autonomous before the eyes of the spectator.

But there is an initial moment in the act of manipulation: that of the birth of the puppet. In this phase, the primary gesture of giving shape to clay resulted in the head of the puppet character. As this was the heaviest part of the puppet (the rest of the body was made of fabric) it became the center of gravity used by the manipulator to give movement to the character. The puppet's head, mostly placed close to the actor's chest, became not only essential for the characterization of the figure but also the starting point from which life was born. The plasticity of the material used allowed for the existence of a gallery of characters whose psychological characteristics are revealed in their physiognomy, rendering these objects "true sculptures of an expressive impacting force."[34] Even those puppets we could consider more minimalistic – in an almost total absence of traits – represent an expressive force that immediately underlines the communicative potential of the character.

Construction in clay forms a cycle of creation around the puppet that revolves around the gesture: it is with the gesture of the hand that shape is given to the clay but a further, second gesture is still required – that of manipulation – to finally give life to the previously inert shape. It is probably this cycle of creation that Helena Vaz has in mind when she states: "*The material used is clay and no other would serve given its alchemic properties deriving from the symbology of creation contained and communicated through it.*"[35] In fact, there are references in several religions to the use of clay as the material for the creation of life: for example, Khnum, the divine Potter of Ancient Egypt, created human beings through the clay from the River Nile;[36] the Bible also makes reference to clay, in the lines: "*And the Lord God formed man of the dust*

[34] Rumbau, Toni, *Rotas de Polichinelo: Marionetas e Cidades da Europa* (Lisboa: Museu da Marioneta/EGEAC, 2014), p. 27.

[35] Vaz, Helena, "From the art and science of puppetry to the Theater of António José da Silva" in *Exposição Espectáculo sobre a obra de António José da Silva* (Lisboa: Centro de Arte Moderna/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1983), 34.

[36] "Khnum was the creator of the world and the begetter of life who formed all living beings on his potter's wheel" in Kurth, Dieter, "Esna" in *Encyclopedia of Archeology of Ancient Egypt* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 349.

of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living soul."[37] These mythologies about human creation divide the act of giving life into two distinct phases: the first, the physical construction of the object: the second, the act of animating (of giving *anima* or soul) by blowing air through one's nostrils. We can see similarities with puppetry in these examples: the puppet object, once built requires a second act of creation, of being given life by a human being willing to do so by blowing, breathing or by "lending" life, in this case the manipulator.

5. On stage: the puppet as an extension of the actor's body

> *Nobody watching a puppet show thinks for one moment that the constructed actors actually are alive. And yet puppetry has thrived through the eons. It works, despite its utter lack of believability.*[38]

At the start of the second half of the 20th century, and then even more so in the 60s and 70s, we witness a reformulation of the importance of the body within the spheres of stage arts and plastic arts, as well as in art forms in which the two converge, such as the *Marionetas de São Lourenço* company's performances. The wider range of movement permitted by these changes influenced puppetry, releasing the puppets from the more rigid forms which had been obligatory:

> *Emancipation from the castelet freed puppets and changed the parameters of performance. No longer hemmed in by the small space of traditional theater or, by the same token, the need to respect its archetypes, the imagination was free to choose and compose its own space. The performance could appropriate both the whole stage or the limited space of a simple table, might involve the body/stage of the puppeteer, or simply make do with an empty space delimited by lighting. This freedom powerfully influenced performance, form and staging, as well as stagecraft and dramaturgy.*[39]

The case of the Companhia de São Lourenço is paradigmatic of these changes. Even though the repertoire and some staging techniques were inspired by

[37] *Genesis*, Chapter 2, verse 7.

[38] Blumenthal, Eilleen, *Puppetry and Puppets. An Illustrated World Survey* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 68.

[39] Niculescu, Margareta, "On the Path of Experimentation" in *Passing It On* (Charleville-Mézières: Institut International de la Marionnette/L'Éntretemps, 2009), 32-34.

archaic modes of theater, the manipulation used is totally different from that used for the puppets from the time of António José da Silva. Aware of the importance of the manipulator/actor, the company adopted a new form of manipulation, full-view manipulation, where the puppet is attached to several points on the manipulator's body, which appeared behind it in full black. **(Figure 3)**. The manipulator, when he disappeared behind a black veil, assumed a dual character, hiding himself only to be revealed in the shadow of the puppet whom he was endowing with life. Therefore, the "elimination" to which the manipulator's body appeared to be subjected may be understood if we take into account this symbiosis whereby he became the puppet's breath, lending it his own life.[40]

Figure 3: Performance of *Salomé*

It is this reformulation of the puppet's "life," in its relationship with the actor/manipulator that appeared in the company's 1976 manifesto, an attempt to clarify what it means to *be a puppet*:

> *Brief notions of ethics and etiquette in the treatment of puppets*
>
> *– Puppets normally live in a black environment: on a black rectangle and below a black veil, made of black fabric that is used to absorb the darkness.*
>
> *– Separating the light from the dark, the puppets are the last beings in the black environment of the rectangle to transmit the reflexes of the sun that does not exist on the horizon.*
>
> *– Their habits and costumes are very specific: they do not need to be fed and segregate gestures that in contact with light are transformed into feelings.*
>
> *– For other functions, they require an appendix: a machine that is the manipulator that provides them with movement, and the narrator who is the machine that gives the puppets' voices sound.*
>
> *– Therefore, just as the deep sea diver needs a diving suit and the navigator a ship, for the manipulator to venture into the black environment he needs a suit of protection.*[41]

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[40] Here we can find some similarities with the Bunraku technique where the manipulators also appear dressed in black behind the puppet, although in the case of the Companhia de São Lourenço, there is only one manipulator, instead of three, controlling the movements.

[41] Marionetas de São Lourenço e o Diabo, *D.Mariana*, program of the show presented at Ar.Co in Lisbon, June 1976.

6. Possibly eternity: the building of the museum

They are already there in their display cases, haughty, immobile and sovereign, and we experience a feeling of sadness for being so irremediably human.[42]

By observing the history of the Companhia de São Lourenço, we can understand how its existence was always marked by various links to the universe of plastic arts. Its working headquarters was located in an art school in the city of Lisbon – Ar.Co – where a number of performances were staged. The aesthetic strand of the plays and puppets was acknowledged by its presence at Acarte encounters, by being awarded scholarships,[43] and, especially, by the "exhibition-performance"[44] at the Modern Art Centre of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation[45] dedicated to the puppets used in the plays by António José da Silva, which thus became legitimate artistic objects.

At the same time, the company's presence on the Portuguese cultural panorama was expanded; it established a program contract with public television that contributed towards the dissemination of its work to a wider audience, and on the international scene, the director Jorge Listopad was awarded a prize by RAI in 1977 for his filming of the play *O Conde da Alemanha*.

The construction of an exhibition space emerges both as a logical sequence of this process and out of necessity: "*The numerous shows and tours, with the subsequent production and collection of materials and different elements, made one feel the need to organise a space to exhibit these items. Thus in 1987, in an old private building located between São Jorge Castle and Graça, the first Portuguese space devoted to puppets since the extinction of the Bairro Alto theater in 1755 was born, also restoring continuity to a Portuguese tradition of theater and opera.*"[46]

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[42] VAZ, Helena, "O Museu da Marioneta de Lisboa" in *Museu da Marioneta de Lisboa. Exhibition catalogue* (Lisbon: Egeac, 2005), 15-17.

[43] Helena Vaz received a scholarship from the Gulbenkian Foundation in 1976/77 to study archaic forms of puppetry.

[44] It was actually an exhibition, but the term "exhibition-performance" was used because, though the puppets were immobile and did not perform on stage, there were singing guided tours by a "singing tour guide," Fernando Serafim.

[45] At this time, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, through its Modern Art Centre (created in 1983) was the most important institution dedicated to contemporary art in Portugal.

[46] Santos, Maria José Machado, "The São Lourenço Company and the National Puppet Museum," in *Museu da Marioneta de Lisboa, Catálogo da Exposição* (Lisboa: EGEAC, 2005), 19-20.

The birth of the museum allowed not only for the maintenance of the company's collection but also the enhancement of puppetry as a form of artistic expression.[47]

In fact, the type of museum in which collections of puppets are housed determines how we interpret them:

> Some of the best collections of puppets are to be found in museums of folklore, such as ethnographic museums of Antwerp and Liège or the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris. Comparatively few are to be found in theater museums. One consequence of the association with folklore rather than theater has been a tendency to think in terms of national cultures and notions of ethnicity, often summarized as Volkskunde or Volkstumkunde.[48]

The object, by being placed in a museum, is subject to numerous interpretations: by those acquiring the items, by those designing the exhibition, and by each one of the visitors. In fact, the creation of a museum dedicated to puppetry assumes that puppets, as a cultural manifestation, have something to say beyond their own existence as performing objects, that the moment of the performance is linked to other external issues on which it is important to reflect, and therefore, the museum may construct interpretations of the object which operate outside theater.

> The mission of the Puppet Museum is to collect, maintain, conserve, research, exhibit and disseminate puppet theater, the puppet, and its history – espe-cially in the Portuguese cultural context – by endeavoring to contribute towards the dissemination of knowledge and learning, and ideally by developing this activity in this specific area, by trying to correct the misunderstanding that Puppet theater is a 'simple form of the performing arts,' a kind of minor art, a 'poor relative' of the theater of actors.[49]

The company was aware that the "puppet-object" had a different value on stage and when on display. Here the case of the puppet "*A Bit of Soul*

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[47] Although in this case one can speak of "artistic expression," we must not forget that, when we are talking about puppets from African or Asian countries, we are faced with ritual and religious dimensions.

[48] McCormick, John and Pratasik, Bennie, *Popular Puppet Theater in Europe, 1800-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[49] Santos, Maria José Machado, "Um Museu Renovado" in *Lisbon´s Puppet Museum. Exhibition Catalogue* (Lisboa: Egeac, 2005), 14.

Figure 4: Puppet "A Bit of Soul Exiting a Scar," as displayed at the Puppet Museum, Lisbon

Figure 5: One of the angles of a room devoted to the exhibition of the company Marionetas de São Lourenço where the wind machine and puppets from the play Barnum can be seen.

Exiting a Scar" is exemplary **(Figure 4)**. Emerging as a dual puppet in the "Barnum"[50] show, where it was used to create a specific reality with which the audience would relate throughout the narrative, it was subsequently placed in a museum as an example of understanding of the puppet theater as an artistic production.

It is perhaps worthwhile to recall Helena Vaz's text for the renovated Puppet Theater **(Figure 5)** and the process of mourning. There, she refers to the widow Carolina and her ghost dance, quoting the comment of a traditional puppeteer, according to whom "in this world" death does not make sense.[51]

It may be through these ties that the puppets and the exhibition, the museum and death are united and it is worthwhile to ask ourselves: is the museum, as Adorno considered, a mausoleum,[52] or on the contrary, does it signify that objects have been given a chance to survive?

If death does not make sense, if in puppetry death is always a parody, then puppets, unlike common mortals, will survive and this is their specificity in comparison to other forms of theater: that of a life that remains suspended after the curtain is drawn:

> *They can be gods, idiots or worms. They are able to nurture children or terrify adults. They survive indefinitely, without normal biological aging but also can die and come back to life again and again*.[53]

Thus, the museum represents the chance given to objects of survival beyond the stage: life after life, presented in an ironic form of role reversal. The spectator, once static before a theatrical performance, now becomes a visitor,

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[50] It was part of a set of puppets that together formed the Siamese Hilton Twins.

[51] "Joaquim Pinto, son of the legendary Faustino Duarte, true creator of a puppeteer's dynasty, is the creator of Widow Carolina, also manipulated by his son Higino Pinto. And when Carolina puts on her best outfits to visit the skeleton of her husband, creating the most fantastic and hallucinating of dances with him, it represents a fair act, because 'in this world' death makes no sense." Helena Vaz, "Lisbon´s Puppet Museum" in *Lisbon´s Puppet Museum. Exhibition Catalogue* (Lisboa: Egeac, 2005), 16.

[52] "The German word, 'museal' [museumlike], has unpleasant overtones. It describes objects to which the observer has no longer a vital relationship and which are in process of dying. They owe their preservation more to historical respect than to the needs of the present. Museum and mausoleum are connected by more than phonetic association. Museums are like the family sepulchers of works of art." Adorno, Theodor, "Valéry Proust Museum" in *Prisms* (Cambridge/Massachusetts: The Mit Press, 1988), 175.

[53] Blumenthal, Eileen, *Puppetry and Puppets. An Illustrated World Survey* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005), 11.

a passer-by, *flâneur*, creator of meanings, observing the now-static puppets. These in turn, are unmoved by the action, as if, the challenge of eternal return echoed over them: *This life, just as you live now and as you have lived it, will have to be lived one more time and then again and again: and there will be nothing new in it.*[54]

We can now understand the specificity of a puppet museum within the scope of performing arts museums. The challenge of performing arts museums is to preserve inherently ephemeral parts of a performance – props, objects pertaining to a production – by attempting to build a memory that condenses the spectator's impressions into one object or one array of objects. A puppet museum is faced with what was a *human being on stage*. To a certain extent, a parallel can be made here with zoological collections where the object displayed has lost its power to breathe, has lost its *anima*, and we are left with only an image and the story that the museum must tell.

Between the living being on stage that the puppet was and the ghost dance in the display rooms of the museum, there will always be something lost. How to create a museum that does not betray the puppet's essential movement? How to capture the fleetingness of its gestures? Is it possible to avoid being left with only the "shadow" that was a puppet performance, its relationship to the manipulator, the audience's reactions, and the theater?

7. The memory of the theater: from the fleetingness of the stage to the eternity of the museum

> *In the Bible, we can find the famous statement that there is nothing new under the sun. That is, of course, true. But there is no sun inside the museum. And that is probably why the museum always was – and remains – the only possible site of innovation.*[55]

The purpose of our reflection on the company Marionetas de São Lourenço was to map its importance in the history of the Portuguese theater. However, despite the significant contribution of its career, what could endure from the company? The images of the performances, the posters, the photographs, the programs, in relation to which the museum assumes an archival function.

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[54] Helena Vaz herself, in the text for the catalogue of the renovated museum, refers to the myth of the eternal return, quoting Nietzsche. Vaz, "Lisbon´s Puppet Museum," 115.

[55] Groys, Boris, *The Art Power* (Cambridge/Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2008), 42.

And the puppets themselves, whose placement in a museum allowed – as the mentors of the group thought – not only the physical preservation of the objects in ideal conditions of conservation, but also the remains of a living memory, as it can be visited and submitted to further interpretations.

This is the memory of a company that helped create an audience for Portuguese puppetry beyond the public who more or less spontaneously attended street performances of puppetry. But it is also a memory of the understanding of the puppet theater beyond its existence on stage, in a place where *life beyond life* as a puppet and the mournful memory of the museum are found, because *the work of mourning also describes, through passion, through the memory haunted by a lost body but conserved within its tomb, the resurrection of the ghost or the glorious body that rises, reveals itself and walks.*[56]

[56] Derrida, J. "*What is a "relevant" translation*?" Trad. Olivia Niemeyer Santos (São Paulo: Alfa, 2000), v. 44, n.esp., 42, see http://seer.fclar.unesp.br/alfa/article/view/4277/3866

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Croatian Folk Puppeteering

1.

European and Croatian puppeteering split into two streams in the middle of the twentieth century. The stream in the rural areas continued long standing folk tradition. The other one established art theaters on the model of the Obraztsov theater in Moscow. In the 1950s, many European puppeteers started to discover their own traditional repertoire of folk shows as a mean of reviving national art, but on the other hand, folk puppetry meant an escape from the uniformity imposed by Socialist Realism and the Soviet idea of internationalization. Puppetry lost its connetion with modernity and revived folk themes, but in a modernistic way. In each country, puppeteers expressed nationality by a different approach to art, depending on their political attitude. Sometimes they used folklore as a new means of expression of local mythology (Jurkowski, 2007, 256).

Many puppet shows in Croatia in between the two World Wars were performed by the Sokol organization. Their shows followed traditions of Czech folk puppetry. At the same time, a different kind of folk puppetry appeared sporadically in Croatia that had no contact with what was going on in Sokol puppet theater. When puppet theaters started to be institutionalized in Zagreb, Zadar, Osijek, and Split, they continued the tradition of the Sokol puppet theater and had no connection with rural or folk puppetry.

Most of the founders of modern Croatian puppet theater were preoccupied with stories from Croatian children's literature, so that the folk element entered the theater indirectly, via Croatian oral tales. The Zagreb puppet

theater turned to the Obraztsov style with rod puppets, while in Zadar guignol with rods was used because the founder of the theater had lived in Paris and anticipated organizing shows with a guignol-style puppet company, and marionettes were used in Split (Bogner-Šaban, 1997, 12). The founders of the puppet theater were mostly actors from the drama theater, and their work on the histrionic puppet theater of the mid-twentieth century mostly took a pedagogical approach. Nobody can say what the European puppet theater would look like without Obraztsov.

In this work, I want to present rural folk puppetry as an independent creation with a world of its own and its own means of choosing and elaborating motifs within an ideological, linguistic, and stylistic scheme. Puppet shows aren't part of a ritual but they have their own structure within a plot. In fact there is a partial connection with the traditions of the wedding ceremony, but the preparation for the performance and the atmosphere around it clearly distinguish them from other art forms (Zvonar, Hranjec, 1980, 286).

The puppet shows we will examine have a structure regulated differently from written puppet plays, because the director and actor want to express a particular message to an eagerly involved audience. The puppet shows documented here are found mostly in continental Croatia, specifically in Hrvatsko Zagorje and Međimurje but some appear in the neighboring areas of Srbija-Vojvodina and Slovenija.

2.

I'll begin my presentation of Croatian folk theater by describing certain puppets and their construction, which the stage directions discuss in detail: these are rod puppets, puppets made of handkerchiefs, marionettes, scarecrows, and puppets which appear in a carnival procession.

The skeleton of the puppet is in the shape of a cross and is about one meter long. It is made of two rods perpendicular to each other. The vertical rod is longer than the horizontal one. The rods are attached by a rope at the joint. The puppeteer sometimes holds rods at the joint. If the puppet represents a male character, it is dressed in a coat, and if it represents a woman, it is dressed in a shirt or blouse. Sleeves are spread and fall loosely because the horizontal rod is shorter than the sleeves. A hat is put on the top of the rod and represents the puppet's head. If the puppet represents a woman, its head

is made of a piece of cloth, its plaits are made of thick linen yarn, and there is a headscarf wrapped around it. The puppet's head could also be a pumpkin with mouth, nose, and eyes cut into it. A hat is put on its head. The head could also be made of a gourd, usually used to drink from. The eyes and mouth are drawn with a pencil or a piece of charcoal. Scarecrow puppets or rod puppet have no legs. The puppeteer holds his puppet at the bottom of the vertical rod or at the juncture of two rods. The puppeteer's hand is hidden by his or her coat (Zvonar i Hranjec, 1980, 319).

Puppets can also be made of a handkerchief: a knot is tied at one end of the handkerchief, the puppeteer's index finger is put into the knot, and the two ends are grabbed with the thumb and middle finger (Lozica, 1996, 358).

String puppets are 30 centimeters long and cut out of a piece of cardboard. The head with neck, body, hands and legs are cut separately and all the parts are then sewn together. The cardboard is painted in different colours in order to hide the thread. Each male character wears a hat and trousers and each female puppet wears a dress. Each puppet hangs on a string spread between the puppeteer's legs and sewn to his trousers under knees. The puppet is attached to the string which is usually black, for minimum visibility, and goes under the spare part of the neck which is, together with the head, connected to the body (Lozica, 1996, 357).

The scarecrow puppet is made of an old coat. The bottom of the coat is sewn and filled in with straw and the puppet is fixed on rods perpendicular to each other. The sleeves are filled with straw, keeping them spread out. The head is created from a sock which is also filled with straw and put on top of the vertical rod. A hat or a cap is put atop the head. The lips and nose are painted but some puppet-makers use red pepper for the nose (Lozica, 1996, 350).

The carnival puppet on the island of Lastovo is worth to be described in detail. Its main feature is its black face. A net made of wire is used as its head and it is painted dark red, almost black. Only its moustaches are painted entirely black. The white of the eyes and a cigarette in the mouth of the puppet are prominently visible. The puppet is made of straw and sawdust and there is sand in its boots. The puppet is dressed in a typical Turkish suit and it has a fez on its head.

Puppets of a bull and a horse appear in carnival processions. A performer covered with a blanket holds a rod. A pot on top of the rod represents bull's head. The pot is sometimes seen and sometimes hidden under the blanket.

The performer mimes a bull, sometimes adding sound by mooing. There are variants where two people form the bull. The first one carries the rod with the pot and the other one drags a broom to represent the tail. A donkey, a bear and a monkey are presented the same way. The horse's head is made of two pieces of wood strapped up and covered with hemp. The teeth in the jaws are made of nails. The inside of the muzzle is made of a piece of red cloth. Patches nailed on the upper piece of wood feign eyes. The performer holds up the rod with a fixed head. The player opens the jaws by pulling a string fixed to the head. The tail is made of a piece of leather. The horse is played by two performers. The front one stands and holds the rod with the head in front of himself. The other performer is behind him. He is bent and holds the shoulders of the first one. They are both covered by a blanket and only their four legs are seen. A cattle driver guides the horse on the rope (Mrkšić, 1975, 111).

3.

Folk theater and reality coalesce and follow key moments in the life of an individual. They most often appear within the frameworks of sociocultural customs or annual cycles, which means that timing and types of performance are determined in advance by tradition. The audience enters the theater and gives up its freedom to choose whether or not to participate. A puppet show usually doesn't try to create an illusion of everyday life. The course of the play is determined in advance by oral tradition. We can understand popular tendencies in the area where the puppet show is performed.

Alcoholics appear in several puppet shows. The characters named Ivo and Ante appear in the show *The Alcoholics*. The puppet show consists of two parts. The characters compete in physical strength and the quarrel ends in a fight. In the second part, they realize that quarreling and fighting doesn't make any sense and apologize to each other.

In the stage directions of the puppet show *Šante i Pante* it says that Šante, the evil alcoholic, wallows in mud and attracts the good-hearted and foolish Pante. After an unreasonable quarrel, the puppets fight. The origin of these characters is not precisely known. The earliest recorded mention of them dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is sopposed that they come to Croatia from Bosnia. It is also possible that the puppet shows were transmitted by Uskoks. They come from the time of wars against

Turks because they appear in the areas under Turkish rule or inhabited by settlers who fled from the Turks.

There are also cross-shaped skeleton puppets outside Europe, in Tajikistan. The book *Tajikistan folk theater* contains a description of a puppet reminiscent of the scarecrow puppet described above. The name of *Pate* suggests the possibility of Pante's Asian origin, possibly related to the Persian word *pajanta*, meaning harvest. Scarecrow puppets appear singly in their possible country of orgin, while in Croatia they tend to appear in pairs. The question is, why? The fact that the puppets appear as a pair in Bosnia might be explained by the phenomenon of Bogomilism. That school of thought preaches that there are two principles, one spiritual and immaterial, the other evil and physical. These two puppets may have originally represented the conflict between the good, god-like Pante and the devil character known as "lame Satan" in the oral tradition. It is possible that the Bogomils named their devil puppet Šante, after a Hungarian word meaning to mock the enemy, and that may be the source of the puppet types illustrating the fight of good against evil, right against wrong, and honesty against thievery (Rožin, 1962, 139).

Gašpar and Melko are brothers who try to divide their inheritance after their late father. Melko is the first to demarcate the boundar, at a bench. Gašpar designates the boundary at a different place. After a quarrel, they fight and each claims his side. The brothers then change roles in the way Gašpar is the first one to delineate the correct boundary. The situation leads to absurdity because the repetition goes on ad infinitum. Repetition of the same action is accompanied by the same gestures, the same intonation with little variations, leading the dramatic situation into the grotesque. The performance mocks quarrelling as a human vice. Hranjec (Zvonar, Hranjec, 1980), a researcher on folk puppet theater, claims that the name Gašpar originated with the traveling puppeteers Kasparl and Melko and their performance of *Three King Kolednik*. The characters Gašpar and Melko may be related to Kasperl in Germany, Pulcinella in Italy, or Guignol in France in terms of their personality traits. The subject of this play can be considered as social because land division in families in Međimutje could be very painful and brutal as land was scarce and families were large. Separations occurred after the father's death. Gašpar and Melko lived in harmony while their father was alive. Neither of the brothers wanted to yield because a furrow could endanger their existence; but at the same time, the play makes fun of the brothers for being quarrelsome prigs, spiteful toward each other, even though one furrow brings scarcely any profit.

Ivica and Marica features a wedding ceremony in which Ivica asks Marica if she loves him and vice versa. After an affirmative response, they become engaged.

In the marionette show *Vile vištice ili sestrice* the male character is named Todor and the female is Marička or Juliška, female names from neighboring Hungary, because Croatians in the village of Neijemci do not give their own names to their puppets. The prevalent theme is usually love-making. The šid elm tree and Aršanj mountain in Hungary are mentioned in the show. According to oral tradition, witches meet under the elm tree and there is a shrine to the Holy Mother on the Aršanj mountain. At the beginning of the play the puppeteer urges his puppets Todor and Mariška to dance. After the call to dance, the puppeteer chooses a female member of the audience and includes her in the show to make Mariška jealous, and Mariška cries: "Todore, adulterer, colorful balls." Mate Kunić was a popular performer of these puppets. While playing bagpipes and arranging the puppets, he used to improvise the text and mock somebody in the society.

In the shadow puppet show *Hanžica,* the main character's partner is Right Hankie. In an interesting conversation, Right Hankie asks Hanžica where she has been and she answers she has been in South America. She played cards there and won 100 gold coins. When Right Hankie asks her to give him some of them, she hits him over his head and screams: "Here you are, take it, one, two, three. Puf! Puf!"

In shadow puppet play *Cica-maca* one of the character pours milk from one cup to another and the puppeteers talks: "Pussy-cat where have you been?/ In the hall./ What did you do there?/ Did you boil any milk?/ Did you leave anything?/ I did./ Where?/ On the shelf./ The shelf broke down/ The milk was spilt."

In the puppet shadow play *Djed i baka* (*Grandma and Grandpa*), grandma and grandpa meet after she tried unsuccessfully to sell some eggs and poultry on the market. The grandpa invites her to make love and she agrees but asks him to buy her a scarf in return. They go behind a hedge so that nobody can see them. Shadows show them hugging and rolling behind the hedge. After the love scene, the grandpa gives grandma five coins to buy herself a scarf.

In *Kata and Mato* there is a young man and a young girl. Mato calls his friend Kata to play and have fun, hoping their hearts will unite. Kata answers Mato's call and lets him kiss her. The show ends with Kata and Mato kissing each other.

In the shadow play *Sjene* there are two shadow puppets named *She and He*. He says: "You are my sweet little fig." She cries, "Don't touch me" and in the stage directions it is written that She escapes.

4.

There are several ways to animate a scarecrow puppet. Usually the puppeteer animates two puppets and changes his voice if necessary. The puppeteer lies under a bench and he holds a puppet in each of his hands and raises them above the bench. The puppets quarrel and fight above the bench. Another animation method involves the puppeteer lying on the bed. He has his coat on but with its back side at his front. He covers his head and his legs are covered with a blanket. Dressed like that he holds two puppets. Such a puppet show can be performed in a field of clover. There, the puppeteer lies in the clover, holding two scarecrows in his hands. Another player talks with the invisible player (lying in the clover) so it appears that he is talking with ghosts.

The puppet show *Ivica i Marica* is performed by two puppeteers. Each of them has his own puppet in front of him. The puppets talk to each other through the puppeteers.

The puppeteer enters the room in small steps, as small as the string allows him, and animates the marionettes. Sitting next to the door he makes a circle in front of himself with a broom. This circle must not be crossed by anybody; nobody must even come close to it, because he will be hurt immediately by a fairy if he does. When the strings are ready, the puppeteer moves strings slowly, so that the puppet starts moving. We suppose that the puppet's legs are moved by inertia (Lozica, 1996, 375).

Shadows on the wall are created by the movement of the fingers and hands. Hands are often wrapped in handkerchiefs or pieces of cloth. Sometimes various objects are held in the hands – pieces of wood, rings, or other props. The most convenient base is wall painted white, made of earth, which is not completely even. Shadows then stick out a little due to unevenness of the wall. The performers of such shadow plays are older men with great dexterity. They usually stand in front of the wall, keeping their hands in front of themselves and a lighted candle. The public are seated as in an amphitheater. The show is performed in the dark room with only one candle lighted. The characters most often depicted are moving animals. There is also a special place for erotic characters in shadow shows, and obscene situations are not rare (Čubelić, 1970, 57).

5.

In many folk puppet shows, performers use high-pitched voices, so audiences accustomed to professional theatrical articulation often think the acting in folk theater is bad. The puppeteer animating Punch or Petruska uses a distorted voice because he speaks through a kind of whistle. Such little instruments kept by puppeteers in their mouths (attached to the palate) are not used in Croatian puppetry. There, the puppeteer's voice is uneven because he mixes high and low styles. In folk performance it is usual to express serious thoughts through joking. Mikhail Bakhtin (1978) points this out in his discussion of laughter in folk culture. Precisely through its close juxtaposition of the tragic and the humorous, a folk show makes an intimate connection with the audience. The dialogue in a folk show is similar to everyday speech and less subject to scenic conventions than dialogue written for professional theater. The reasons for the use of that kind of speech are 1) that there is no illusion of isolated space on the stage and also 2) that the dialogue is mostly im-provised. The speech in folk puppetry has a dual function. Besides conveying its content, it also serves characterization and description.

6.

There is no specially prepared location where these shows are performed. The set can be a square, a yard, a house or a room. The setting is inconspicuous and improvised. There is only a minimal number of essential props. The stage is made of a bench covered with a white blanket, which also represents the boundary over which the two brothers quarrel. The audience is seated around them. The fourth imaginary wall of the stage is broken down and that constitutes a shift from the theatrical illusion—which does not, however, affect the intensity of the performance (Lozica, 1996, 41).

7.

There are no professional directors and actors in folk theater, but there is directing and acting, because without them there can be no performance. In folk puppet theater, the puppeteer assumes the joint roles of puppet director and performer (Lozica, 1996, 42). An actor or director in oral literature transmits something communally made. An actor is a talented individual, a capable creator who knows how to choose the right form or the right motivation,

and how to use proper speech and attract attention of the audience (Zvonar, Hranjac, 1980, 286). The actor conveys something original using standard oral form to express his creative personality. He is not merely an interpreter, but must have an original, powerful persona. If he doesn't know how to attract attention, he'll experience the temperamental disapproval of the audience. Actors do not learn their roles by heart. They have the basic idea in their mind and that's why there are elements of improvisation in their shows and it is impossible to see two identical performances even in terms of the text used. The performer knows the principal places and the basic idea, which are fixed, and the rest is improvised. The performer emphasizes such sections as he chooses. Only a few phrases need to be spoken the same way. Each performance is grotesque. His aim is not to identify himself with the role. This distinction is emphasized by changing his voice, which acquires a comic intonation. The grotesque confirms the inmost expression of real life in a rural community. The performer caricatures his role in keeping with the general attitude of the audience.

8.

There is no record of any puppet show in institutional theater in which elements of Croatian folk puppetry, whether its method or thematic preoccupations, have been used. The fact that the puppeteer is lying hidden on the floor or bed covered by different blankets cannot be incorporated into "standing puppetry." This is a result of rural puppet shows' isolation, on the one hand and, on the other hand, the widespread influence of Czech puppetry. The Croatian style of folk puppeteering was geographically, politically, and ideologically isolated. This isolation was also social and economic and led to the creation of a folk theater completely separate from instutional puppeteering (Jurkowski 2007, 256). Croatian folk puppeteering features mostly solo performers and they represent comic characters who developed from commedia dell'arte and folk farce. Their performances are reminiscent of comic *lazzi*. This kind of theater has not survived like Punch because it didn't adapt to the times through changes in formal expression and stayed petrified in its original form; it therefore exists today as valuable monument. It lost its natural dynamics, which had been determined by the conditions of social life. There are no longer any ordinary folk puppeteers who accept the puppet as a means of expression in this traditional style. There are no puppeteers playing in courtyards and collecting their scarce

earnings from the audience after the performances; their audience does not exist anymore. This type of puppeteering was meant for uneducated people who had not been urbanized. The tradition did not continue and its heros did not assume new roles. They didn't transform into a theater for children; nor did they become didactic, or a symbol of popular theater.

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Theater of Freaks by Zlatko Bourek

Germanophile by education and a Slavonian by his upbringing in Slavonska Požega and Osijek – whose location by the Danube constitutes a natural boundary with Serbia and a link with Europe – Zlatko Bourek[1] has introduced the Pre-Brechtian *Figurentheater* or theater for adults with figures or Theater of Freaks to the Croatian theater.

Since the beginning of his artistic activity, Bourek has combined *logical combinatorics* and *the aesthetics of ugliness* in a special way with the grotesque as its dominant characteristic. The grotesque as a semantic distortion of forms is recognized or accepted as a certain norm, and in the art and theory of modernism, the grotesque has played a huge role and is practically ubiquitous. As an agent of contrast, the grotesque is also one of the richest sources of art since, on the one hand, it creates the horrible and monstrous, and on the other, the comical and farcical (Pavis, 2004,123).

In his *Theater of Freaks* we encounter grotesque political characters (with the appearance of which, in 1951, Bourek's artistic creation started), grotesque

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[1] Zlatko Bourek (1929), a painter, set designer, costume designer, director and cartoonist, graduated in 1955 in sculpture and special metal processing at the Academy of Applied Arts in Zagreb. He is a regular illustrator for the Zagreb magazine *Republika*, for numerous editions of *Školska knjiga*, *Mladost* and *Znanje* and for children's picture books. He exhibits paintings and works in the field of applied art, is a member of the Zagreb Study for Industrial Design, as devoted to sculpture, participating in group exhibitions at home and abroad, with solo exhibitions in Duisburg (1969), New York (1969), Zagreb (1979, 1984, 2003) and Dubrovnik (1982). As a set designer and costume designer, he has worked in many theaters in Zagreb, at the Dubrovnik Summer Festival and the Split Summer Festival, where he occasionally directs, mostly puppet interpretations of classic literary works. Particularly well-known is his staging of *Fifteen Minute Hamlet* by T. Stoppard (1982), a puppet version that has been presented at the largest theater festivals in the country and abroad. He is a versatile filmmaker – of documentaries, feature films and award-winning animated films (*Bećarac*). He has received a lot of awards and recognition. From 2002 he was an associate member, and from 2010 he has been a member of the Department of Fine Arts of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Tartaglia-Kelemen and Škrabalo,1989, 219-221).

motifs in painting and sculpture, set and costume designs for theatrical performances, and in particular, the grotesque content and form of numerous award-winning animated, documentary and feature films. Their simple realistic stories, their motifs and characters are repeated in a series of simple appearances, always with loud-mouthed and freakish behavior. Bourek's means of transmission and / or his connecting of different forms of expression is demonstrated at the outset by a traditional accompanied song or air (that may be vocal or instrumental) – a regional genre called a *bećarac*.[2] Thus the arts of painting and literature are united and reflected in a specific way in the diverse, multimedia creation of Zlatko Bourek, where there is no backlash, doubt or questioning, nor previous attempts or experiments (Maroević, 2009, 6-7).

As an important representative of the Zagreb School of Animation, Bourek easily transfers themes from literature to expressive animated forms full of dark humor or grotesque surrealism (Munitić, 1986, 133). His impressive adaptation of *The Ballads of Petrica Kerempuh* by Miroslav Krleža resulted in the animated film entitled *And I saw distant places, so misty and muddy*, which he directed in 1964, and in 1973 he made the equally impressive animated film *Cat,* after one of Aesop's fables. The previously mentioned feature of the Slavonian couplet-bećarac is Bourek's starting point for the animated film *Bećarac* with its emphasis on folklore motifs, which he created using a collage technique in 1965 (Ajanović, 2004, 102).

Spaces Connected by Theater

From 1977 to the present day, Bourek has been engaged in creating his *Theater of Freaks* through manipulation of the overall effect – as a set designer, costume designer, creator of characters-figures, and in particular in his directorial achievements mounting his own plays and co-authored plays intended for this specific theatrical form. Bourek connects the poetics

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[2] *Bećarac* is a decasyllable musical form, found in the regions of Slavonia, Baranja and Srijem, in which lyrics composed of decasyllabic couplets are sung to a specific melodic pattern, usually on the theme of love and metaphorically erotic; singers/dancers boast of their own virtues, beauty, ability, financial condition, they mock people with different opinions and rivals, or they generally express defiance. In *bećarac,* usually two or more leading singers try to "outsing" each other, accompanied by group singing and folk instruments: originally, only bagpipes and a solitary tambura were used, and later whole tambouritza groups or mixed bands with a violin, an accordion and a number of tamburas. *Bećarac* is performed with the first verse or part of the verse, containing a specific meaningful thesis, is sung by one singer, and then other singers join in. The second verse is usually a humorous antithesis to the first verse, sung by all singers. The lyrics are often devised during the performance itself, thematizing individuals present, topical events and the context in which the performance takes place. In 2007, *bećarac* was listed in the Register of Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Croatia. (www.min-kulture.hr)

of the *Theater of Freaks* with the lives of audiences and with fairground forms of entertainment in Osijek between the two world wars, which he encountered in his early childhood. For a large number of those who were then younger workers, the author notes,[3] such fairground fun is an aspect of life, and a necessity too.

After the first World War, the *Theater of Freaks* appeared in Jewish cabarets (in German cities such as Berlin, and then also in Osijek, Z. Đ.) and survived until Hitler came to power in Germany. *Theater of Freaks* is a theater for the proletarian, the poor. For Bourek, it is a kind of theater with a clear message and a standpoint of opposing sides, where it is exactly known who the enemy of the working class is. The author argues that Brecht knew this theater well, because he used many of its elements for his plays and his later poetics of epic theater. The *Theater of Freaks* was meant for hard-working peasants who work the land in the mud and the rain throughout the four seasons, and on Saturdays and Sundays have fun and go out with girls.

Bourek's assumption is that the puppeteer-performers of *Theater of Freaks* came to Osijek from Budapest. Budapest is associated with Berlin, and at that time it was possible to travel along the Danube by ship – from Berlin to Osijek – i. e. from Aljmaš to Novi Sad, Budapest, Vienna and Berlin. Osijek then had excellent ties with both Western Europe and with Belgrade in the east.

In the Capuchin church in Osijek *Little Teatrino* was active for some time. The plays were invented and performed by young capuchins. With hand-made wooden puppets, they used to perform the play *Saint Francis and the Evil Man* on a table.

Before 1941, the area along the Drava River in Osijek had been turned into an interesting meeting place for the newly-formed working class, the proletariat – an "entertainment fair" with a merry-go-round (ringischpil), a counter with drinks, a swing and various tent structures – one for *Shooting*, and another for *The Wonders of the World*. What was available in the tents was highlighted with inscriptions – so on one of them was written *The Wonders of the World* and on another *Cheerful Shooting-place* and *Theater of Freaks*.

In the tent-theater a specially-made rectangular structure of boards was set up – *The Wonders of the World*. On the front side of the rectangle, three meters

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[3] Zdenka Đerđ, *Conversation: Zlatko Bourek, Theater of Freaks / Razgovor: Zlatko Bourek, Kazalište nakaza* (Zagreb, 22 Oct. 2011) – Notes from *Conversation* are used in Zdenka Đerđ's dissertation, *Croatian Puppet Play*, presented at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb on the 10th April 2013. The authorized copy of *Conversation* (Đerđ-Bourek) is held in the Department of History of Croatian Literature, Theater and Music of Croatian Academy of Science and Arts (HAZU) in Zagreb.

in length and two in height, about 12 holes with the diameter of a human head were cut out. Through these openings, spectators with tickets would watch "miracles" produced or played on the opposite side of the rectangle. The narrator, in the course of telling a story, describes or comments on, for example, the image of the Titanic sinking, saying things like, *"the proletarians are in the water, and those who try to save themselves have their fingers cut off by the people on the ship..."*

In the *Shooting* area, there was one long counter-cum-stage opposite which were set up five to six rows of seats for spectators. Entrance was by ticket, each spectator-participant being given a ball of rags of moderate size. Behind the closed counter, about 85cm high and two to three meters long, were lined up several specially-crafted puppets, the size of an adult male torso, with heads and a moving mechanism for the eyes inside. These half-complete puppets were animated by a manipulator who held the puppet in front of him. When the owner of the shooting range decided that a sufficient number of spectators had gathered, a few figures/puppets emerged from the depths of the stage, whom spectators tried to hit with their balls of rags. For some time, the puppets skillfully evaded the balls. However, when one of the visitors hit a puppet, he was rewarded with a bottle of rum.

The main character of the Osijek cabaret was the Ventriloquist, then in middle age (50-60 years old). Dressed in a tailcoat, he would go out before the audience and introduce himself as a celebrity – *the famous Mister Ventriloquist, educated in Montecarlo...* Then he would present the puppet characters. The Woman-figure represented his own wife, about whom he would gossip frustratedly from time to time. Then the Woman-figure would grumble about him in a deep belly voice, and together they would abuse various visitor-spectators. For example, a young officer with a mistress might be ruthlessly abused and insulted by them.

Then a cabaret type of program started with Commedia dell'Arte characters and medieval mystery plays. The performances mainly involved erotic acts. Characters shared brief exchanges in couplets[4] using the so-called *bećarac*

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[4] A couplet in this context is the rhymed decasyllabic song of two lines, performed with a different tune, according to the region. The name of its different forms often comes from the way of singing or the occasions when they were sung: bećarac, pismica (little song), samica (solitary song), šalajka (fun song), svatovac (nuptial song) – mostly in Slavonia, Baranja, Srijem and in broader Vojvodina region. They were performed both with or without instrumental accompaniment, in a circle dance, at a wedding, in the fields, during harvest, at village parties, in the army, at various events and political rallies especially in our time, when they can be heard as tape-recordings. Their topics revolve around love, they are often cheerful, mocking, free in an erotic sense, especially in bećarac. Military and political topics are frequent too. They date from around the middle of the XIX century or slightly before, when they were small enclosed units, perhaps excerpted from longer songs. In the narrow framework of two lines, there is no

form, and engaged in discussion in the newly-created forms of *bećarac* as well as those already popular. They used a special, distorted version of Croatian language, recalling that of a Hungarian speaker, mangling the grammar of standard Croatian and using a limited Croatian vocabulary. All these characters existed in Berlin cabaret programs as well.

The following characters appear in the cabaret show: **MERRY MITZA**, **the PRIEST**, **the GENDARME**, **the KING**, **JANOS PEPPER**, **the DEVIL**, **JESUS** and **DEATH**.

MERRY MITZA is either an unmarried woman, "old maid," or a divorcee or widow, with enhanced breasts and prominent belly. Below the lower abdomen, above the vagina, a built-in mechanism can be seen with a tube for flowing, splashing, spraying water. Merry Mitza is much more aggressive than the other characters/figures, especially when interacting with them. All the characters lunge at her, directly and roughly. From these conflicts she emerges as the winner, refusing each lustful character for a longer or shorter period of time.

The GENDARME has a huge mustache, which he often pokes into Mitza's breasts. He wears a uniform of olive-gray color (SMB) and a Serbian army cap, a jacket with two rows of buttons and feet gaiters. He is a very important figure – the official bully. He also wears a broad sword in a scabbard, with which he constantly beats around himself and uses it as a stick too. He persecutes Janos Pepper and fights against him. The Devil persistently teases him and restrains his truculence by directing farts towards the Gendarme's head (nose). The Devil gradually grades the volume and duration of farts – from quiet and short sounds to frequent short ones with long and loud ending.

KING MUTIMIR is a Croatian King. He is a weak and sickly poor man who begs. He is the Devil's friend, trying to sell his crown or exchange it for potatoes because he is hungry. No one wants the crown which Mutimir persistently tries to trade. The King also asks Jesus for help. Jesus refuses to help him because he considers Mutimir to be a communist. He says, "Hah... you are a communist!" Bourek explains some historical background: King Aleksandar was assassinated and then the Tripartite Pact was signed between Germany, Japan and Italy in 1940, to which the people reacted with the slogan *Better War than Pact*. In the 1940s, before King Peter grew up and became of age, the jokes about the King and the Serbs were widespread.

space for developed diction or epithets, so they are more often metaphoric or elliptical (Bošković-Stulli and Petrić-Polonio, 2010, 458).

JANOS PEPPER, as a character, is most similar to the English Punch. He is a variant of Kaschperl, Kerempuh, fighting against all and everyone. He tells dirty jokes, especially about the Priest whom he calls *Black Manwhore* and other names. On account of the Priest he utters many things. He is dressed in a patched jacket, its original material no longer recognizable owing to the roughly sewn patches. On his head he wears a cap with a visor (baseball cap) and a red scarf is tied around his neck.

The **DEVIL** is a *pure Croatian devil*. His oft-repeated catchphrase or response in different situations and relationships with other characters is: *"The Devil I am – but a Croat!"* In addition to the voice characterization of all the above characters, the Devil speaks with a touch of regional (Kajvak) dialect. The Devil has a special mechanism in the area of the buttocks that, when activated, produces an unpleasant farting sound of various intensities, and at the same time, through the built-in tube openings, he let out flour in the original staging, although more recently this has been replaced by baby powder. He is dressed in a blue jacket (shpentzel) with a collar in the three colors of the national flag. He wears a leather waistcoat decorated with mirrors and a typical Slavonian hat on his head. In his hands the Devil holds a sizable stick, also painted in three colors – red, white and blue – which he often uses to attack everything and everyone. Scenes of deliberately provoked fights are repeated. Along with the beating, the stick has different functions – it is also a violin, sausage, or phallus.

JESUS is a Croat, a martyr and a sufferer, bloody and bleeding – blood is constantly dripping from him. The Devil tells him that his dad invented heaven, hell and purgatory, and all that is proved by the fact that he is the Devil. The Devil offers Jesus a woman – Merry Mitza. Jesus refuses the offer because he thinks that the Devil has turned into a woman. On his head Jesus has a crown of thorns that hurts him so his head is constantly bleeding too. Large nails pierce Jesus' hands. Mitza seduces him and moves the nails in his hands so that Jesus begs her to stop and shouts, *"No, you're hurting me!"* The Devil comes and farts, and Jesus faints.

DEATH has strikingly red lips. Narrow black breasts hang down to the puppet's navel, in which the performer pulls his forearms, shaking them mercilessly and hitting other characters with them. Death seduces the Devil, who by farting chases her away from him, and the stench makes her faint (Đerđ, 2011).

Bourek as Director

Through the various productions of city drama and puppet theaters, festival theater programs and productions of his own theatrical arts organization, Bourek creates, continuing the poetics of *Theater of Freaks* in shows with specially designed puppets, as well as performances using the same expressive means as an acted drama. His contribution to the creation of the special *Theater of Freaks* repertoire is primarily as director and designer of the visual aspect, as well as the author and / or co-author of this special form of puppet play. Let us consider, chronologically, some of his works.

The play by Salih Isaac, *Orlando Maleroso*, written for the first of Bourek's grotesque plays, was performed as part of the midnight session of Dubrovnik's Summer Festival in 1977 and recorded as *the first puppet production of the Festival* (Foretić, 2002 ,103). The author of this critical review, Dalibor Foretić, states that Isaac used a whole host of legendary figures from Dubrovnik in the play, such as Long Nose, Pomet, Dundo Maroje, St. Blaise, Laura and Petrunella, creating an ironic portrait of the Dubrovnik mentality in which many "noblemen" of the Festival found themselves targeted. Foretić goes on to identify the puppets and stage equipment and core values of the show and assert that *"Bourek… has unleashed his grotesque imagination and created really attractive puppets of high artistic value, among the most successful of which are St. Blaise, Orlando and Petrunella"* (Foretić, 2002, 116-117).

The second puppet show he directed for the &td Theater in Zagreb was *A Fifteen Minute Hamlet* by Tom Stoppard. Bourek announced his staging, called just *Hamlet,* as an experiment (Hetrich, 1981). In the dramaturgical treatment of Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* Stoppard had reduced a complex, tragic plot to a sequence of actions similar to a comic strip. To create such a situation on the stage, Bourek chose the Japanese puppet technique *karuma ningyo*. That technique gives the puppet characters exceptional vibrancy and movement and enhances their visually grotesque quality. Animation, featuring mobility and rapid changes of situations and relationships, can be developed as the monodrama of one puppet character as well as the interplay of several puppet characters (Jurkowski, 2007, 478-479). So the very physical separation of the components of the puppet stage figures (puppet and manipulator), by raising the head and trunk of the puppet above the feet of the manipulator, additionally reinforces the grotesque moment of being a puppet in them, readily proving that the puppet parts – head and trunk – can also exist as a complete, individual character, distinct from the other part of the whole, such as the actor's legs. These caricature puppets Bourek dressed in costumes

of dark tones, while the faces and bodies of actors-animators, together with the movable chairs on which they sat, were in white suits or coverings (Kroflin 2007). Ofelia's funeral was played with lyrical humour as well, and the sharp rhythm of action together with the funny motions of puppet characters results in *"a satirical and humorous course of events"* (Frndić, 1982).

With the plays *Orlando Maleroso* and *Hamlet,* Bourek introduced the adult puppet theater to the Croatian puppet theater scene – previously conceived mainly for children's audience. Through the puppet expression for adults – *the Theater of Freaks* – Bourek combines his interest in sculpture with the theater and the art of movement because he seeks to *"reveal… human beauty through ugliness"* (Jurković, 2005).

After its premiere in 1981, Bourek's *Hamlet* was played throughout Croatia, and was particularly recognized on the international puppet and theater scene. In the same year, the Swiss weekly *Tribune Dimanche* described Zagreb's "small" Hamlet, with actors playing the puppet show, after climbing up a wheelchair, as a "dazzling drama ballet" (Grgičević, 1982).

The forty-minute Zagreb puppet *Hamlet* is the brilliant work of primarily one author, Zlatko Bourek, but is also the product of a particular theatrical environment and theater culture. It is masterfully conceived and played, visually dazzling, comically playful/inventive, and at the same time highly thought-provoking – according to Mladen Martić (Martić, 1983), who followed a month-long world tour of the show.

Bourek does not repeat himself in his use of puppetry techniques or other artistic approaches to the theater, so in a revision of *Skup* by Marin Držić adapted for puppets, he applied a completely new approach to the staging. Joško Juvančić, the director of the play, and Zlatko Bourek, the creator of the puppets and scenery and the adaptor of Držić's comedy as a puppet play, treated the joint set-up as a challenge, casting an actor in the main role of Skup to interact with the puppet play of other characters. Juvančić's direction of Držić's *Skup* puts a figure well-known to the audience of Dubrovnik's Summer Festival, played in previous years by Izet Hajdarhodžić, in direct relation with the original, previously unknown puppet creations of other characters in the comedy. In this, Foretić notes a transformation of the comic into the tragic:

> To leave Skup as a living actor, and turn everything else around
> him into puppets, means to make them larger caricatures of Skup
> himself, no matter how grotesque Hajdarhodžić's mask is. (…)

> *The consequence is that Skup suddenly becomes closer to us, a more human figure than any other, and Bourek and Juvančić further emphasize this through the basic idea of the production. Skup is, in this interpretation, an essentially tragic figure, about whom the other character-puppets make up a cruel 'novela,' transforming gold from his 'munčjela'* (bag for keeping money) *into dust. In a word, the puppets drive Skup crazy and vanquish him. (…) A number of new 'characters' are inserted into the comedy: a little ghost Spirit, a little golden bee who, at the beginning, bewitches the whole world with a craze for gold; the puppies Čupa and Mušo, witty commentators on the 'serious' world of dolls; Obložder the Ass, a drunken 'servant' of Skup's (reusing some text from Bokčilo)* (Foretić, 2002, 199-200).

A farce full of deceit and adultery entitled *Grandmaster Pathelin,* written by an unknown French writer of the 16th century, adapted by Zlatko Bourek for the Zagreb Youth Theater, caused great interest both in the audience and in the experts at the Mittelfest in Cividale in 1992. The unconventionality of the performance particularly impressed the youth in the audience, while the professional public noticed the parallel between Bourek's puppets and the Central European tradition of the puppet named Kasperl (Buljan , 1992).

Cooperation between the Croatian National Theater of Zagreb and Split City Puppet Theater resulted in the play *Saint George* by Zlatko Bourek and Sanja Ivić, a production that involved Bourek both as director and as designer and maker of masks and puppets. In his review, Anatolij Kudrjavec stressed the visual component and explained,

> *What Bourek's puppets or masks realize in their artistic reach* (…) *really is a significant artistic act of shocking mockery. Bourek is a marvelous master of distorting shapes into dark humor, which seems to bring to life the underground caves of the universal subconscious, and it is in itself sufficient for a hellish chuckle of the soul* (Kudrjavcev, 1997).

The play *Saint George (a play with apotheosis; a farce with masks)* sets the paradigm for Bourek's theater of freaks. In the play, at the beginning of action, puppet characters present themselves to the audience on their own and the action develops through their dialogues. The central part of the play *St. George*, constituted of dialogues, is preceded by the visual and performing aspects of the assigned characters of the puppets. The authors list them in order

of appearance on the scene and describe each puppet character separately. Of special note is that the individual descriptions of the puppet characters' faces, costumes, props, even voice characterization are supported by Bourek's drawings of each of them (Đerđ, 2013, 145). After puppet characters of Death, the Princess, the King, the Dragon and George have been presented, the animal characters that appear in the play are described and depicted as well – the sheep in a pack / herd and the horse of the knight George. Also, three sites where the action takes place are shown and described – the tower around the City of Silon, the forest and the sea (Bourek and Ivić, 1994).

Kate, Kate, true gold of mine, the play of Vanča Kljaković, based on Shakespeare's comedy *The Taming of the Shrew,* was articulated by Bourek's work, both as director and as creator of puppets, costumes and stage scenes, into a memorable puppet show in collaboration with the ensemble cast of the Split City Puppet Theater. With this performance, Bourek's character-puppets, which were manipulated with great skill and virtuosity by actor-puppeteers from Split, highlighted the playful wit and imaginativeness of scenes. The presence of such feelings of joy and happiness was recognized as a particular quality of Bourek's theater, which is equally accessible to both child and adult audiences (Gradić, 1996).

Bourek's special theatrical "handwriting" is reflected in his research on dramatic form. Taking as a starting point the well-known fact that Molière died shortly after the fourth performance of his comedy *The Imaginary Invalid* where he had played the title role of Argano, Bourek staged the play as an exploration of the connection between biographical "faction" and comic fiction, first in the puppet theater and then on the dramatic stage. Formally, the dramatic text is structured as a "comedy-ballet," with two prologues and three intermezzos intertwined with the "appropriate" structure of a comic-satirical plot (Hrovat, 2000).

In both stagings, Bourek replaced the ballet of the original with puppetry as a means of expression. He introduced special puppet characters into the puppetry staging, just as he introduces masks/appearances into the dramatic staging with actors. This exploratory adventure in puppetry was produced first in Slovenia in 1998, at the Ljubljana Puppet Theater, and the new version with actors was produced in Zagreb in 2000 at the Drama Theater Gavella.

While writing his research paper on *The Imaginary Invalid*, Bourek dramaturgically reprocessed Molière's work. While he clearly preserves the whole

plot of the comedy, the puppet version allowed for the insertion of the paradigmatic character of Death from the *Theater of Freaks*. The character-puppets of Argano and Death interact, in the dressing room, after Argano has introduced the play to the audience. Death allows him to continue the play until it finishes, finally pulling him into the abyss of black emptiness at its conclusion (Foretić, 1998).

In producing Molière's *The Imaginary Invalid*, Bourek took on the triple role of costume designer, set designer and director. Respecting the original, he added an introductory dance competition between two characters: a pharmacist and a physician over and around the corpse, while preserving the central comedy of characters. He also succesfully and suggestively replaced the pastoral dancers, string players in the original, with four grotesquely costumed masks (Mijović-Kočan, 2000).

In 1998, thirty-three years after the celebrated ten-minute film *Bećarac*, Bourek authored a puppet-theater farce of the same title, in the Osijek Croatian National Theater. Conceived as a sort of Slavonian anthem, but not successfully according to the critics, the theater version of *Bećarac* re-examines the roots of the particularity of the Slavonian form of the Croatian language, its ethno-tradition, and jokes and wisecracks (Stanojević, 1998).

In addition to invention, investigation and questioning, a portion of Bourek's puppet-theater poetics involves fostering contemporary European and Croatian puppet classics – by repeated renewal, re-setting the paradigm. Two creative works were presented to the public in a drama program at the Split Summer Festival 2005: the translation dramaturgy of Vladimir Gerić, who links two comedies by Alfred Jarry, *Ubu Rex* and *Ubu Convict*, into one, *Ubu King of Convicts*, and the *Theater of Freaks* by Zlatko Bourek. Jarry's work, with its intentional shocks bearing witness to the illogical flow of life, shares Bourek's intention to deform, transforming man into a grotesque figure. So, as director and designer of figure/puppet-characters, costumes and scenes, Zlatko Bourek approached the construction of the play with an apparent charge towards the grotesque dimension of work. "For his artistry", Vlatko Perković writes, "it was an ideal opportunity for drawing the work, configuring it, sculpting, colouring, visualizing it as what it really is – grotesque. In the end of the play, all the actors come onto the scene as ready-made and already completely grotesque figures, without the necessary primary humanity that connects actors with the audience, which is the cause of passivisation of the audience during and after the performance" (Perković, 2005).

For the first and only puppet play by Dragutin Domjanić, *Petrica Kerempuh and the Clever Ass,* Bourek specially created and shaped a type of hand puppet that might be called an Ugly (*grdače*). In his staging of this play in 2006, for The Croatian National Theater in Varaždin, Bourek as always mocked social vices, and the then mayor of Varaždin, Ivan Čehok, became the fictional puppet character of The Mayor in the play (Rogošić, 2006). Played on the 130th anniversary of the birth of Dragutin Domjanić, the play is both visually and methodologically satisfying and memorable (Mijović Kočan, 2006).

Their shared desire and love for puppetry led Croatian academic-puppeteers Zlatko Bourek and Luko Paljetak to form a small, alternative theater whose plays deal with the life of saints, Dubrovnik women and captains. In the quiet area behind a little church, the theater offered a playful folk performance, which was also performed within the program of the 57th Dubrovnik Summer Festival (2006). The poet Luko Paljetak and the director and set designer Zlatko Bourek improvised on the life of St. Blaise, (patron saint of Dubrovnik), making it relevant for contemporary audiences (Tunjić, 2006).

Bourek is also a noted author within the Slovenian puppet scene, where he has been systematically and continuously (co)creating – often together with the director / musician Edi Majeron – from 1978 up to the present. In that first year, he wrote the script for Frane Puntar's play *Seesaw* and also created and developed puppet characters for that play; in 1982, for Isidor Vladimirovich Shtok's play *Divine Comedy* he did the same, and in 1987 he created the set design and other visual elements for Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* – all in the Ljubljana Puppet Theater / LGL. In 1988 he created the play *Let's Play With Puppets* with the director Ljubomir Draškić for the same theater: in it, the puppet characters are represented by different types of puppets – marionettes, hand puppets, or Sicilian type of puppets, which interact with one pantomimist and a number of ballet dancers and singers. In 1999, Bourek was also a lecturer-mentor at the first year of the puppetry studies program in Ljubljana, where with his students-animators he created a special type of hand puppets called "uglies" (*grdače*) and realized the puppet artwork *From One To Zero / Od jedan do nule* (Teržan, 2014). He performs the same lecture unit in Zagreb with a group of educators – managers of amateur puppet troupes in 2003, within the program *Teaching – Master Workshops* organized by the Puppet Theater "Za bregom" (www.zabregom.com).

In addition to his authorial work, Bourek also participated in some of his productions, for example, in the Berlin theater Hans Wurst Nachfahren,

(www.hans-wurst-nachfahren) of which he has been a permanent member since 1988. According to Bourek himself, the authors of a play also participate in a material sense in the furnishing of the play, in the return of invested money, materials, time, knowledge and skills received later, and from the income that the performance provides. In this theater he directed "four one-act plays of Chekhov's, Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew, and a successful farce, which he made from the libretto of the opera Rigoletto" (Program *Dibuk*-HNK, 2001).

Conclusion, or Theater of freaks in Progress

Bourek marked his eightieth birthday (2009) with a performance for adults from the repertory of the *Theater of Freaks* in the Zagreb Puppet Theater, *The Only Failure of Adolf H.* (written by an author of Hungarian origin, György Tábori), taking responsibility for the script, direction and the creation of the puppets. Marijana Paula Ferenčić states that Bourek, in order to present the grotesque black humor of Tábori, singled out the story of the unsuccessful application of Adolf Hitler for the entrance exam of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. In his adaptation of the story for the puppet stage, the characters of Hitler, Cimer Herzl and Lady Death "narrate a bizarre story beyond the well-known history of Nazi Germany. The contents of the failed artistic journey of Adolf Hitler, his pact with Lady Death and Hitler's 'concern' for his roommate who was a Jew, opens up dialogues full of self-irony, sarcasm, biting humor and painful predicaments ... [In his Theater of Freaks, Bourek, Z.Đ.] does not moralize, or flatter, or point fingers, yet by the magical ease with which he brings to life by puppetry he exposes in layers" (Ferenčić, 2014).

On 18th of January 2014 an exhibition of Zlatko Bourek's works opened in the Zagreb gallery, Glyptotheque HAZU, under the title *Theater of Puppets – Theater of Freaks*. Many of his puppet characters were exhibited there, such as Croatian Devil from the Danube, Drava and Sava Rivers, the Priest from Dalj, the Devil from Ilok, the Black Dog from Bizovac, Old Commie Stevo, and next to them – exihibited as wall papers – are their monologues, songs or new-old pieces of *bećarac*. During the exhibition, which lasted till 14th February 2014, the Theater of Puppets would occasionally resound with live music, from urban songs to excerpts from his performances. The exhibition where numerous Bourek's numerous creative expressions – from animated film through visual arts to the theater of freaks – intertwine, moved from Zagreb

to Slovenia / Ljubljana and then to Turkey / Izmir, to be in Croatia / Vinkovci again in May, as a part of Vukovar Puppet Spring manifestation, repeatedly confirming the author's authenticity, imagination and inexhaustible sense of humour. Visitors to Bourek's exhibitions, including this last-mentioned one, together with audiences at performances of the theater of freaks, all become part of Bourek's unconventional world. In that world, visitors / viewers come face to face with puppet characters of the theater of freaks, who with their movement nullify borders between the imaginary and created, confronting them with their own images or reflections of their genuine nature. Thus Bourek, using humor and laughter at presented ugliness and perversity, on the borders of the real and the unreal, the tragic and the farcical, leaves room for human beauty, despite the social distortion that continues to exist.

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Figure 8.   Canadian puppeteer Ronny Burkett,
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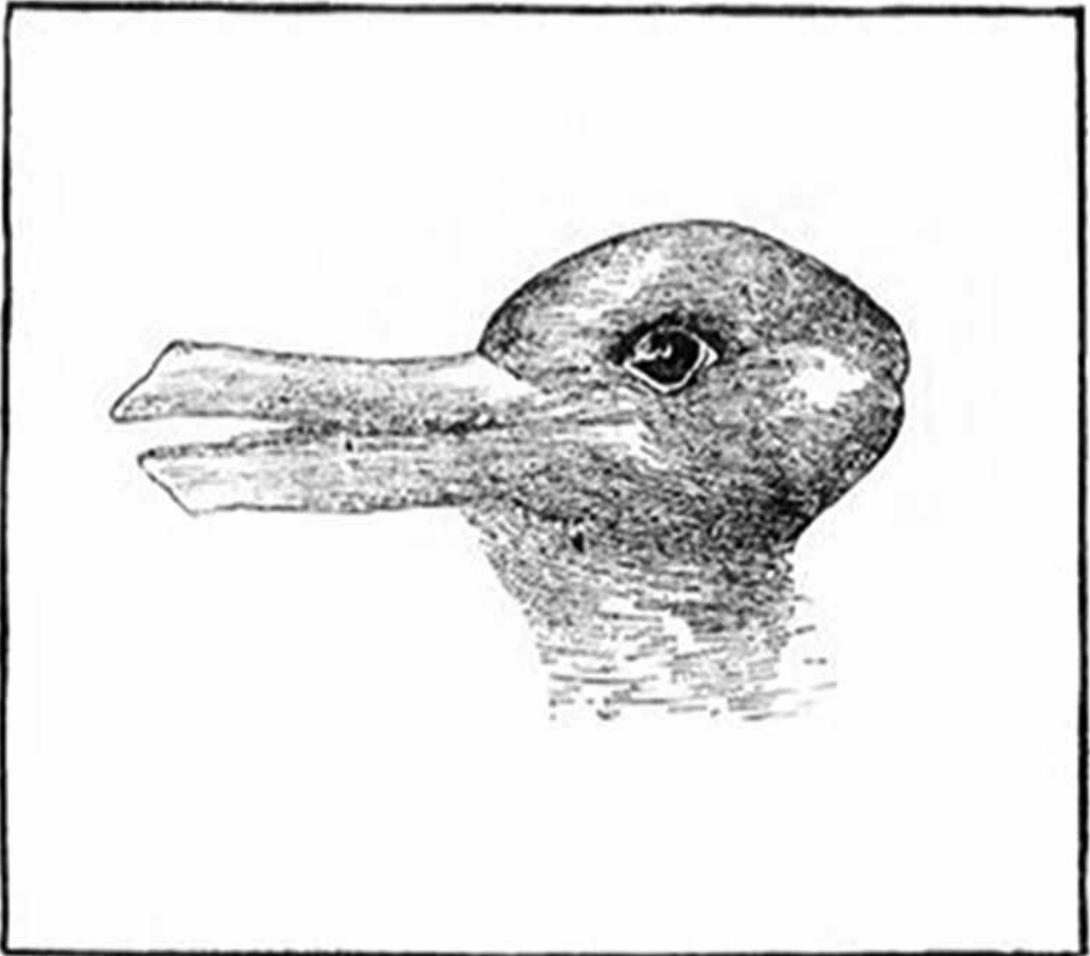
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In *Fact and Fable in Psychology*.
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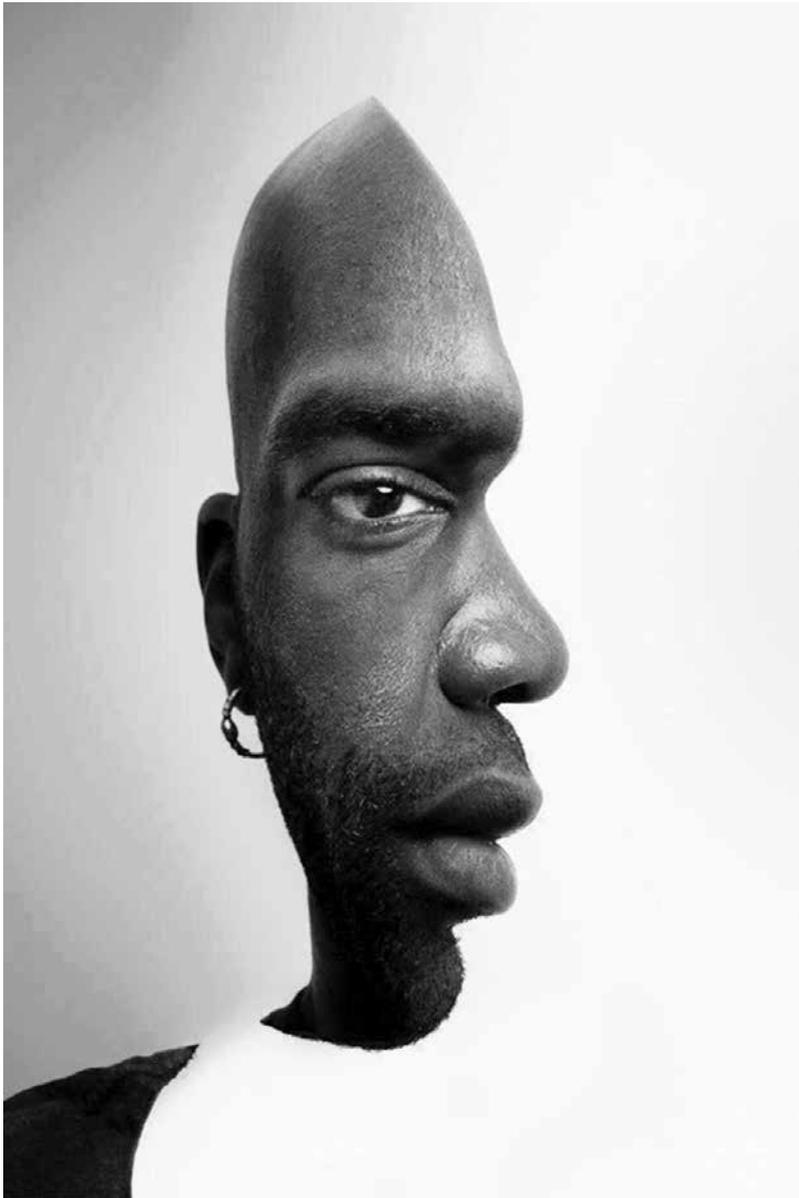
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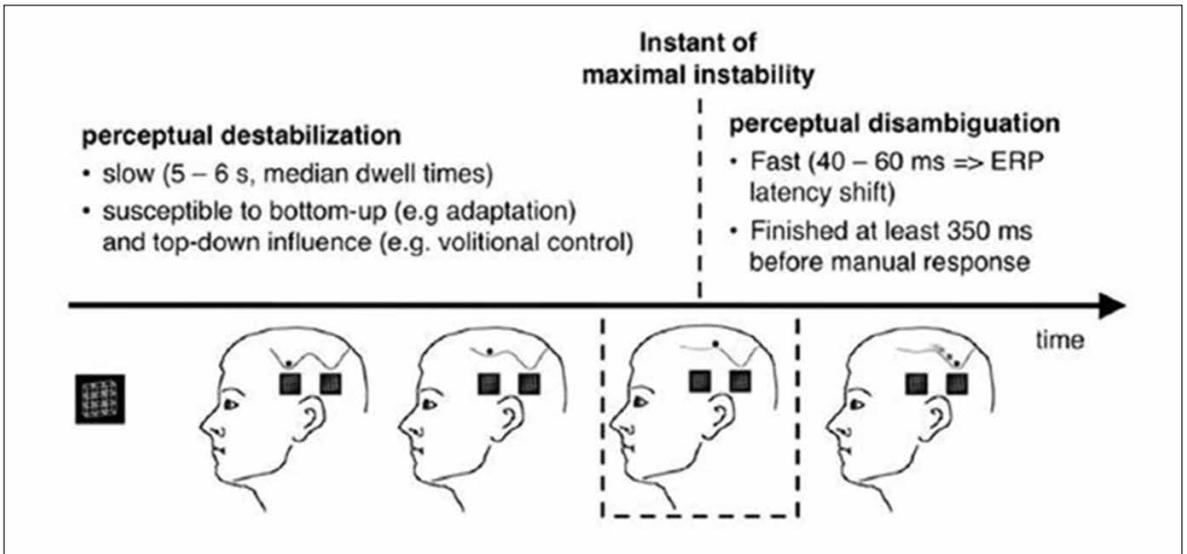
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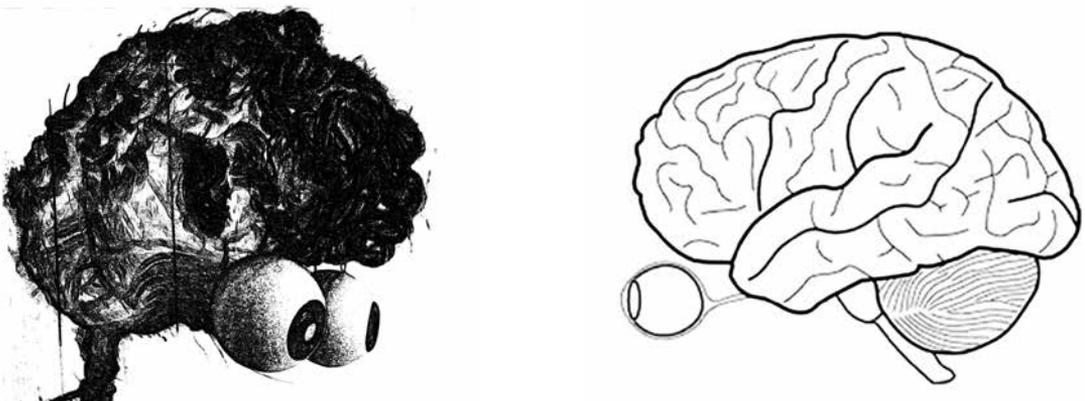
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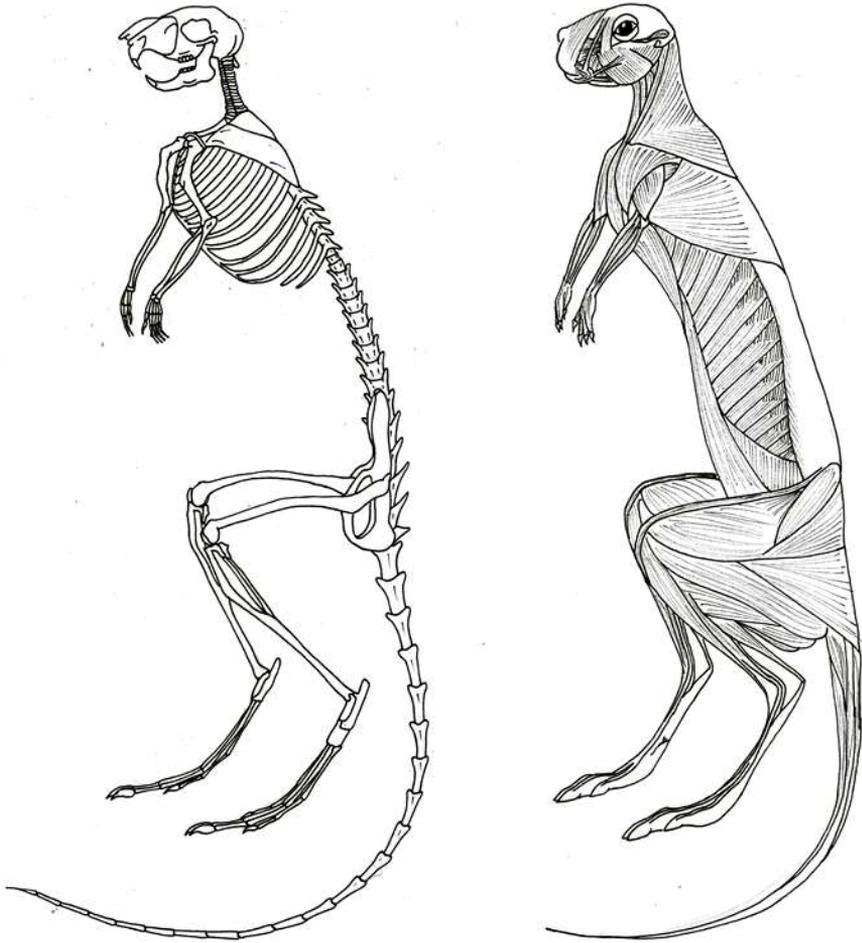
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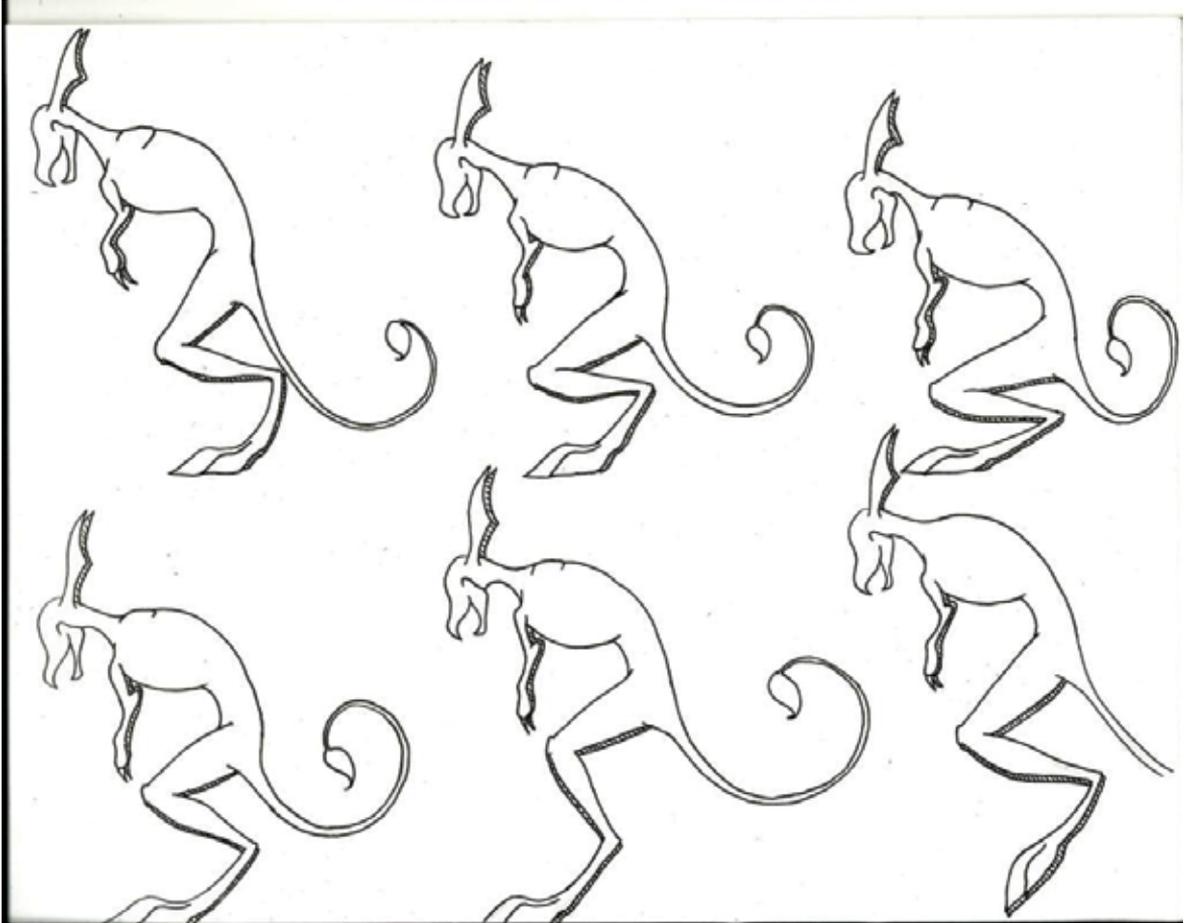
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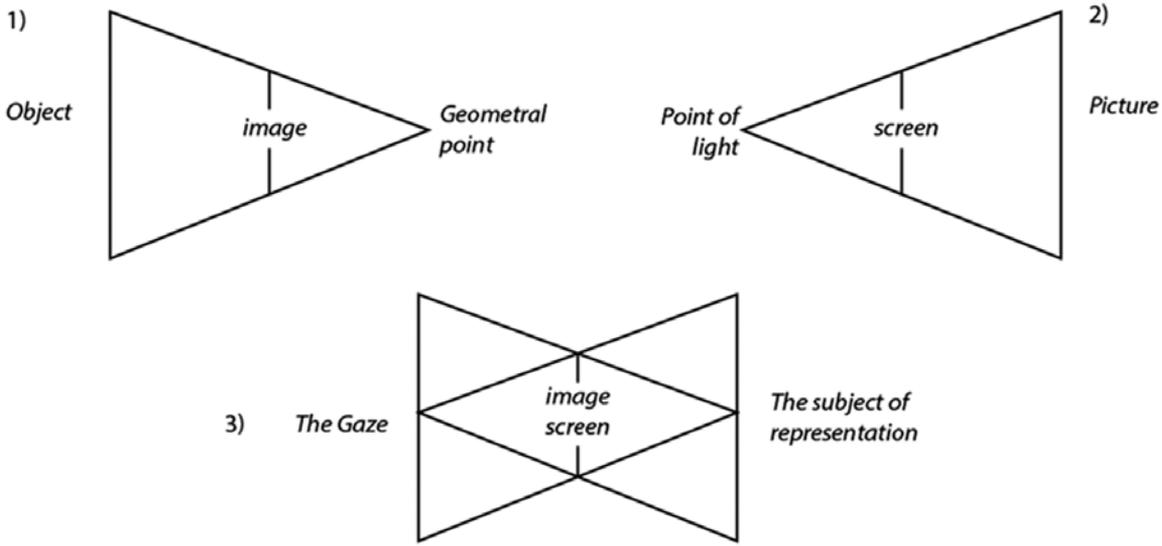
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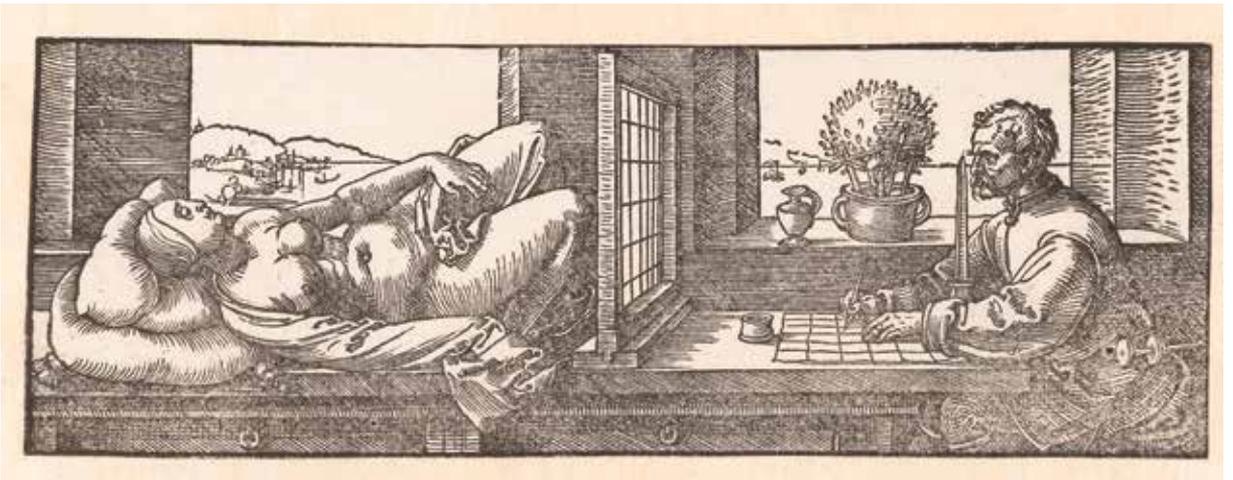
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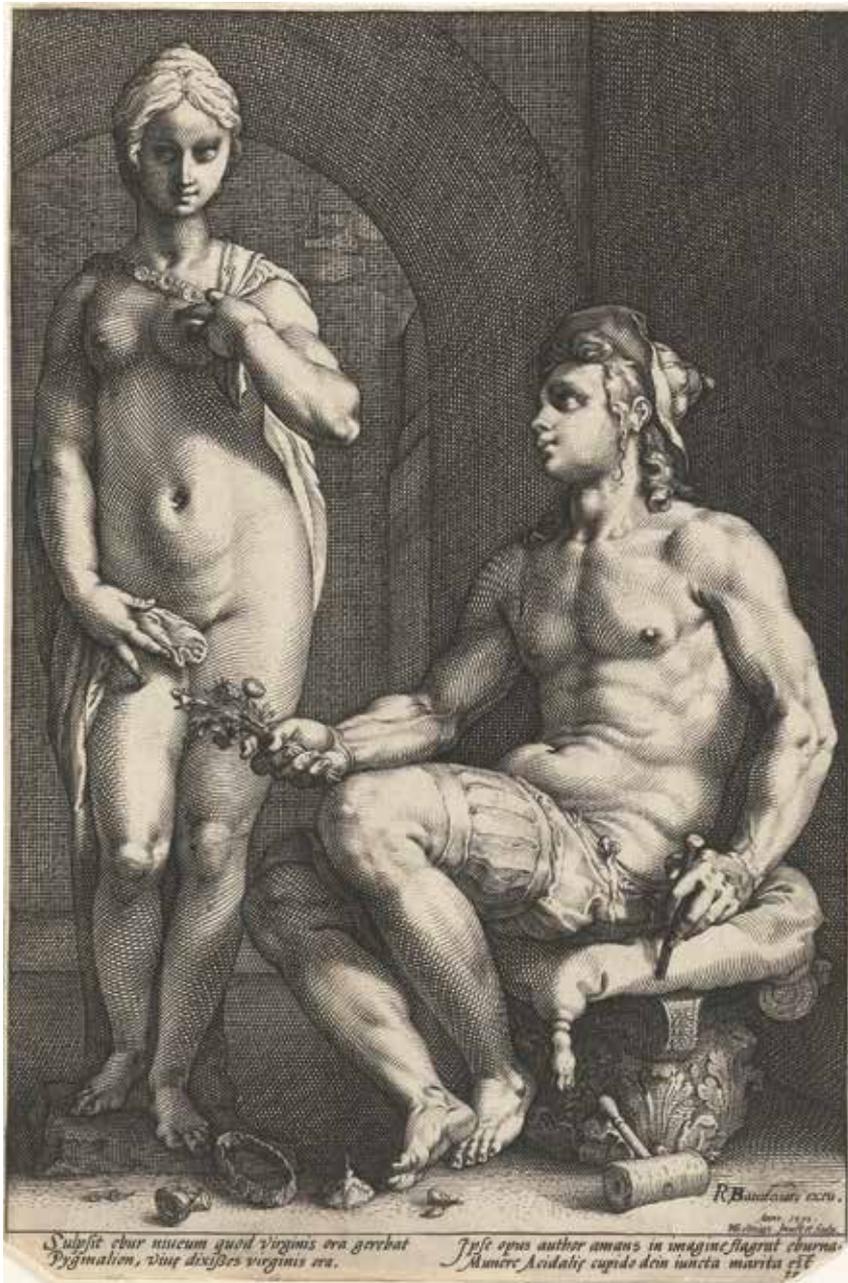
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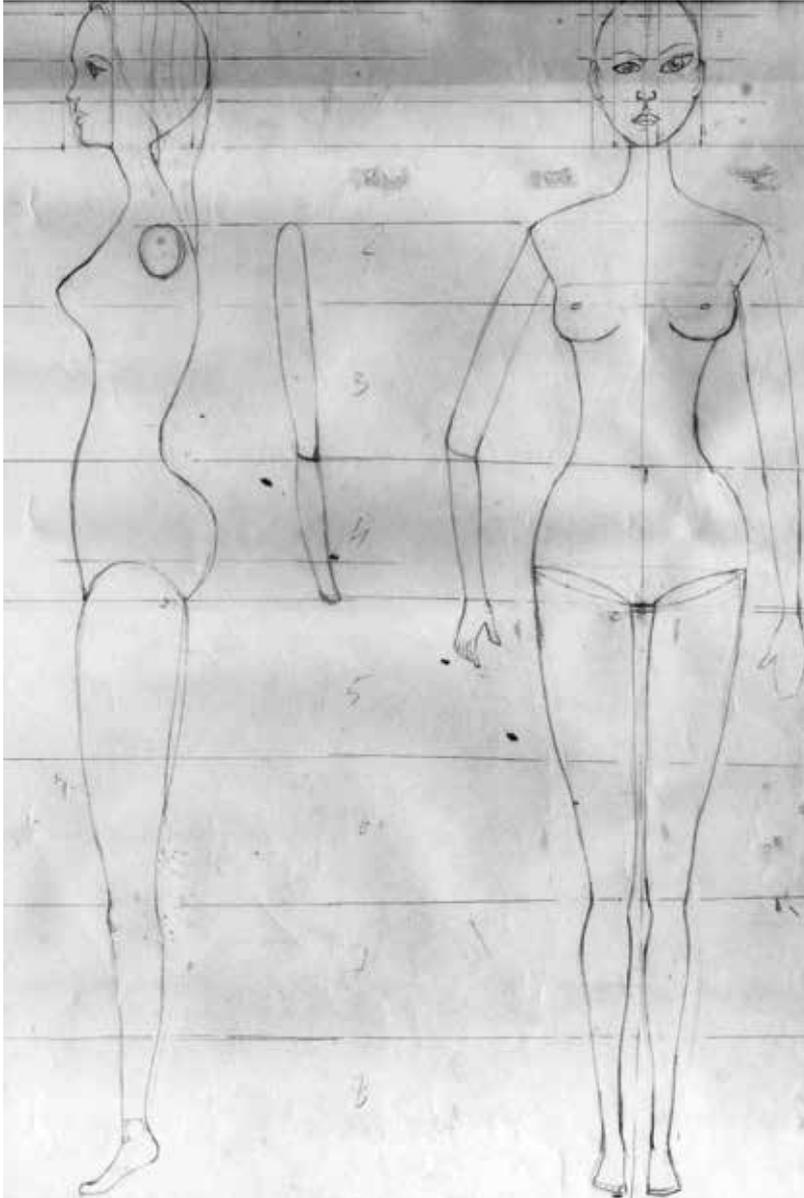
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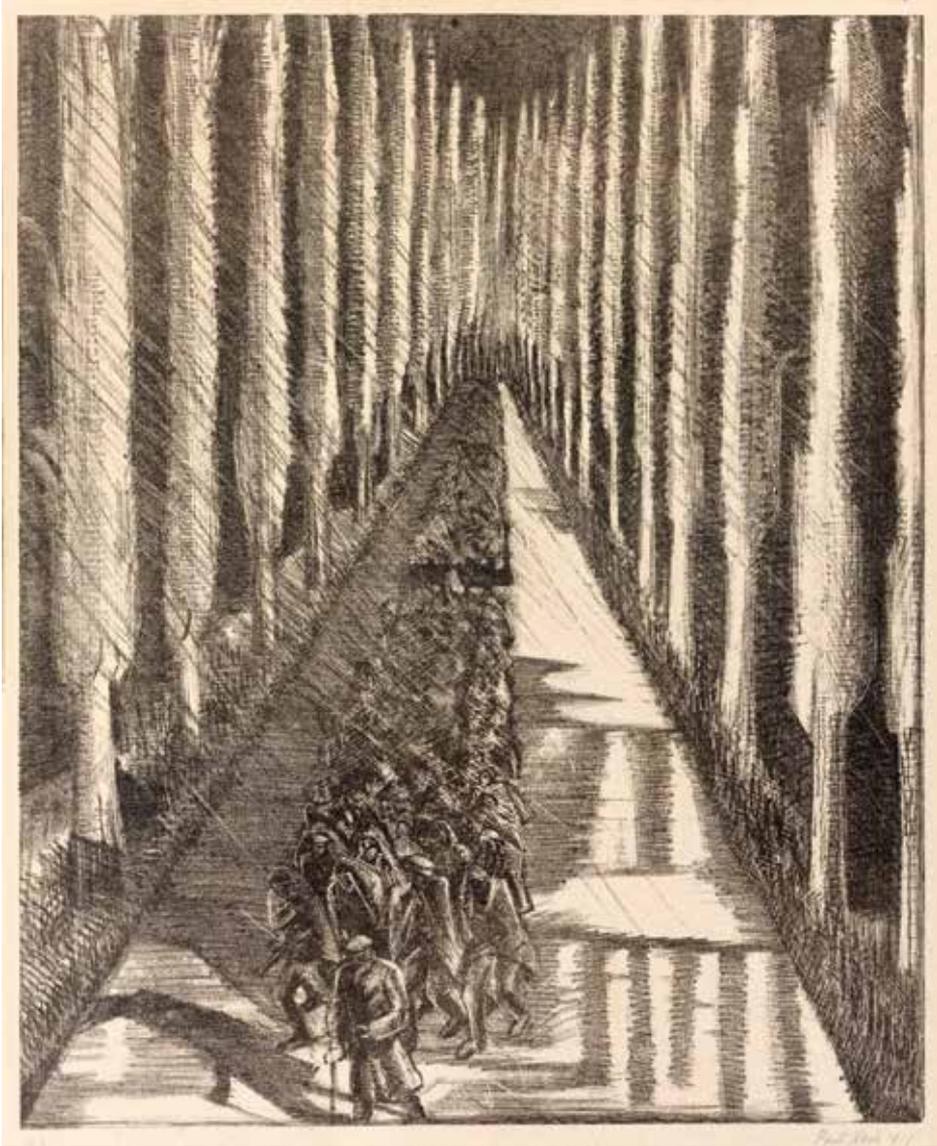
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© IWM (Art.IWM ART 1605)

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Imperial War Museum, London
© IWM (Art.IWM ART 1603)

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Watercolour and chalk, 18.1 x 35.2 cm
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Art Gallery of New South Wales,
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Private Collection / Photo © The Fine Art Society,
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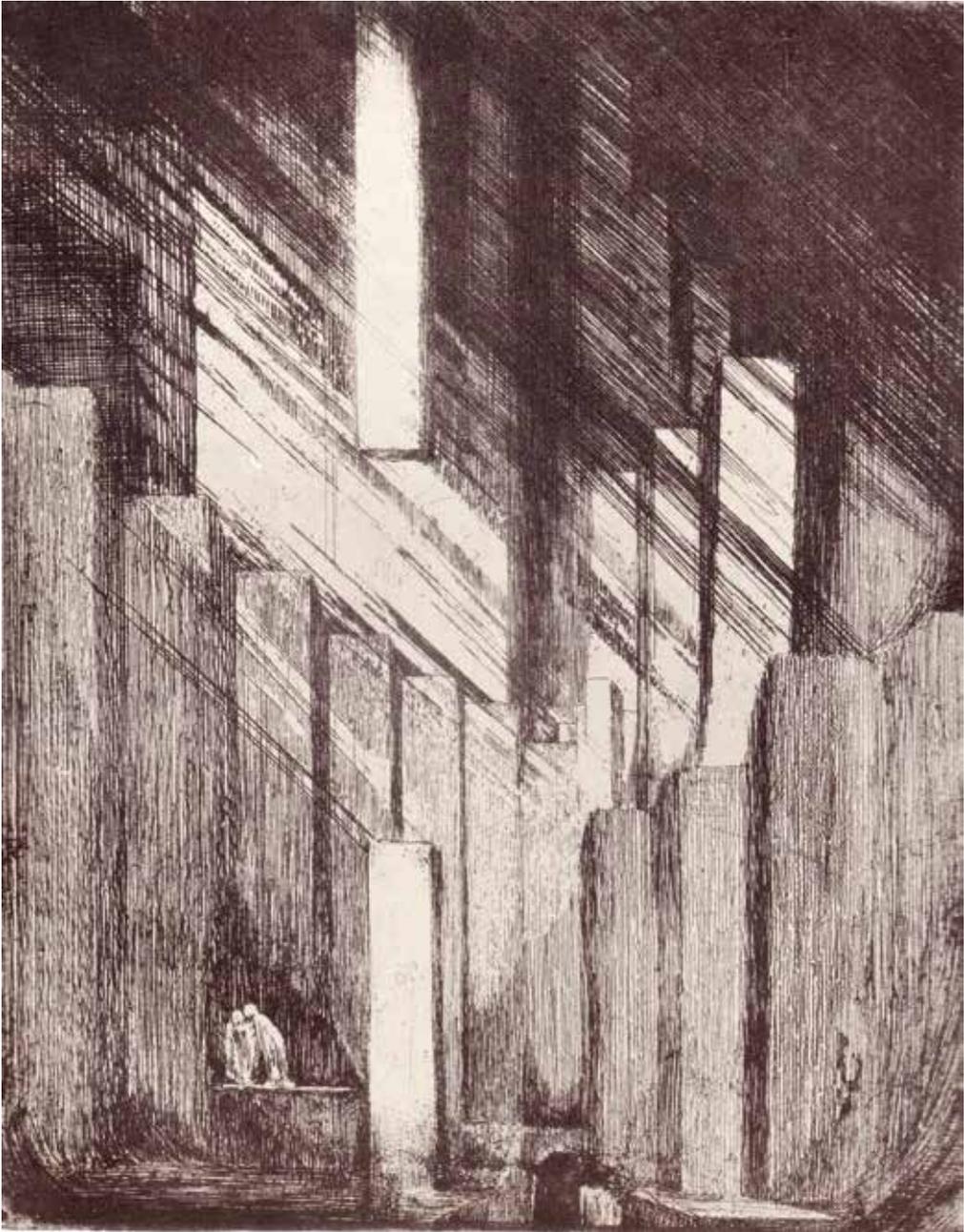
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© The Edward Gordon Craig Estate

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© The Edward Gordon Craig Estate

Figure 8.   Paul Nash, *The Menin Road*, 1919
Oil on canvas, 182.8 x 317.5 cm
The Imperial War Museum, London
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© Otto Dix. Licensed by Viscopy

Figure 11. CRW Nevinson, *The Harvest of Battle*, 1919
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Mixed media and acrylic gesso on steel armature
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Figure 15.   Paul Nash, *Wire*, 1918
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Imperial War Museum, London
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Figure 1a: Ignacy Lorek, wooden figure representing a peasant
from the Nowy Sącz region, 1908-1920,
Seweryn Udziela collection, The Seweryn Udziela
Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, 2776/MEK
Photo by M. Wąsik, Coutresy of The Seweryn Udziela
Ethnographic Museum in Krakow

Figure 1b: Ignacy Lorek, wooden figure representing a peasant
woman from the Nowy Sącz region, 1908-1920,
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Photo by M. Wąsik, Coutresy of The Seweryn Udziela
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Figure 2: Doll representing a peasant wearing dress typical for the Sandomierz region, donated to Seweryn Udziela by Cecylia Śniegocka in 1920, The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, 2773/MEK Photo by M. Wąsik, Coutresy of The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow

Figure 3: Doll representing a peasant wearing a dress typical for Dańkowice in Silesia, donated to Seweryn Udziela by Cecylia Śniegocka in 1920, The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, 2769/MEK Photo by M. Wąsik, Coutresy of The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow

Figure 4: Group of dolls wearing costumes from the Greater Poland region. The Mielżyński Museum in Poznań Reproduced after: Przewoźny, 2000.

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The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum
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Figure 6: Doll representing an Aleut wearing traditional kuklanka, prior to 1883, collection of Benedykt Dybowski, The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, 26170/MEK
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Figure 7: Dancing group representing a wedding dance
from the village of Łowicz, Mazovia district, Poland, c. 1937,
The State Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw,
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Photo by E. Koprowski, Courtesy of The State Ethnographic
Museum in Warsaw

Figure 8:   Dancing group representing a dance from the village of Zakopane,
The Tatra Mountain region, c. 1937, The State Ethnographic Museum
in Warsaw, inv. no PME dep. 3528,1-10,2
Photo by E. Koprowski, Courtesy of The State Ethnographic
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Figure 1. Mr. and Mrs., Hina ningyo

Figure 2.   Kintaro on a horse

Figure 3. SHOKI

Figure 4.   Courtesan

Figure 5:   Bijin ningyo – beautiful woman
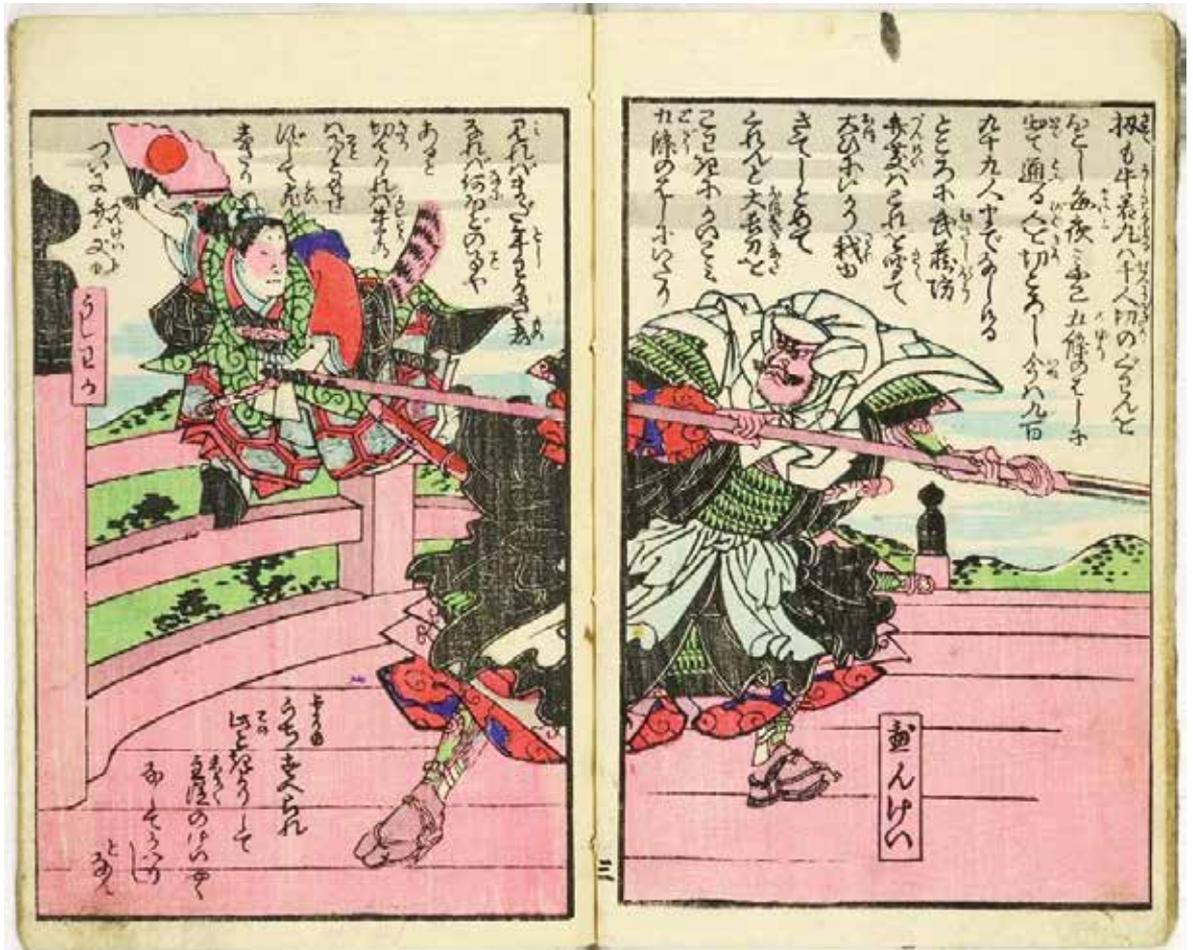
Figure 1. Hasegawa Kiyonobu I, Yoshitsune (top left) attacking
Benkei (his later vassal) at Gojō Bridge, 1883,
from the *Story of Yoshitsune*『義経一代記』series,
The National Gallery in Prague, inventory no. Vm 4164.
Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague
Yoshitsune figures here under his infant name Ushiwaka Maru
(牛若丸 – "Young Bullock"). The image of young Yoshitsune with his
round face, broad cheeks and small eyes clearly corresponds with
the typical wakaotoko (若男 = young man) type of bunraku puppet.

Figure 2.   Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1797–1858)
Jōruri hime ("Pure Jade Princess") leaving home to make her
escape with Yoshitsune *53 Stations of the Tōkaidō Road* series
『東海道五十三対』1843–1847 The National Gallery
in Prague, inventory no. Vm 4374, from the former
Joe Hloucha's collection
Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague

Figure 3. Kamezaki district of Handa town
(Aichi prefecture),
two floats in the background
(photo – the author's archive)

Figure 3. *Benkei in a Boat* scene as it is shown on one of the Kamezaki festival's floats (the ghost of Taira no Tomomori in the left side of the print – holding a spear, Minamoto no Yoshitsune in the centre of the boat – raising the sword, Benkei in the front of the boat – rubbing the prayer beads, boatman at the back of the boat; the figure in the centre is a puppeteer – another of the mechanical puppets, in fact; the figure in the lower right corner is the diseur who opens the performance and manipulates the puppet embodying the puppeteer) The print was reproduced here by kind permission of the National Diet Library.

Figure 4.   Utagawa Kunichika – 歌川国周
(AKA Toyohara Kunichika – 豊原国周) (1835–1900)
Kabuki actor Onoe Kikugorō V (五代目尾上菊五郎)
(1844–1903) as Minamoto no Yoshitsune, 1872
The National Gallery in Prague, inventory no. Vm 5090
Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague
The portrait clearly shows the idealized, "hero-modeling" image of Yoshitsune
developed by the authors of the theatre plays. Generally, the portraits of the
actors – yakusha-e (役者絵) are an example of the close relationship constitut-
ed between the bunraku (jōruri) and kabuki genres (the adapting of bunraku
plays to kabuki genre was a common praxis). Moreover, yakusha-e phenomenon
is an example of the equally close relationship between Japanese drama and
Japanese graphic art of the Edo period.

Figure 5. "Villain" Gonta taking the wife and the son of Yasuke
(Taira Koremori) as presumed hostages
(Inventory no. F60-01386, reproduced here with
a kind permission of the Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.)

Figure 5. Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786–1865)
Segawa Kikunojō V performing a quick-costume-change
(hayagawari – 早変わり), playing the double role of Osato
(the daughter of the sushi shop owner Yazaemon)
and "Villain" Gonta (the son of Yazaemon), 1829
The National Gallery in Prague, inventory no. Vm 1482,
purchased by the National Gallery in 1959, from the former
collection of Joe Hloucha
Photography©2014 National Gallery in Prague

Figure 6a. Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786–1865).
Triptych showing a scene from the play *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, 1859.
The National Gallery in Prague, inventory no. Vm 5554
Photography©2014, National Gallery in Prague.
Crucial scene from the fourth act of the play *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, written by Takeda Izumo, Miyoshi Shōraku and Namiki Senryū, first staged in 1747. Yoshitsune, holding the Hatsune drum, stands in the centre; on the left side kneels Tadanobu the Fox; on the right side kneels Yoshitsune's lover, Lady Shizuka. The scene takes place in the back yard of abbot Kawatsura's residence.

Figure 6b. Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786–1865).
Triptych showing a scene from the play *Yoshitsune
and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, 1859.

Figure 6c. Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786–1865).
Triptych showing a scene from the play *Yoshitsune
and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, 1859.

Figure 7. **Top:** A white fox transforming into Tadanobu, one of Yoshitsune's vassals. The puppeteer is lowered to the stage with the use of a pulley mechanism so that the fox appears dramatically, as if jumping onto the stage. This is not, however, the usual performing praxis any more. (Inventory no. F60-01385, reproduced here with a kind permission of the Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.)

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Figure 7. **Centre:** Tadanobu the Fox. The puppet is extraordinary for its costume and the shape of its hands. The white costume is decorated with the motifs of flames symbolizing the magical powers of the white fox. The hands of the puppet are particularly curved to resemble fox's claws and this special sign of the puppet is actually called "fox's claws" or, more literally, "fox's hands" (狐手 = kitsune-de). The photo was reproduced here with the kind permission of Mr. Stanleigh Jones.

Figure 7. **Bottom:** Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786–1865)
Ichikawa Danjūrō VII in civilian clothes, taking a typical fox's
position; the print contains lines from the play *Yoshitsune
and the Thousand Cherry Trees*, ca 1825 The National Gallery
in Prague, inventory no. Vm 5062, purchased by the National
Gallery in 1979. Photography©2014 National Gallery in
Prague

Figure 1: Gorjuq – Golestan Province – Turkmen Sahra
County which is a region in the northeast
of Iran near the Caspian Sea, bordering
Turkmenistan

Figure 2: Gorjuq – Golestan Province – Turkmen Sahra County which is a region in the northeast of Iran near the Caspian Sea, bordering Turkmenistan

Figure 3: Galin – East Azerbaijan Province

Figure 4:   Dohtoluk – Hormozgan Province

Figure 5: Dotook – South Khorasan Province – Tajmir village

Figure 6:   Dotook – South Khorasan Province – Tajmir village

Figure 7: Bāz Bāzak – Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad Province

Figure 8: Boi Gelem kor – Kermanshah Province – Harsin County

Figure 9:   Beygak – Bushehr Province

Figure 10: Golbe Vi Bāzi Vāz – Kermanshah Province – Sahneh County

Figure 11, 12: Lo'batak – Sistan and Baluchestan Province

Figure 13: Leyli – Bushehr Province

Figure 1. The Losel Doll Museum

Figure 2. Losel doll of the thirty-third
Tibetan king Srongtsen Gampo
(probably 617-649).

Figure 3. Black hat dancer

Figure 4. Navigation in Tibet

Figure 5. Losel dolls from the land of Goloks
(between Amdo and Kham)

Figure 1.   Performance on a Theater-Cart in a village
in inland Portugal

Figure 2.   Puppet from *Dom Quixote*
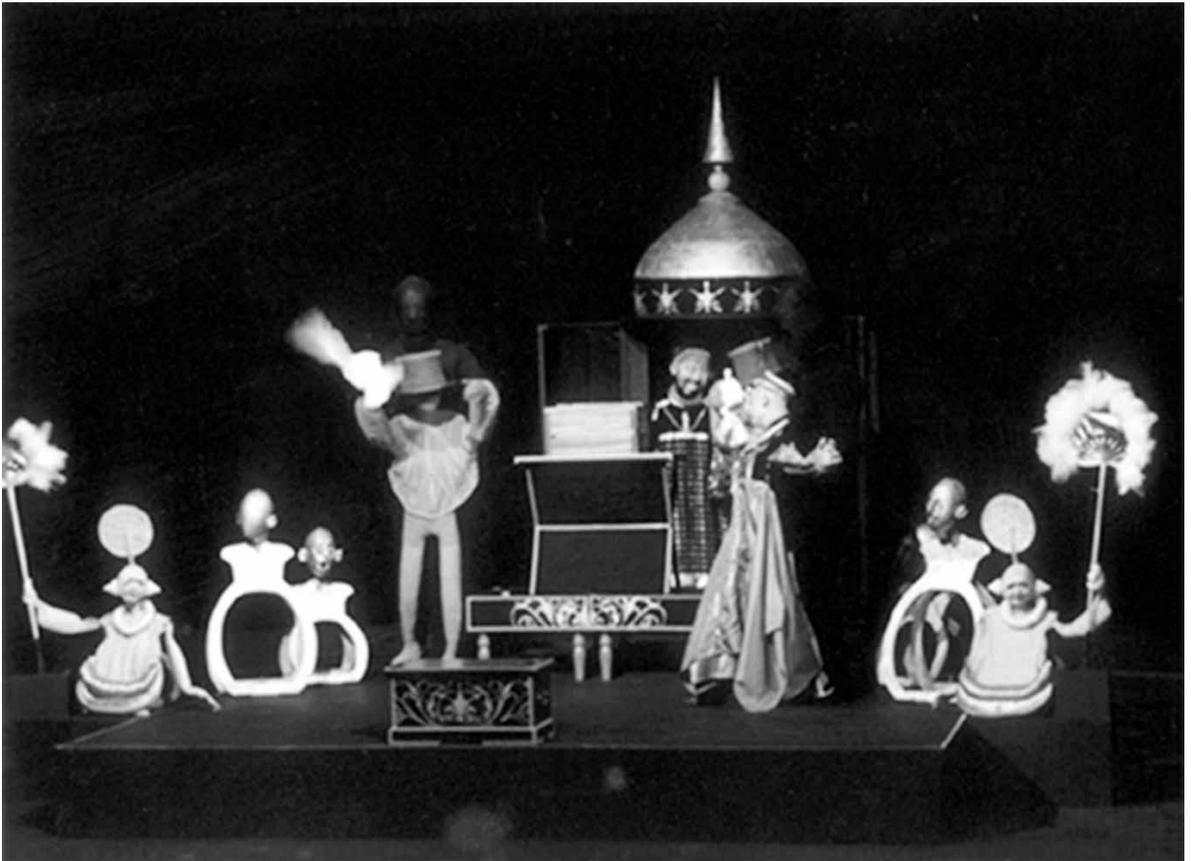
Figure 3. Performance of *Salomé*

Figure 4. Puppet "A Bit of Soul Exiting a Scar,"
as displayed at the Puppet Museum, Lisbon

Figure 5.   One of the angles of a room devoted to the exhibition of the company Marionetas de São Lourenço where the wind machine and puppets from the play Barnum can be seen.