

East meets West: *Bunraku*, Intermediation and Australian Institutional Conceptions of Interdisciplinarity

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This essay discusses the notion of ‘intermediated embodiment’ in performance in relation to interdisciplinary and multicultural arts practices in Australia.[1] I will refer to the related policies at the Australia Council, the federal government’s arts funding body.[2] I shall use *Bunraku*, a Japanese traditional puppet theatre, to demonstrate how intermediated embodiment in performance integrates media effects in a particular way, with relevance for the concept of ‘presence’ in media-based performance work. As a performance artist of Japanese origin in Australia, whose work cuts across and brings together both live and mediated performance, and is therefore both interdisciplinary and multicultural, I am particularly interested in the reception and institutional treatment of performative forms within culturally specific taxonomies of media. The mapping of interdisciplinary and multicultural arts practices by the Australia Council influences the perceptions of these practices. Such pre-existing structures can limit artists in the way they conceive and develop their works. In the area of multicultural arts, art practices are too often discussed around the issues of identity, language, community and ethnicity.

The essay does not, however, look to criticise the Australia Council, rather to present a different perspective on the questions of art categories and interdisciplinary and multicultural arts practices—and so generate further debate and discussion. The issue of interdisciplinarity in the arts is not specific to Australia. In the 1960s, Susan Sontag pointed out the two ‘irreconcilable’ positions in the arts in the USA: one advocated ‘the breaking down of distinctions between genres’ and the other ‘the maintaining and clarifying of barriers between the arts’ (Sontag 2003 [1966]: 303). This issue surfaces from time to time in theatre/performance theory. For example, Henry M. Sayre discusses performance and performance-related art that ‘cut across the traditional boundaries between media’ (Sayer 1989: xiii). Johannes Birringer refers to ‘educational debates over traditional genres and newly expanding intermedia forms’ (Birringer 1998: Preface). Patrice Pavis uses the term ‘interartistic practice’ to describe mixed genres of art performances in which the identities and principles of different art forms are maintained, and which in turn make us ‘reconsider each art form and rethink its relationship to the other arts’ (Pavis 2001: 159-160).

But cross-cultural discussion of interdisciplinary arts practice is rare. The Australia Council is one of few Australian arts institutions that examines this issue, and has in fact been the most pro-active in advancing the debate. For instance, in a paper entitled, ‘Multimedia, Multiculturalism and the Arts’ (2003), commissioned by the Australia Council, Bill Cope and his co-authors link multicultural arts to interdisciplinarity and multimedia. They argue that ‘[m]ulticultural arts are in their nature hybrid and experimental, and thus potentially particularly open to the creative possibilities offered by multimedia’ (Cope, Kalantzis and Ziguras 2003: 29). However, because Cope and his

colleagues are specifically concerned here to raise the issue of 'access' to multimedia resources for ethnic communities, they do not pursue the connection between multicultural arts and multimedia arts practices.

The concept of intermediation is contentious and its meaning varies. According to Rebecca Schneider, Dick Higgins introduced the term 'intermedia' into arts idioms in 1965. Schneider argues that, 'In describing artworks at the interfaces of established media and in the interstices between art and life, Higgins anticipated the postmodern preference for hybridity over formal unity and the challenge to "art" as an ontologically pure and privileged category' (Schneider 2000: 130, n5). And Nam June Paik, according to Roger Copeland, uses 'inter-media art' to refer to artwork that expresses '[t]he quest for unity through technology' (Copeland 1983: 10). On the other hand, theatre theorist Peter M. Boenisch uses 'intermediality' (a literal translation of the German *Intermedialität*) to refer to 'the manifestation of [a] new perceptive framework within the field of [contemporary experimental] theatre', rather than simply to interactions between theatre and other media (Boenisch 2003: 44).

My own interest in the notion of intermediation lies in consideration of perceptual frameworks, particularly what I will discuss as an emergent sensory totality when experiencing *Bunraku*. This experienced totality arises as the combined effect of discrete and noticeable art media in the puppet theatre. Unlike contemporary theatre/performance artists Ariane Mnouchkine or Satoshi Miyagi, who tend in the main to draw on the specific theatre style of *Bunraku* to support their structuring of actors' performances, I want to look at *Bunraku* with a view to exploring and analysing its sensory totality, that is, the heterogeneously-expanded performative 'body', across art media.[3] I shall then use this concept in order to link *Bunraku* and media-based performance. A re-examination of non-Western art forms in the contemporary context can help, I believe, to cultivate more appropriate terms for the Australian institutional reception of interdisciplinary and multicultural arts practices.

Policies on interdisciplinary and multicultural arts practices

Before I came to Australia, in the mid-1980s I was a member of the Banyu-Inryoku Performance Company in Japan.[4] This group's work would perhaps be categorised as physical theatre in contemporary Australian performance terms. With this background, and with a folio of photographs of my work, I approached the Australia Council for the first time in 1987. I went first of all to see the Theatre Committee to seek advice about how to apply for funding. Since my work did not fit easily with their notion of theatre, I was told to go and see the Dance Officer—who promptly sent me back to see the Theatre Officer! Finally, I was given the (unofficial) advice that my work was not 'traditional' enough to warrant support under the Australia Council's multicultural policy. In the mid-1980s, the Council's policies on interdisciplinary and multicultural arts were still in process of development.[5] But in the 1990s there was a 'sea change'.

The nineties saw rigorous debate of the multicultural arts policy and the Australia Council has since produced several publications on Australian multiculturalism and art practices.[6] As a result of this debate, the importance

of the 'Arts for Multicultural Australia' policy, designed to promote the diversity of art practices in a multicultural Australia, has in the more recent past been re-recognised. Margaret Seares, Chair of the Australia Council in 2000, acknowledged the change: 'By the 1990s there was a much stronger awareness of the contribution made by artists from non-English-speaking backgrounds to the cultural fabric of our country' (Australia Council 2000). There are, however, unresolved issues around the policy. In *Complex Entanglements: Art, Globalisation and Cultural Difference* (Papastergiadis, 2003), Fazal Rizvi discusses issues and strategies for the future of the policy. Rizvi was one of the academics who were commissioned to work on the development of the Australia Council's policy on 'Arts for a Multicultural Australia' during 1993-94. He also co-edited *Culture, difference and the Arts* (Gunew and Rizvi 1994). In *Complex Entanglements*, Rizvi looks back on the period when he worked on 'the state-sponsored idea of multiculturalism' (Rizvi 2003: 229), a project designed to celebrate cultural diversity with an emphasis on 'Access and Equity' (ibid.: 231).[7] This prevailing state ideology of multiculturalism promoted cultural pluralism. But, as Rizvi criticises, it viewed ethnicities as frozen, compartmentalised 'homogenised entities' (ibid.: 233).

Where access to arts funding for artists who demonstrate 'ethnicity' is prioritised, there is an emphasis on its visibility. Peggy Phelan reminds us, in a discussion of the cultural politics of representation in the USA, of problems with 'the ideology of the visible': 'Gaining visibility for the politically under-represented without scrutinizing the power of who is required to display what to whom is an impoverished political agenda' (Phelan, 1993: 1, 26). Phelan questions a simple call for greater visibility of the unseen—racial, ethnic and sexual Others—deploying a Lacanian theory of the gaze: 'Within the psychic and aesthetic economy of the Western gaze, the visible image of the other necessarily becomes a cipher for the looking self' (ibid.: 26). The exchange of the gaze, although it is potentially reciprocal, takes place within an unequal political field, and remains 'the singular "eye"' (ibid.: 25). This is because men and women, and Europeans and non-Europeans, are marked differently within the Western patriarchal frame. Without an awareness of this structure, the politics of visibility ironically reaffirms existing power relations. How, then, do we advance the multicultural arts policy in Australia and move beyond the 'trap' of visibility?

What is lacking, for Rizvi, in the discussion of multicultural arts practice in Australia, is an understanding of the effect of globalisation and a more complex view of cultural identity, not simply as a celebration of cultural diversity. Drawing on notions of 'hybridity' and 'third space' from cultural studies literature, he argues that '[g]lobalisation has engendered complex, shifting, and fragmented subjectivities that are at once specific yet global' (Rizvi, 2003: 237).[8] Arts policy, he concludes, must allow scope for artists of non-English-speaking backgrounds to engage in 'the critical practices of the arts', not simply to participate based on 'assumptions of their marketability' (ibid.: 238). The Empires, Ruins + Networks: Art in Real Time Culture Conference, an initiative of the Australia Council's Arts in a Multicultural Australia policy held in 2004, extended this discussion of globalisation and criticality of artists of non-English-speaking backgrounds, with a particular

reference to the 'complexity of cultural flows and exchanges sustained through new media practices' (Conference web-site).[9] Just as Rizvi suggests a complex criticality for artists of non-English-speaking backgrounds, we can extend this understanding to explorations of art forms from other cultures. Raising *Bunraku* here is not an exercise in ethnology or exoticism. It is important to be aware of what Peter Eckersall calls uncritical and unproblematised 'Japan-inspired Australian performance' (Eckersall, 2004: 25). In his study of a recent history of theatre/performance exchange between Australia and Japan (1982-1999), Eckersall critiques some Australian productions based on cultural exchange that display 'an excessively narrow depiction of Japanese culture reflecting a tendency toward stereotypes' (Eckersall, 2004: 25). Directly addressing this point about a productive criticality for the Australian arts context as a whole, I suggest that a discussion of *Bunraku* may illuminate alternative *emphases* for Australian arts, alternative ways of looking at multicultural arts practices.

Just as the Australia Council was called upon to revise its views on inclusiveness, so consideration had to be given to the question of accommodating an increasingly diverse range of art practices in both interdisciplinary arts and multicultural art forms, which did not sit comfortably with the major art genres. The notion of hybridity was deployed to foster diversity in the arts. Sarah Miller, Director of the Perth Institute of Contemporary Arts and a strong advocate of 'hybrid arts' in Australia, argued in the mid-1990s that '[h]ybrids disturb structures of ideas, schemes of things based on systematic inclusion and exclusion: fitting neither one definition nor another, the hybrid exposes the permeability of those bounded systems modelled on the body' (Miller, 1994: 8). The Performing Arts Board of the Australia Council, which consisted of the Drama, Music, and Dance Committees, implemented several pilot projects in the early 1990s to support art works which were not easily categorisable and which otherwise risked falling outside a single established art category, because of their collaborative nature, their multi-art forms or their use of emergent computer media technologies.[10] These experiments led the Council to establish, outside the program of the Performing Arts Board, an independent assessment procedure for works of this kind. In 1995, the Hybrid Arts Committee was approved with its own budget and, finally, in 1998, the New Media Arts Board was set up, and given the same legal status as the Council's other boards. The two principal directions of the New Media Arts Board were stated as: 'supporting interdisciplinary practice and exploration of new technology'. It is important to note here, for our discussion of the policies on interdisciplinary and multicultural arts practices at the Australia Council, that the policy of the Hybrid Arts Committee stated clearly and unambiguously the importance of supporting 'intercultural activities that propose the creation of new forms of artistic expression' (Australia Council, 1995: 2.7).

Despite the history of hybrid/new media art practices supported by the Australia Council, it is still not easy to find appropriate language to discuss non-Western art forms such as *Bunraku* that fall outside Western (institutional) mainstream arts categories. I am aware that an institutional funding process may well need categories, as, without them, funding

allocation may become difficult to administer. Arts practices presented to arts institutions have to be recognisable, and therefore manageable. Hence, the notions of 'hybridity' and later 'new media' were used as a way of accommodating within the extant administrative framework an increasingly diverse range of practices in both interdisciplinary arts and multicultural arts forms. The New Media Arts Board considered the term 'interdisciplinary arts' to be interchangeable with that of 'hybrid arts', and defined them both in terms of a 'process where artists combine conventional art forms to create new forms of artistic expression', and emphasised *collaborations* amongst artists, and between artists and non-artists such as scientists (Australia Council, 2004 c: 82).[11] I appreciate the pragmatics of this approach, given inevitable political pressures from art communities. There have been many excellent works produced under this policy, which present new artistic expressions beyond the framework of mainstream art forms. I myself have been the beneficiary of this inclusive approach. I am wary, however, of the danger of producing a 'temporary' hybrid on the basis of hyphenating different arts practices. Interdisciplinary arts practice is not necessarily collaborative, nor is collaboration automatically interdisciplinary.[12] Defining interdisciplinary arts on the basis of hybridity and collaboration often leaves the art forms that constitute these practices intact, and established institutional attitudes towards arts practices in general remain unquestioned.

The issue of the subsumption of interdisciplinary forms has become more pressing, as the Australia Council has announced at the end of 2004 that the New Media Arts Board is to be dissolved.[13] The original statement of this restructuring has reaffirmed the Australia Council's commitment to support 'arts practice that goes beyond conventional, single artform areas', despite this restructure (Australia Council, 2004 b). In recent times, other arts boards such as those for Theatre, Dance, Music and the Visual Arts have become more open to innovative art practices. According to The Theatre Board's handbook, for example, indicates their recognition of 'cross-artform' practice.

Most forms of live performance may be supported by the Theatre Board, including outdoor performance, text-based theatre, devised work, physical theatre, site-based work, puppetry, visual theatre, performance art, theatre for young people, circus, contemporary performance, youth theatre and cabaret. (Australia Council, 2004 c: 96)[14]

Equipping existing boards with a 'built-in flexibility for hybrid arts' is the Australia Council's new policy direction from 2005, after abandoning the New Media Arts Board (Australia Council, 2004 b). Under the new structure, an Inter-Arts Office will be established, which will 'offer a service to artists to provide specific advice on the most appropriate peer assessment board' (Australia Council, 2004 a). The Australia Council describes this process as 'triage', meaning to direct new media applications—of hybrid works and digital media works—to relevant existing artform boards. *Only* those applications for which the Australia Council judges that no suitable artform board is appropriate would then be assessed by the Inter-Arts Office.

Despite the Australia Council's repeated assurances—in newspaper articles by Jennifer Bott, Chief Executive Officer of the Australia Council, and others (Bott, 2005)—of support for hybrid/new media arts practices, there is still considerable ambiguity and uncertainty around the treatment of these practices.[15] Because the term 'triage' means 'to separate in order to prioritise', it implies a hierarchisation of arts practices which no longer admits of the need to manage new media works through a tailored process. As long as interdisciplinary arts practices are discussed in relation to 'core' arts categories, the very interdisciplinarity of those practices will be absorbed into the existing parameters of established arts disciplines.

Because the Australia Council's restructuring is in progress as I write this, just how the situation will unfold remains uncertain. This latest development, however, goes to the point I am arguing in this essay—that institutional categories are in fact arbitrary administrative structures despite their persuasive, defining influence on practitioners' work, and that it is necessary to promulgate new models for interdisciplinary arts practices that are meaningful and productive for practitioners.

Interdisciplinarity in Bunraku

A close examination of the spectatorial experience of *Bunraku* is useful in considering what may lie beyond the notion of an interdisciplinary process as advocated by the New Media Arts Board. First, we should consider what might be meant by 'interdisciplinary process'. What is united in interdisciplinary works? How, exactly, are participating arts media combined? Wagner's dream of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a unity of all the arts in the service of music-drama, was a form of interdisciplinary collaborative work. As were the Cunningham/Cage collaborations, where, as Roger Copeland says, 'movement, sound, and decor are all conceived and executed independently of one another' (Copeland, 1983: 9). I think, however, that *Bunraku* complicates the above approaches. The effects and phenomena generated by *Bunraku* might indeed be termed 'interdisciplinary', but I would prefer to call it an 'art of intermediation'. I use the term 'intermediation' as a tactical tool to highlight the problematics of categorising art practice, rather than to establish an alternative genre. My notion of 'intermediation' can be explained by considering calligraphy, an art/cultural form in which writing and painting become inseparable and totally interdependent. Rather than that this interdependence should operate as a kind of collaboration, the two elements are perceived by the spectator in a suspended tension. While maintaining simultaneous discreteness of its constituent parts, calligraphy becomes something more, a synergistic whole. *Bunraku* also reveals a similar kind of heterogeneous sphere at the interface between various arts media.

Bunraku consists of three major components: the narration (*jôruri*), the music and the puppets (*ningyô*), performed by masters of each artistic discipline—the chanter (*tayû*), the player of the *shamisen* (or *samisen*), a traditional string instrument, and the puppeteer (*ningyô-tukai*)—but functions on the basis of the synthesis of the three.[16] According to Donald Keene, however, this synthesis differs from that of Wagner's music drama or of *Kabuki*. Both forms

contain obvious hierarchies of artistic disciplines; the principal component of opera is music and Kabuki is a 'theatre of virtuoso actors' (Keene, 1990: 127). The audience of those two art forms is expected to view the respective core art medium of each over other media as its pre-given focus. Media are not privileged in this way in *Bunraku*:

The audience today divides its attention variously between the chanter and the *samisen* player, the puppets and the operators, and yet somehow it is able to surmount these seeming distractions and impediments to a unified impression, the results of a non-realistic style, and to experience instead the satisfaction of complete entertainment. (Keene, 1990: 124)

In *Bunraku*, the three component roles are of almost equal importance. In other words, in this balanced fusion of the three elements, the wooden body of the puppet takes on a life of its own. In this whole, the spatial separation between the three artistic elements—the puppeteers and their puppets on the stage, and the chanter and *shamisen* player on the side of the stage—evaporates. The theatrical space *performs as an embodied whole*.

Unlike typical Western theatre, where semantic space is structured with the actor's body as the central focus, the contextual environment of *Bunraku* simultaneously disperses and reassembles the audience's attention. According to Roland Barthes, in Western theatre, the illusion of reality as the illusion of totality is modelled on the body's organic unity: 'The unity of movement and voice produces *he who acts*; in other words, it is this unity which constitutes the 'person' of the personage, that is, the actor' (Barthes, 1971: 79). The converse of the centring of the theatrical experience on the actor's body is absence, that is, the absence of the unifying focus. The dichotomy of presence/absence is a staple of Western theatre; I will gloss this binary term presently, touching on performance theory's critiques. This split is even evident where representations stand in for the actor, as, for example, in Western marionette theatre. Barthes states that:

[t]he Western puppet, too (it's quite apparent in Punch), is a phantasmic subproduct: as a reduction, a granting reflection whose place in the human order is constantly recalled by a caricatured simulation, it lives not as a total body, totally trembling, but as a rigid part of the actor from whom it is derived; as an automaton, it is still a piece of movement, a jerk, a shove, the essence of discontinuity, a decomposed projection of the body's gesture. (Barthes, 1971: 79)

Unlike a Western marionette, which functions as an animation of the inanimate substitute for the live actor, or as an extension or part that stands in for the live actor—like the linguistic function of synecdoche—oppositions such as animate/inanimate and organic/inorganic cannot be applied to *Bunraku* to discuss its perceptual experience. According to Barthes, *Bunraku* neither aims to ape the actor, nor to animate the inanimate: 'It is not the simulation of the body which *Bunraku* seeks, it is—if this can be said—the body's tangible abstraction' (Barthes, 1971: 79). The elements in *Bunraku* are not called upon

to perform a metonymic or synecdochic function. They are equally present, of equal importance, conveyed across equally weighted media. The three elements are transformed into one in the spectatorial experience. Because *Bunraku* is a live art form, the question of the way in which it works upon the spectator cannot be considered in the same simple terms as our two-dimensional example of calligraphy; to understand this synthesis in a live performance environment, we need to consider 'intermediated embodiment' as an encounter. The audience does not experience its media independently, as discrete elements, but experiences only the encounter. The audience experiences a strange totality that results from the integration of *Bunraku*'s separate elements, confounding sensory hierarchies.

Bunraku achieves its embodied intermediation through the simultaneous perception in the spectator of discreteness and a total form. The components of voice, music, and puppetry are perceived in parallel at the same time as they are felt as synthetically interconnected. The puppet in *Bunraku* is operated by three male puppeteers, a chief, and two supporting, puppeteers. While the assistant puppeteers wear black masks to cover their faces, the chief puppeteer is not masked, but maintains a concentrated and generally calm expression in spite of the immense physical labour he undertakes. The audience of *Bunraku* come to see the skill of the visible master puppeteer. While showing the puppet's emotive expressions, *Bunraku* allows the puppeteers who operate the puppet and their operation to be seen. Similarly, the chanter and the *shamisen* player are clearly visible on the side of the stage, thus destroying the illusion maintained in Western marionette theatre, that the puppet itself is speaking. This Japanese puppet theatre does not present the audience with a simple illusion of life, but offers cues that suggest 'life'. The sensory experience of the audience becomes united through the narrative structure of *Bunraku* and its mobilisation of devices and forms through a vocabulary of affect specific to Japanese traditional theatre.

The audience of *Bunraku* is drawn into a drama portrayed on the stage through patterned gestures (*furi* and *kata*) and vocal expressions. According to Keene, *furi* means a 'stylized reproduction of familiar human movements' such as expressions of joy and grief (Keene, 1990: 166). *Kata* usually refers to acting and is understood in terms of a repertoire of patterned forms within Japanese traditional performing arts. Characters presenting a *kata* form often use spectacular fixed poses.[17] *Kata* and *furi* are passed on and repeated from one generation to another. To the audience, the patterned codes of *Bunraku* performance read as essences of (Japanese) human drama. While a non-Japanese viewer would be likely to see the performance only in terms of an objective presentation of these codes, for the Japanese 'expert' audience of *Bunraku*, consisting mainly of the elderly, *furi* and *kata* trigger emotional responses and pleasurable dramatic effects. How is this possible? In their recognisability, these codes are icons of distilled gesture; the audience appreciates the skilled delivery of this unique arrangement of referents within a familiar framework—that is, they enjoy this particular pattern. But the audience also *experiences* *furi* and *kata* as indices of the intangible emotions or empathies they reference. What is important to recognise here is that neither the iconic identification nor the indexical call to the audience of *furi* and

kata operate on the ‘presence’ or the ‘absence’ of a given actor, puppet, or gesture. It is the thematised weaving of this pattern, within a social context that (unlike the Japanese social sphere outside the performance) privileges a loading of emotional affect, which creates the totality of *Bunraku*. A similar synthesis effects the audience’s perception of *Kabuki*’s *onnagata* actor, a male actor playing a female role. The *Kabuki* audience appreciates the stylised notion of femininity performed by the *onnagata* actor through codified gestures, rather than as a simple visual representation. It is in the simultaneity of icon and index—which represents *and* references the ineffable—that the audience experiences the performance, not as the binary set of terms presence/absence, but as a whole. Pattern provides a framework and legitimation for, and *expectation of*, audience affect. This explains why the audience can enjoy and take seriously an old, male *onnagata* actor playing a young female role without it seeming grotesque and comical.[18]

I suggest that this notion of intermediated embodiment in *Bunraku* can be related to the spectatorial effects in electronically mediated performance. The twist here is that, where *Bunraku* can rely on set terms within a specific, culturally-given context to do much of the work of establishing pattern, electronically mediated performance needs to mobilise other cues. The senses, and audience sensory expectations, play a significant role in creating the totality I have been describing through the term ‘intermediated embodiment’—that is, a synthetic spectatorial experience of discrete media that generates a virtual medium. Paradoxically, intermediated embodiment in mediated performance can be said to evoke a new dimension of performance ‘presence’. It is to an elaboration of this that I must now turn, and to the notion of ‘telepresence’.

Mediatization in Performance

Tele (visual and audio) presence and interaction between mediated reality and physical reality are key elements in media-based performance. That is, media-based performance must engage with virtual embodiment through technological mediation. ‘Telepresence’ is a term often used by media theorists.[19] It generally describes one person experiencing two distant places simultaneously through a visual communication network. Stephen Wilson describes telepresence as a ‘technology for a person to be present *in some form* in a distant place’ (Wilson, 2002: 526). Lev Manovich defines telepresence through the notion of ‘teleaction’: ‘Telepresence provides the ability to manipulate remotely physical reality in real time through its image’ (Manovich, 2001: 166-7). According to Matthew Causey, the incorporation of the tele-visual presence in performance was already evident in the works of 1960s and 1970s video artists such as Nam June Paik and Wolf Vostell followed by theatre/performance artists such as Laurie Anderson and the Wooster Group in the 1980s (Causey, 1994: 64). Causey coins a term, ‘postorganic performance’, to map ‘the new performance arena revealed through the confrontation of the ‘live performer’ against the various media of digital audio, video, film, and the computer’ (ibid.: 61-2). The use of motion capture and tele-conference technologies in performance makes this phenomenon of telepresence most evident. For example, Australian

choreographer Helen Sky and media artist John McCormick of *Company in Space* produced a ‘telematic’ performance piece in the late 1990s as a duet between two dancers in two separate locations, linked by tele-conference technology. Connecting the dancers in a virtual space, the work generated an embodied totality between physical body and technologically mediated body.[20]

The phenomenon of the tele-*audio* presence in performance also needs to be highlighted. We can refer to Laurie Anderson’s well-known use of William Burroughs’s voice in her 1986 performance film, *Home of the Brave*. [21] A strip of music tape on which Burroughs’s voice is recorded is mounted on a violin bow; when Anderson runs it across the violin bridge’s magnetic playback head, it plays Burroughs’s voice. The work exploits the disjunction between representation and presence. As far as my argument in this paper is concerned, it is more important to consider the intrusion of tele-*audio* presence even in a live performance of ‘acoustic’ sound. The sound technology in theatre turns contemporary performance space into a ‘sound-scape’, where sound is re-generated three-dimensionally. For example, in 2003, I experienced the (*a cappella*) voice work of Meredith Monk in this manner. [22] Monk used very sensitive microphones, which, possibly unintentionally, picked up the slightest sound generated by the movements of lips, tongue and mouth before he enunciated words or sound in song. While Monk was centre stage, the sound came from the left-hand side speaker high up on the stage. This created a gap, a dislocated and yet united embodied space, between the tele-audio presence and the physical presence of Monk. Philip Auslander’s phrase ‘the [hidden] incursion of mediatisation into the live event’ might apply here (Auslander, 1999:7).

In my own performance work, I have been actively utilising the effects of mediatisation through media devices. Initially, in the early 1990s, I wanted to find a way to communicate with the audience other than speaking in English, because I felt that my accent was too strong to be used on the stage. I then started to explore the use of (accessible) media devices such as LED (light-emitting diode) electronic sign board, computer voice generator, television monitor, slide and video projectors, in order to create a surrogate performance voice. [23] Later, I used these devices in order to interrogate the politics of cultural representation in Australia. I endeavoured to create a gap between a cultural representation of an ethnic (Japanese) body, produced through these devices, and a ‘real’ body. My framing of the works in this period caused viewers to see, in a predetermined way, the politically-charged relationship between the projected images and the performer’s ethnic origins; I later realised that this structure precluded exploration of the very relationship between live performer and video image. [24] My recent performance work has combined video projection with the live performer, in a way that it is not a simple juxtaposition, but an attempt to create an inter-dependence that creates a new ‘medium’. [25]

How are we to discuss mediatised performance, an interaction between mediated reality and physical reality, generating a performative totality? I would like to develop the point I made earlier about ‘embodiment’ seeming to

span the organic and the inorganic in a tele-mediated work. N. Katherine Hayles, the well-known theorist on cybernetics, has analysed an entwined relationship between 'the enacted body', present in the flesh, and 'the represented body', constituted in an electronic environment (Hayles, 1999: xiii). She argues for processes that resist the separation between information and materiality and where 'it is no longer possible to distinguish meaningfully between the biological organism and the informational circuits in which the organism is enmeshed' (ibid.: 35). Some contemporary performance theorists discuss embodiment in this manner, as a kind of phenomenology of the cybernetic. For example, when examining performance works in which digital technology is used to augment our notions of the self and space, David Z. Saltz discusses contemporary phenomenologist Don Ihde's distinction of an 'embodiment relation' from a 'hermeneutic relation', in an effort to articulate the relationship between telepresence and the subject (Saltz, 2001: 72). While, in the latter, technology is used to interpret and 'gain information about (or affect change in) the world'—e.g. the thermometer—in the former technology is thought to function as an 'extension of the person's senses or limbs'—e.g. glasses or telescope (ibid.: 72).[26]

Physical Presence and Intermediated Embodiment

The radicality of the embodied intermedia effect is, however, sometimes suppressed to serve established art forms. For example, *Cyber Bunraku*, a three-dimensional computer graphics character animation, developed by a group of Japanese corporate computer engineers and presented at *SIGGRAPH '97*, an annual computer arts festival, illustrates the manner in which art categories can produce predetermined outcomes.[27] In *Cyber Bunraku*, '[a] facial expression tracker is used by the facial performer, while the puppeteering device for body movement is used by the traditional *Bunraku* puppeteer' (Arai, 1997). A computer-generated character is created as a sum of the movements of two performers. The *Cyber Bunraku* work sits across animation, puppetry, or perhaps something else to do with virtual representation. Situating CG artwork through motion-capture technology as a real-time manipulation within the tradition of Western puppetry, Steve Tillis discusses its characters in terms of technique as 'virtual puppets' (Tillis, 1999: 189). He points to a structural similarity between the marionette and virtual puppetry: while in the ordinary marionette ('tangible puppets'), a tangible object is manipulated by a puppeteer's physical movement, in virtual puppetry, an intangible object is generated by the tangible movement of a manipulator. However, in a statement describing their intentions, the creators of *Cyber Bunraku* express their focal concern as animation:

Three-dimensional computer graphics (3D-CG) character animation is being increasingly used in movies, television and computer games. In making the animation, exaggerated expression of motion is one of the most important techniques. In order to perform this exaggeration in real time, we have developed 'Cyber Bunraku,' in which we have introduced the puppeteering techniques of the traditional Japanese art, 'bunraku.'

Cyber Bunraku can create 3D-CG animations of a character's body-movements and facial expressions in real time. One of the benefits of Cyber Bunraku is that it reduces the time required to produce CG character animation. An additional benefit is that the animation director can directly teach the puppeteer and the facial performer how they should manipulate the CG character, monitored in real time (Sakamoto, Akabane, Yasuzaki and Arai, 1997).

The performances of the actor and the *Bunraku* puppeteer are deployed for easier production of CG animation. They are subordinate to the two-dimensional image of animation, which is in turn used for the easier and faster creation of motion pictures with 'high-quality dramatic effects' (Sakamoto, Akabane, Yasuzaki and Arai, 1997).

It is equally possible, though, to conceptualise the animated effects of *Cyber Bunraku*, not as two-dimensional image-product, but in terms of its performative aspect. That is to say that considering the performative aspect of animation can highlight processes that inhere in the technological medium. I refer more specifically to the 'in-between' nature of the bodies that are created through the medium. Christopher A. Bolton, for example, seeks parallels between anime (Japanese animation) and *Bunraku* through the notion of technological bodies (Bolton, 2002). [28] Bolton argues that '[t]he virtual or artificial nature of animated "actors", who are always already technological bodies, complicates any effort by the film or the critic to draw or blur the line between natural and artificial or human and machine' (ibid.: 730). The bodies of the *Cyber Bunraku* actors fuse gesturally with those of the CG animation. Thought through the notion of the technological body, *Cyber Bunraku* can be discussed, not in relation to the marionette, which is a product that mimes presence, but instead in relation to the traditional *Bunraku*. In its focus on providing improvements for computer-generating imagery and film effects, however, *Cyber Bunraku* misses an opportunity to develop the complex notion of intermediated embodiment that is in fact nested within traditional *Bunraku*. This kind of adaptation, limited to the level of style, only serves to reinforce existing categorisations of art practices.

Presence

The trope of the marionette, expressing nostalgia for the body and a desire to recover the body's absence, may obscure the performative and intermediated nature of the technological body. It is therefore useful to return to the question of 'presence' with which we began this discussion of *Bunraku*, and consider that the totality which *Bunraku* produces for the audience may have more to do with *pattern* than with presence.

The intermediation effect I have been describing not only arises to complicate categorisations of arts that sit across media, but challenges the influential notion of 'physical presence' that distinguishes human performance from non-human performance such as puppetry or animation. The issue of 'living presence' in theatre is, however, a complex issue and contemporary theatre/performance theorists discuss it in various ways. Copeland states that

‘the word “presence” [in terms of theatre] means different things to different people—and that some of these meanings are mutually exclusive’ (Copeland, 1990: 33). My purpose in this essay is to examine the opposition between immediacy and mediacy in the discussions of presence in theatre/performance studies. The traditional argument about theatrical presence usually refers to the presence of the live and unmediated human actor, which makes theatre unique amongst the other arts.[29] This position of unmediated presence has been problematised by contemporary performance theorists.[30] For instance, Philip Auslander has argued that the live and the mediated are mutual, co-dependent and imbricated, but not in opposition:

That the mediated is engrained in the live is apparent in the structure of the word *immediate*. The root from is the word *mediate* of which *immediate* is, of course, the negation. Mediation is thus embedded within the immediate; the relation of mediation and the im-mediate is one of mutual dependence, not precession. (Auslander, 1996: 199)

With reference to the unattainability of pre-verbal states of perception (Derrida) and the notion of simulation (Baudrillard), Copeland also argues that no theatrical experience is unmediated. He discusses media-based works by artists of the 1980s such as Richard Foreman and Laurie Anderson, whose works acknowledge the fact that ‘technological mediation has become an inescapable part of our lives’ (Copeland, 1990: 40). The interplay between the live and the mediated in these performance works enacts what Causey calls a ‘para-performative tele-theatrical phenomenon’, and he argues that this phenomenon challenges the autonomy of each category and accepted factors concerning live performance, such as ‘liveness’, ‘immediacy’ and ‘presence’ (Causey, 1994: 61).

We need, then, a new language of presence to discuss and accommodate the phenomena of mediated performance, outside the traditional presence/absence opposition. Hayles’s discussion of a concept of ‘pattern’ in the computer age might be useful here. She plots embodied processes on axes of presence/absence and pattern/randomness, theorising the new forms of experience to which these dialectics give rise. Hayles argues that the latter—a dialectic between the poles of pattern and randomness—has become a more useful tool in the world of computer technology. Information on electronic media is regarded as a pattern with no materiality, not as a presence. A simple exercise of word processing on the computer in contrast to the typewriter, for example, illustrates this idea. On the computer, Hayles argues that users interact with the text as electronic image, rather than with a ‘materially resistant’ text on a typewriter, and they know ‘kinaesthetically as well as conceptually’ that they can manipulate the text in ways that would not be possible ‘if it existed as a material object rather than a visual display’ (Hayles, 1999: 26). The presence/absence set does not adequately describe this action.

How, then, do we experience Hayles’s model of ‘pattern’? Do we process visual electronic information, simply, as abstract data? Is it possible to experience the content of a computer display as a pseudo-material object?

Are we able to make an embodied connection with the mediated image as we do with a human performer? Chantal Pontbriand's discussion of performance presence in the early 1980s may help us rethink our relationship with performance and mediated visual and audio materials in terms of this concept of pattern. Pontbriand claims that the 'presentness' of performance reveals itself essentially in the present as a singular event 'without any imaginary or transcendental space-time a priori, that performance actualises time and place' (Pontbriand, 1982: 155). She draws a distinction between a classical presence that works side by side with representation, and a new concept of presence/situation that presents a 'here/now which has no other referent except itself' (ibid.: 157). Drawing on Walter Benjamin's idea of the reception of reproduction as being independent of aura, Pontbriand argues that a performance through technical means asserts a radical presence, and draws our attention to an interplay of elements generated from 'various modes of presentation and reproduction' (ibid.: 157). For an understanding of the sensory synthesis I have been describing in *Bunraku* and media-based performance, I would argue for presence in Pontbriand's sense, as an actualisation at a singular moment of a time/place matrix. What this suggests for performance and the concept of intermediation I have been developing is a heterogenous expansion of the performative 'body', which is not based on physical and material presence, but connected perceptually through its elements.

Conclusion

This notion of intermediated embodiment allows us to examine *Bunraku* in the same terms as media-based performance. The formal and synthetic expansion of practice through this broader concept of 'body' and 'performance' functions on the basis of the effect that is created spectatorially. Intermediation's equal use of its elements distributes an embodiment-effect across the performative space. As we have seen with *Bunraku*, the meshing of sensory stimuli in the singular performance encounter is the experiential affect of what it means to say that 'the space as a whole *performs*'. *Bunraku* accomplishes this through its use of stable structural forms, *furi* and *kata*.

But how are the effects of intermediated embodiment given 'presence' in media-based performance? Traditional forms of sensory engagement are often overlapped, integrated and confounded in media-based work. That much media-based work, such as Laurie Anderson's, exploits confusion of the senses and of cognition suggests not only the centrality to this work of this intermediation effect, but also that the work itself demonstrates a knowing deployment of its methods, that is to say a reflexivity. In media-based performance, the senses are manipulated toward the creation of new experiential entities. Such entities and effects, broader than traditional formulations of body and performance, supersede categorical models of hybridity and collaboration. If arts institutions were to think about or value such media-based performance works in terms of existing arts categories, their ability to engage with the integrated experience of these phenomena would be limited. There is a need for a new language which encompasses categorical barriers and cultural differences of art form. By foregrounding a

concept of intermediated synthesis that is a result of the performative encounter, not a pre-existing term, I hope to facilitate not merely a transgression of the boundaries established by Australian arts institutions and funding bodies, but a better tool with which to navigate interdisciplinary and multicultural arts in twenty-first-century Australia.

I would like to thank Meredith Morse for her critical insights and constructive comments that have greatly assisted the development of this essay.

Endnotes

[1] This essay is an expanded version of a paper originally presented at PSi#10 Singapore, 15-18 June 2004.

[2] The Australia Council is a Commonwealth statutory authority created under the Australia Council Act 1975. I would like to thank Andrew Donovan from the New Media Arts Board and Samira Hassan from the Research Library at the Australia Council for their assistance.

[3] In Ariane Mnouchkine's production of *Tambours sur la digue* (*The Flood Drummers*), each actor is borne about the stage on low trolleys, pushed by operators dressed in black. I saw the Théâtre du Soleil Sydney Festival production at the Royal Hall of Industries, Moore Park, Sydney in 2002. For a useful review of the original Cartoucherie production in Paris in 1999, see Carol Fisher Sorgenfrei's review in *Asian Theatre Journal* 19.1 (Spring 2002), 255-7. In Satoshi Miyagi's production of Kyôka Izumi's *The Castle Tower* (*Tenshû Monogatari*) at the Eddy Theatre, Pittsburg in 2003, each role is played by a pair of actors, one speaking the lines and the other enacting the character. While Miyagi describes this as a theatrical strategy to show the separation of 'word and body (Logos and Pathos)' on a stage (see Miyagi's home page, www.kunauka.or.jp/en/miyagi/miyagi01.htm). According to a web advertisement for a US tour of Miyagi's production, this derives from *Bunraku* (www.ucis.pitt.edu/asc/kunauka.html). [NB: Japanese names in this essay are rewritten as given name, followed by family name.]

[4] This group was formed by ex-members of *Tenjô-Sajiki*, after the death of Shûji Terayama, who had founded the company and a well-known Japanese dramatist of the '60s and '70s, alongside Tadashi Suzuki, Jûro Kara and Makoto Sato.

[5] For a discussion of the history of multicultural policy development at the Australia Council in the '70s and '80s, see Annette Blonski, 'Persistent Encounters: the Australia Council and Multiculturalism', in Gunew and Rizvi (1994), 192-206). According to her, 'The position of multicultural arts officer fell vacant' between 1987 and 1989 (ibid.: 202). Following the 'New Form' debates over 'cross-over' and interdisciplinary arts from the late '70s to the mid 1980s, a Cross Artform working party of the Performing Arts Board was established in 1989. (I am grateful to Andrew Donovan of the Australia Council for this information.)

[6] For example, in 1991 the Australia Council gave funding support to *Artlink*, an Australian art journal, for a special edition entitled, 'Arts in a Multicultural Australia' (11.1 & 2 (Autumn and Winter 1991)). Also see Gunew and Rizvi (1994) and Papastergiadis (2003).

[7] Cope and his co-authors argue that the issue of access to multimedia resources for ethnic communities in Australia is an emerging issue (Cope, Kalantzis and Ziguras 2003).

[8] Similarly, in the area of Australian theatre/performance, Jacqueline Lo examines the works of Anna Yen and William Yang with reference to the notion of 'intentional hybridity' ('Beyond Happy Hybridity: Performing Asian-Australian Identities' in Ian Ang, Sharon Chalmers, Lisa Law and Mandy Thomas (eds.) *alter/asians: Asian-Australian identities in art, media and popular culture* (Sydney: Pluto Press 2000), 152-68).

[9] *Empires, Ruins + Networks: Art in Real Time Culture* (2-4 April 2004) was organised by Nikos Papastergiadis, Scott McQuire and Helen Stuckey, in association with the Australian Centre for the Moving Image and the Australian Centre and the Media and Communications Program at the University of Melbourne, and with financial assistance from the Australia Council. For reviews of this conference, see Robert Hassan, 'Art versus Empire', posting to the *fibreculture* mailing list (10 August 2004), a review article from *RealTime* No 61 (June/July 2004) and Juliette Peers, 'Exchange Value: if it's Tuesday it must be a conference on art and globalism', *Artlink*, 24. 4 (2004): 36-8.

[10] These projects include 'New Collaboration Program' in 1992, 'Multi-Artform Committee' in 1993 and 'Hybrid Arts Committee' in 1994. (I am grateful to Andrew Donovan for this information.)

[11] The New Media Arts Board has supported projects that explore the notions of process and collaboration such as *Time_Place_Space*, a hybrid arts laboratory, in which participating artists engage in practical collaborative exercises. For a discussion of *Time_Place_Space*, see Rachel Fensham, 'the in-between: hybrid arts laboratories as places to question', *Artlink*, 24.4 (2004): 41-6 & 48. The Australia Council also encourages 'creative and experimental collaborations between scientists and artists' through *Synapse*, a grants initiative of the NMAB (the Australia Council web site, <www.ozco.gov.au/grants/other_support_new_media_arts/synapse/>

[12] In May 2004, the Institute of Contemporary Interdisciplinary Arts, University of Bath, held a forum on the issue of collaboration and interdisciplinarity in the arts. In announcing the conference, the organisers ask some important questions: 'What is the relationship between the terms, processes and practices of collaboration and interdisciplinarity?'; 'Not all interdisciplinary arts practice has to involve collaboration and not all collaborations are interdisciplinary'. ICIA (Institute of Contemporary Interdisciplinary Arts), forum website (2004) <<http://www.bath.ac.uk/arts/frames-v-events.htm>>

[13] The Australia Council announced the closure of the New Media Arts Board and the Community Cultural Development Board on 8 December 2004.

[14] The art terms 'interdisciplinary art' and 'cross-art' are often used interchangeably. In this essay 'interdisciplinary arts practices' is used to refer to art works that fall outside the established art categories and that are situated in between artforms. The term 'cross-art' draws attention to bilateral relations of exchange between artforms.

[15] For the arts community's concerns, see, for example, *RealTime* editor Keith Gallasch, 'Australia Council restructures: New Media arts wasted' (www.realtimearts.net), and Sue Williams, 'Funding Frolics—Act Four', *Australian Financial Review*, 15 January 2005. Meetings were arranged to ask the Australia Council to explain the proposed changes directly to the arts communities. The Sydney meeting was organised on 24 January 2005 at Paddington RSL by dLux Media Arts and ANAT, in association with *RealTime*, Performance Space, Experimenta, BEAP and MAAP.

[16] Another, older, term for this puppet theatre is *ningyô-jôruri*. *Jôruri* means a narrative text, recited by a professional storyteller. According to Donald Keene, 'the confluence of three different performing traditions [storytelling, puppetry and music] in the middle of the sixteenth century' created a basis for this art form. Because 'the chanter (*tayû*) ranks above the *samisen* players and puppet operators', Keene defines *Bunraku* as 'a form of storytelling, recited to a musical accompaniment, and embodied by puppets on a stage' (Keene, 1990: 135). Historically, appreciation of *Bunraku* is predicated upon the audience's knowledge of these extra-performative aspects. It is outside the scope of discussion of this essay to consider the spectatorial synthesis of these elements with the pro-performative codes and sensory experiences that I would like to consider here. Although the term *Bunraku*, in fact, designates a puppet theatre in Osaka funded by Uemura Bunrakken (or, Bunraku-ken) in the late nineteenth century, this word has become more commonly used for traditional Japanese puppet theatre.

[17] There are subtle differences of *kata* between the art forms. For example, Keene points out that *Bunraku* and *Kabuki* do not share the same *kata* for the same play (Keene, 1990: 168). Mituya Mori, on the other hand, points out the differences of *kata* in *Noh* and *Kabuki*: 'kata in Kabuki is more a pattern, while kata in Noh is more form', and argues that *kata* as pattern can be altered, but *kata* as form cannot ('The Structure of Theatre: A Japanese View of Theatricality', *SubStance* # 98/99, 31. 2 & 3 (2002): 91, n3).

[18] For a further discussion of the art of the *onnagata* and female costume in Kabuki, see Katherine Mezur, 'Undressing the *onnagata*: Kabuki's female role specialists and the art of costuming', in Stanga Scholz-Cionca and Samuel L. Leiter (eds) *Japanese Theatre and the International Stage* (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2001): 193-211).

[19] 'Telepresence' in a much broader sense, as 'virtual presence', may be found in places other than multimedia environments if one shifts the framework. Cope and his co-authors say that reading newspapers or novels gives us virtual experiences of wars or of others' lives (Cope, Kalantzis and Ziguras, 2003: 17).

[20] *Escape Velocity*, directed by Helen Sky, has toured around the globe as a dual-site performance, presenting a duo of live and virtual dancers. It was performed, for example, simultaneously for the SIGGRAPH computer arts festival in Florida, USA, and as an outdoor event for *MAP* (Movement and Performance) at the Melbourne Town Hall in 1998.

[21] According to RoseLee Goldberg, *Laurie Anderson* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000): 111, this work had three 'lives': 'it began as *Mister Heartbreak* in concert (and as a recording), became the movie (and soundtrack) *Home of the Brave*, and later a tour, *Natural History*' [22] Monk performed at the Sydney Opera House in July 2003.

[23] For example, I used a LED electronic sign board in my own work, in *Nonetheless Marinetti* (*Experimenta*, Theatreworks, Melbourne, November 1992); a computer voice generator in *The Voice of the Masked Other* (25 Years of Performance Art in Australia, Performance Space, Sydney, June 1994; Australian Centre for Contemporary Art, Melbourne, May 1995; Canberra Sculptural Forum, National Gallery, Canberra, April 1995; *The Cleveland Performance Art Festival*, The Colonial Arcade, Cleveland, USA, May 1997; *The Festival of Performance Art*, Symptom Hall, Toronto, Canada, August 1997); slide projectors in *We Are Not John And Yoko* (Sidetrack Theatre, Sydney, July 1994) and in *This is Sound Art* (*Sound in Space*, Artspace, Sydney, 1995, *SoundCulture*, The Center for New Music and Audio Technologies, University of California, Berkeley, USA, April 1996; TV monitors in *Oops, Too Late Complete Crime* (Performance Space, Sydney, October 1997; *Rootless '97*, Spring Street Theatre, Hull, UK, October, 1997); a video projector in *Voice of Silence* (*Vent 5*, Performance Space, Sydney, October 1999); double video projectors in *no-(w)-here am I* (*FIRT/IFTR conference*, Performance Space, Sydney, July 2001; Perth Institute of Contemporary Arts, Perth, August 2002; *Time_Place_Space*, Wagga Wagga, September 2002).

[24] See also Yuji Sone, 'Nowhereness: Performance of Migration', *AntiThesis (In Transit)*, 13 (2002): 137-50).

[25] *Chimera*, a performance work with double video projections, was presented at the Io Meyers Studio, University of New South Wales, on 21 October 2004.

[26] From the point of view of cognitive science, Francisco J. Varela and his co-authors suggest that we depart from the idea of the world as 'independent'—where it is understood as pre-given—and from the idea of cognition as 'representation' (Francisco J. Varela, Evan Thompson and Eleanor Rosch. *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993): 138-40). Instead, they

advocate 'cognition as embodied action', where 'sensory and motor processes, perception and action, are fundamentally inseparable in lived cognition' (ibid., 172-3).

[27] *Cyber Bunraku* was developed by Hitachi Ltd and Fuji Television Network Inc. *SIGGRAPH* is an annual international conference on computer graphics and interactive techniques.

[28] Bolton uses Mamoru Oshii's *Ghost in the Shell* (1995) as a case study for his argument.

[29] It is possible to say that the unmediated existence of the actor encompasses both theories of naturalist theatre, such as Stanislavski's, and the modernist theatre, such as Grotowski's or Artaud's, which aims to strip theatre to its essence. These theoretical approaches are still influential, and tend to overshadow the notion of physical presence in contemporary theatre and performance.

[30] Some theatre/performance theorists examine this issue of presence with reference to Derrida. Elinor Fuchs critiques an aspect of phonocentrism—the actor's speech over writing—in realist and naturalist theatre ('Presence and The Revenge of Writing: Re-thinking theatres after Derrida', in Philip Auslander (ed.). *Performance: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 4 (London: Routledge, 2003; 1985): 109-18). Auslander points to the predetermined metaphysical status of 'presence' in the theories of Stanislavski, Brecht and Grotowski and discusses the Wooster Group in terms of deconstruction (*From Acting to Performance: Essay in Modernism and Postmodernism* (London: Routledge, 1997), 28-38).

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