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A Transcultural Research Journal

FOUNDED BY

AURORE YAMAGATA-MONTOYA, MAXIME DANESIN & MARCO PELLITTERI

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3 allée de l'avenir, Les chênes entrée 3
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REVIEWS

Bodies in motion and image recomposition in the early 20th Century

Angela LONGO | Tokyo University of the Arts, Japan

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ABSTRACT

The question of the appearance of the body surges in a play of overwhelming forces, and its register in artworks assumes different shapes as their representation spreads towards other mediums. Firstly, following Aby Warburg's thought, this article will analyse the process of the survival of bodies as potential motion in images. Warburg proposed an Iconological approach where the analysis of potential movement in the image yielded a formula for its analytic recomposition. Furthermore, he captured the transition at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the body representation moved to media that allowed movement reproduction, such as animation and cinema. The bodies' survival or capture contained an animist belief that gained propulsion with the first apparatuses and optical toys that allowed movement and live-action recording. This movement allowed for the production of a simulacrum of the living body and the power to recompose it in space. Therefore, this article will focus on the evolution of body representation and its survival to understand how images from the early twentieth century shaped and traveled around the world.

KEYWORDS

Body; Representation; Composition; Iconology; Aby Warburg; Animation.

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1. Montage and *Pathos* – The challenge to the field of Art History at the turn of the twentieth century

The image is not a closed static field of knowledge; it is a centrifugal field encompassing anthropological and historical temporalities. The image movements are not necessarily the same as their historical time since the temporality of the image, their survivals, and reappearances produce what Georges Didi-Huberman called *knowledge-montage* (2017). This mode of thinking inserts a dynamism of forms, an organic-morphological dynamic within the image, creating a form of knowledge that appears and reappears in different times. Didi-Huberman's concept builds on Aby Warburg's (1866-1929) Iconological approach, where the analysis of potential movement in the image yielded the formula for its analytic recomposition. It is necessary to understand the emergence of *montage* and

pathos as analytical concepts to stimulate the connections between the potential internal movement of images and their subsequent technical manipulation of temporality.

First, the turn to the twentieth century proposed numerous challenges to the field of Art History. Authors such as Vasari and Winckelmann had sedimented the idea of succession, the analogy of art, and its perceived glory in the essence of beauty in the Greek and later Roman periods. In this manner of thought, the history of art was considered a history of its development and decline based on philosophical idealism. To challenge this view, instead of seeing determined and delimited forms in the work of Antiquity, Warburg saw moving forces, that is, polarities acting in the image. Warburg perceived that the Antiquity motifs persisted in Renaissance works.

For example, in *Mnemosyne Atlas* (1924-1929), Panel 39, Warburg showed that the antique motif of the nymph in motion reappeared in the paintings of *Birth of Venus* and *Spring* by Sandro Botticelli. Warburg perceived the tension between the modern observer and the Renaissance heritage, which meant that it was necessary to analyse the persistent return of forms and their survival (*nachleben*) to reveal the process of anthropological sedimentation in artworks. This process could be partially or largely destroyed by time, but it could also survive in the stylistic changes of artworks. In this sense, Warburg's reformulation of the problem of style considers the image as an energy-bearing entity that goes beyond its epoch, stretching its existence in different temporalities and sedimenting its different meanings.

This methodological shift is not present only in Warburg's thought; interestingly, the idea of art as *knowledge-montage* became a methodological and theoretical practice in the academic and artistic movements of the twentieth century. For example, Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) conceived the Epic Theatre to represent and encourage the audience to question the constructive aspects of reality. This form of theatre would encourage the audience to adopt a critical perspective, making it possible to recognise social forms of exploitation and the possibilities of social justice. In cinema, Soviet film brought an approach embedded in formalism, relying upon edition or *montage*, in the works of Dziga Vertov (1896-1954), Lev Kuleshov (1899-1970), and Sergei Eisenstein (1898-1948). In the theoretical field, Georges Bataille edited the Parisian surrealist art magazine, *Documents* (1929-1930), with a wide range of photographs and writings about Picasso, Dali, Giacometti, and other avant-garde artists. In the unfinished *Arcades Project* (1927-1940), Walter Benjamin explored a collection of writings about the city

life of Paris in the nineteenth century, especially concerning the arcades, that is, the architectural precursor of the modern mall and a relic of a past social organisation.

Consequently, it became apparent in the first half of the twentieth century that the image would assume anachronic forms and mediums and act as a force, a form of becoming or knowledge in itself, to borrow Nietzsche's expression. "For knowledge – through re-montage – always engages a reflection on the de-montage of time in the tragic history of society" (Didi-Huberman, 2011:2). Thus, in the tragedy of the World Wars and the rapid technical transformation, art forms will engage powerfully with the social *pathos* at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Inspired by Burckhardt and Nietzsche, Warburg studied how Italian Quattrocento and Flemish painters represented bodies animated by an inner force, a potential movement that contained an animist belief in the bodies, what Warburg called *dynamograms*. Warburg, dissertation *Sandro Botticelli's Birth of Venus and Spring: An Examination of Concepts of Antiquity in the Early Renaissance* (1893), analysed the treatment of the visual themes that emerged at the end of the fifteenth century, tracing its connection to elements borrowed from Antiquity in both visual terms and literature manner. Angelo Poliziano's poem *Stanze per la Giostra* broadly follows the Homeric Hymn in which Venus arises from the sea, describing it with a delineation of details and accessories. As Philippe-Alain Michaud expressed: "In *La Giostra*, Poliziano adapted the quick movements of figures drawn from direct observation to a literary model provided by the epic poetry of Antiquity" (Michaud, 2004:68).

Indeed, Warburg analysed how the depiction of movement imbued in the poem provided artistic means to the Renaissance artist to produce the illusion of motion. First, his questioning of potential motion remains concentrated on the figure's features and external factors that seemed to modify the body, such as the wind and the fabric's movement. However, from 1902 onwards, for Warburg, the question of movement became internalised in the image. In this regard, the Appolinean *ethos* is thought of with the Dionysian *ethos*, rooted in the Greek world, reappearing in the Quattrocento as a two-fold image of the ancient pagan world.

Finally, Warburg looked to the anthropological dimension of Art through the concept of *pathosformel*, the symptomatology of the image. Warburg understands the symptom or the symptomatology as the *movement in the bodies*, and by excavating their traces in the image, it is possible to uncover their temporalities and survival. In

Atlas Mnemosyne, the images were arranged in large panels of black cloth, following their migration in the history of representation, with anachronisms and analogies explored through different mediums: art reproductions, maps, newspaper clippings, and photographs. Each panel marked a cartographic mapping of a specific theme that Warburg researched during his life, imagined as an animated sequence within a network of intervals or photographic frames. Fundamentally, Warburg produced a *knowledge-montage* concentrated in a dynamism of movement, an attraction-repulsion between the objects and the anthropological levels from which these objects emerged. In doing so, he helped pave the way to new modes of investigating images, specifically images bound by the emergence of cinematic time.

2. Bodies in Motion – Decomposing and capturing movements

In 1926-1927, Warburg gave a course at the University of Hamburg about Burckhardt and Nietzsche, presenting them as *seismographs*. The seismograph is an apparatus responsible for registering subterranean and invisible movements developed due to new recording techniques. Étienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904) in *La Methode Graphique* (1878) presented graphical methods for displaying and interpreting quantitative data from physiological measurement, besides being involved in the field of chronophotography. He also developed the chronophotographic gun, the ancestor of the movie camera, which could shoot twelve images per second. Marey chronophotography methods circumscribed a relation between transmitting and recording the movement continuously, making the transmission a physical prolongation of movement in real-time. Marey later resorted to what he called partial photographs (Figure 1), or the geometric method. This technique permitted capturing time and its effect on the body as it moved, paving the way for many studies on body movement.

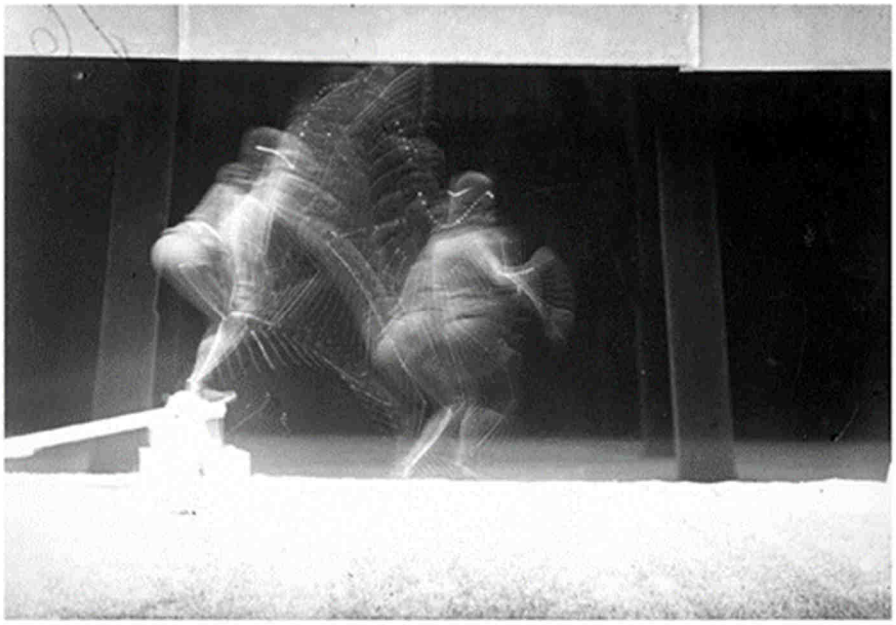

Fig. 1. Étienne-Jules Marey, *Jumping from a springboard: geometric markers* (France, 1886).
© Cinémathèque française (Chik, 2012).

The comparison of Burckhardt and Nietzsche by Warburg meant that they were subjects of an implied time receiving its mnemic waves, registering and embodying tensions between Apollo and Dionysus respectively, in its symptoms and resistances within their system of thought. Interestingly, Warburg's comparison with the seismograph brings forward a double meaning, the capacity to register the *pathos* of an era, and shows the technical transformations in image capture and production at the time. Notably, Burckhardt measured the complexity of times and thought of the Renaissance as a transitional period, a mixture of ancient and modern superstitions rather than a closed period of artistic creation. Didi-Huberman notes that before Warburg's notion of survival, Burckhardt presented the idea of "[…] vital remains (*lebensfähige rest*)" (2017: 46). Additionally, Nietzsche (1999) had an enormous influence on Warburg's thought about time, precisely *motion in time* and its relationships of *forces* between the Apolline and Dionysiac.

Furthermore, this play of forces is intertwined to displace the dialectical process of the opposites; the eternal return would return as difference – as a double phantom – inserting the possibility of liberation inside the dialectical process. This power would be the potency or plasticity of becoming. As Catherine Malabou exemplifies: "The production of the spectral double would be the Nietzschean reply — a non-dialectical one — to the dialectical resolution" (Malabou, 2010: 22). Warburg's concept of survival

(*nachleben*) and the conception of time in Nietzsche are correlated and present the oscillations that describe the displacements in the image. Warburg was interested in the materialised memory of an experience passed to posterity by artefacts and artworks, meaning that they would constitute a social memory. As such, the historian-seismograph does not merely capture visible moments but also transmits the invisible moments, the discontinuities of time, its anachronism, and survival. Moreover, the image may be said to beat or pulsate, and since it is neither wholly living nor dead, it becomes a haunting spectrum in its survival.

Additionally, Physicist Ernst Mach recorded sound graphically with his method of *schlieren* photography to visualised shock waves, presenting the results at the University of Vienna in 1887. Finally, Étienne-Jules Marey's assistant Lucien Bull (1876-1972) contributed with chronophotography and his dedication to high-speed cinematograph photographs. In 1904, he invented the Stereoscopic Spark Drum Camera to capture large-scale stereoscopic images of creatures in flight. His invention did not operate on a shutter; instead, inside his camera, a drum was driven by an electric motor that could record up to 2000fps. Lucien Bull's motivation for his stereoscopic pursuit was "[…] because it makes animated projections more alive" (Bull, 1997: 165). These examples show that the bodies' survival or capture contained an animist belief that gained propulsion with the first apparatuses and optical toys that allowed movement and live-action recording. Before that, in 1839, the daguerreotype seemed to capture the pictorial reality; however, the disappearance of figures in the image composition was the direct result of the non-disappearance of transitory states. As Michaud (2004) argues, photography an appearance of mobility by pushing movement out of the medium since the result is a static frame. By 1889, celluloid supply and the dry emulsion with wet collodion made transparency and the decomposition of movement possible, which paved the way to develop animation and films.

2.1. Mediated Body on Film

In 1893, the first film production studio, Edison's Black Maria, started functioning to make film strips with Kinetoscope. In the following year, W.K.L. Dickson produced *Film Experimenting with Sound,* and the idea of creating a complete simulacrum of the living started to gain its form. In addition, theatre performances heavily inspired the first attempts to record human beings. Already, in the analysis of portraits, Warburg

noted that what mattered was not only the mimetic capability but the fact that the image would become an intermediate state between the living and the dead, that is, its Effigy. Furthermore, the capacity to record and reproduce movement and sound impacted the image as an intermediate state between the living and the dead since now it was possible to record a person or any living creature with many details for posterity. Additional examples are the studies regarding motion in *Animals in Motion* (1898) by Eadweard Muybridge and Edison's image and sound projection idea of unifying and preserving a complete simulacrum of the living.

Warburg explored the relation between theatre and performance and analysed the *Intermedi* spectacles, which are dramatic spectacles inspired in Antiquity by Giovanni de 'Bardi (1589). Bernardo Buontalenti was the costume designer and machinist who redesigned the stage using machinery to produce unusual special effects by manipulating perspective and framing a proscenium to the original decoration. "Each pair of machines is driven by a single device – undoubtedly located under the stage – which allows them to move simultaneously" (Bino, 2003: 261). Eisenstein identifies the proscenium as one of the first manifestations of the cinematographic space, creating a different link between the spectator and the stage. In the analysis of the *Intermedi* spectacles, Warburg also argued that an iconographic tradition could not be fully understood apart from the dialogue that images have with other forms of representation. "It need not be reduced to the simple transposition of literary and visual elements but should open itself up to the idea of the transformation of bodies into images and images into bodies" (Michaud, 2004: 148). Notably, the theatrical action in which the mythological figures represented in the paintings suddenly would become embodied on the stage in characters that are flesh and blood characters.

Human movement and dance analysis became highly influential in early film productions, helping develop visual formats in different countries. One important example is the connection between Loïe Fuller, Japanese dance/theatre promotion, and the film form. Loïe Fuller (1862-1928) developed the *Serpentine Dance*, giving movement to a graphic pattern – the serpentine line – widely discussed in the aesthetics of visual arts. The emergence of Japanese theatre in Europe started with the performances of Kawakami Otojirō (1864-1911), starring his wife, Sada Yacco (1871-1946), at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 in Paris. Following their success, Fuller would later partner with Otojirō to make a one-year tour from London, crossing Europe

in 1901. The Japanese plays also featured Fuller serpentine dance between the scenes or at the show's end, which Scholz-Cionca (2016: 53) refers to as "*Japonisme*", relying on juxtaposition and contrasts. Similarly, 明治の日本(*Meiji no Nihon,* 1877-1899), a film anthology made by Constant Girel, Gabriel Veyre, and Shibata Tsunekichi (1850-1929), explored the encounter with dancers, shamisen players, and *Kabuki* theatre actors. The movie 紅葉狩 (*Momijigari*, *Maple Leaf Viewing*, 1899), shot by Shibata Tsunekichi, also explores kabuki actors performing a scene from *Momijigari*.

This pattern of mixing mediated bodies, from performing arts to film, was one trademark of the early twentieth century. One more example is the silent short movie *Annabelle Butterfly Dance* (Figure 2) that was produced by the Edison Manufacturing Company, featuring the popular serpentine dance performed by Annabelle Moore. The short movie frames bring this double fold of transforming bodies into images and images into bodies through the filmed performance. In contrast, the film materiality and the hand-coloured version bring forward a body of their own.

Fig. 2. *Annabelle Butterfly Dance* (USA, 1897). **© Library of Congress.**

In 1923, Warburg delivered a lecture about the Pueblo Indians' serpent ritual at the Bellevue clinic in Kreuzlingen sanatorium, where he was since 1921 due to his traumatic experience in the First World War. In this lecture, Warburg recounted his travels to America in 1894, to the Hopi villages in New Mexico and Arizona, where he watched the ritual dances of the Pueblo Indians. Since Warburg could not witness the serpent ritual of the Walpi and Oraibi, his lecture content was based on descriptions published by Jesse Walter Fewkes and Henry R. Voths. For Warburg, the serpent rituals showed the connection between images, symbology, and their anthropological function. Since the discovery of the *Laocoön* statue in 1506, the thematic of incorporating the man into the animal has been reproduced and stylised in a gestural and physiognomic tragic sublimity, producing a survival of the past in its *pathos*. "It is very clear that the proximity of the human and the animal constitutes an essential motif of the *Laocoön*, but this is also true of the American Indian ritual studied by Warburg" (Didi-Huberman, 2017:140).

The *Lacoon and His Sons* motif has spread in different cultures and reappeared in other contexts, such as in the interpretation made by Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-1889) for the book of *Kyōsai Gadan* (Figure 3) which consisted of anatomic studies created to teach his students. "However, the *Kyōsai Gadan* also freely draws on sources from nearly all schools of Japanese painting for this purpose, from medieval times to the nineteenth century, in addition to Chinese and Western examples" (Jordan, 2003:96). The publication of painting manuals was a common practice in the 1880s; however, *Kyōsai Gadan* was unusual because it contained the painting manual, Kyōsai autobiography, and even included English texts explaining painting and colours.

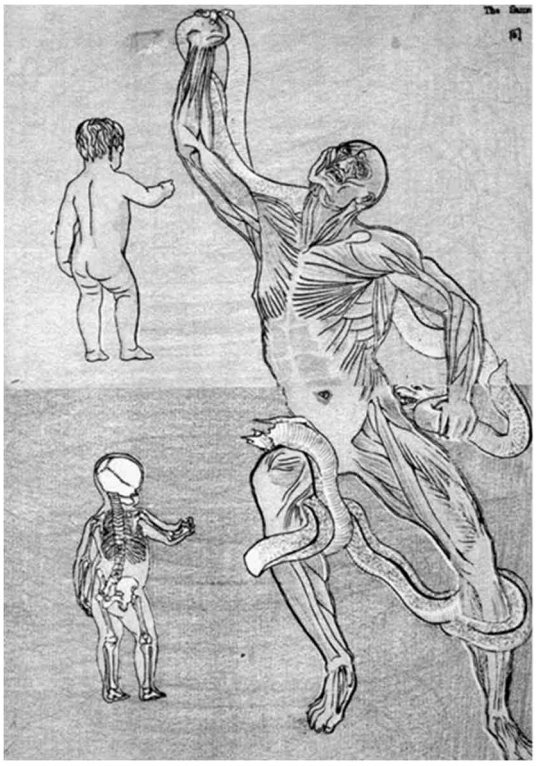

Fig. 3. Drawing based on Lacoon and His Sons, Kyōsai Gadan, vol.1, (Japan, 1887). **© Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-1889), Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum** (Jordan, B. G., 2003: 97).

In Japan during the Meiji Era (1868-1912), the government policy was to increase industrial modernisation, including improving technical excellence in the arts. So, in a sense, Kyōsai embraced his historical period, but he also strived for artistic excellence in his teachings. Interestingly, the serpent and the human body composition are added to the manual to pass on to his students. "These simulacra are interconnected, however loosely, circulating the object's obdurate persistent self, providing partial glimpses of the sculpture in tacit knowledge that something solid exists *out there* worthy of continuing attention" (Brilliant, 2000: 96). In this sense, the interval between the artworks and their motifs can survive and assume different representational forms and ways of connection. Particularly the graphic elements of this example anticipate the manga boom that would come at the beginning of the twentieth century in Japan.

It was after his return from the Kreuzlingen that Warburg started working on the *Mnemosyne Atlas*. Michaud (2004) also noted that when Warburg took a photograph of a girl with a water bearer in *Laguna*, he recognised the common motif of the Western tradition that painters such as Domenico Ghirlandaio and Botticelli had depicted as the allegory of fecundity. The conception of image attraction and repulsion, that the

unlikely anachronic comparison of the Native American rituals and sixteenth-century Florentine culture dynamic appears as a juxtaposed analogy of Warburg's work. The panel's themes of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* were diverse, exploring various subjects, from classic cosmology to the afterlife of classical values in Renaissance, quattrocento art, Baroque, and its final inversions, advertisement, and transubstantiation of themes.

> In the centre of panel 79 Warburg includes photographs of a Eucharist parade following the signing of the Lateran Treaty in 1929, an event that formalized the Church's resignation of political power in return for the state's institution of Catholicism. In the bottom lower right side of the plate, Warburg placed a newspaper photograph of a train crash in which a priest offers last rites to a dying victim. (Angel, 2011: 267)

The result of *Mnemosyne Atlas* depended exclusively on photographs and the interval placed among them throughout the panels. Specifically, on the last panel, number 79, there are photographs and newspaper clips, a sort of recapitulation of his earlier work dedicated to the cultural output of superstition. Also, in panel 79, close to the image of *Chair of St. Peter* (1647-1653) from Gian Lorenzo Bernini, there is an image of Japanese *Harakiri* (*Seppuku*), and next to it another image depicting Japanese corporal punishment. Reasonably close to the Roman and Japanese images, a newspaper clipping showed the Locarno Treaty (1925) signing that secured the end of the First World War. In a sense, the political and religious aspects of the Eucharistic parade and the bodily punishments in Japanese depictions become a symbolic phenomenon to be witnessed by the masses. The connection between the masses and institutionalised violence explores the fears that led Warburg to madness due to his experience in the First World War.

Eerily, it also predicts the survival of war predicaments that would come to be in the Second World War. "Like Burckhardt and Nietzsche – and like Freud, too – Warburg saw no way to understand civilization other than through its illnesses, its symptoms, and its dark continents" (Didi-Huberman, 2017: 90). The last panel shows how Warburg sought to capture the *pathos* of a civilisation in its momentous turmoil or decay, paying attention to its transitory states. In this sense, Warburg was also a seismograph of his time, capturing how bodies turned into images and how images turned into bodies at the beginning of the twentieth century.

3. From Stillness to Animated Images

Moving image formats have transformed body representation possibilities and the perception of time with different techniques (such as acceleration, slow-motion, reversal and loops, stop-motion, among others), with their variations of *montage* between image and sound. By producing a simulacrum of the body and giving power to the inanimate to become alive, the relation between *pathos* and *montage* constitutes one of the most important movements in the early twentieth century. What makes movement possible from stillness to animated images is the interval between images. In a sense, the wonder triggered by the in-between frames in animation comes from a fundamental *manipulation of time*, the production of the instant. "In media technology, time itself becomes one of several variables that can be manipulated" (Krämer, 2006: 96). From the different styles of the moving image, animation reveals the single frame and the reanimation of the static image fundamentally. Time manipulation and the recomposition of images produce *pathos* or affection targeted to the audience, particularly in the similarities and differences that had arisen between European, American, and Japanese conceptions of moving images, specifically in the establishment of animation as a genre.

Philippe Gauthier analysed when animated cartoons started to be recognised as a film genre. Gauthier followed André Gaudreault's proposition that the early days of cinema were dominated by kine-attractography – trick films and experimental films – followed by the paradigm of institutional cinema. In this sense, in the beginning, animation and trick films shared a common space until the eventual differentiation of animation as a genre within the cinema institution. Although, before 1908, optical toys and animated strips were pervasive – Emile Reynaud's projected a moving strip of images using the Praxinoscope in 1892, three years before Lumière's premiere; and *Humorous Phases of Funny Faces* by Stuart Blackton's was released in 1906 – additionally trick films and effects were used in a variety of movies, such as *Le Manoir du diable* (*The House of the Devil*, 1896), by Georges Méliès and later in John Bray's first film, *Artist's Dream* (1913).

The proximity was also spatial since there was a regular exhibition of trick films/animation among live-action films but also: "[…] because they shared a certain fascination with movement and a pronounced taste for mix-ups, surprise, and shock, but also especially because they were based on relatively similar technical procedures"

(Gauthier, 2011:165). The similarity between the technical procedures such as stop-camera and frame-by-frame compositions allowed sudden appearances and disappearances while the actors remained frozen, and the manipulation of objects to give the impression of life and produce trick effects. These tricks films astonished audiences, but within time, their novelty faded and then evolved to be later recognised as animation.

George Méliès placed great importance on the novelty of cinema, responding to the revelation of filmmaking techniques in the public press, especially to the series of articles written by Gustave Babin published in L'Illustration in 1908. "You destroy the fruits of your labour since you have destroyed the illusion that was your whole goal in composing the trick […]. Nothing is more difficult than the perfect and artistic execution of a well-tricked view" (Méliès, 2010:57). By the late 1920s, the trick film concept gave away the establishment of animation as a genre. In that year, Edwin George Lutz published *Animated Cartoons*, talking in length about the animated form. However, during the first half of the twentieth century, the definition of animation became stagnated. Since animation could do things live-action could not, it came to be assumed that it should do only these things. Thus, in a generalised sense, animation was marginalised under the umbrella of cinema, and with the advent of television, it was categorised as a children's genre.

The optical toys and the moving image composition had a specific development in Japan. Specifically, the *Utsushi-e,* or magic lantern, was brought by Tejima Seiichi, who returned to Japan in 1874 after studying in the United States. Several magic lantern attractions occurred under the rubric *Eiga tenrenkai* (Projection-Image Exhibition). Edison's kinetoscope made its debut in Japan in 1896, and Lumières' cinematographer in 1897. However, it was not until the 1910s that moving pictures and magic lanterns gained widespread popularity. The magic lantern shows and early cinema in Japan worked in terms of attraction and spectacles, or *misemono*, literally *making images seen*. Of course, animations from the United States and France were considerable influences in the first half of the twentieth century; however, in Japan, different trajectories ended up producing divergent ways of making moving images. "In other words, in the time of early cinema and even into the era of silent film in Japan, the magic lantern and the movie projector remained side by side, situated vis-à-vis one another, not definitively separable into distinct domains of performance, address, or exhibition" (Lamarre, 2011: 130).

The magic lantern and even silent film conception pre-date the history of puppet theatre and mechanised dolls, such as *Bunraku* or *Ningyō jōruri*. This art establishes itself between the real and the unreal. The dramatic *pathos* appears in the oscillation of moments in which the dolls seem to come to life and in others in which the illusion is interrupted. Thus, we perceive the abilities of the puppeteer. Additionally, similarly to Méliès, Makino Shōzō also used trick films techniques such as cut-out and multiple exposures in his films depicting *Ninjutsu*, or martial arts. Tsuburaya Eiji is said to have acquired trick photography technology that is the basis of Makino Shōzō movies under Edamasa Yoshirō, inheriting an appreciation for camera realism.

In its early forms, animation circulated in popular niches, such as the *Manga Taikai* (Animation and Manga Program) shows featuring various foreign and Japanese animations and films. There was also *10 sen manga gekijo* (Manga Theatre for 10 cents), which showed animations at low prices. The first generation of animators in Japan included three pioneers – Shimokawa Ōten (1892-1973), Kōuchi Junichi (1886-1970), both cartoonists, and Kitayama Seitarō (1888-1945), a painter who collaborated with art magazines of the time. In 1917, Kitayama Seitarō produced the animation さるかに合戦 (*Battle of a Monkey and a Crab*), Kōuchi Junichi produced なかむら刀 (*The Dull Sword*), and Shimokawa Ōten produced 芋川椋三玄関番の巻 (*Imokawa Mukuzo, the janitor*). All three worked in early film studios; Shimokawa at the *Tennenshoku Katsudō Shashin Studio,* abbreviated as Tenkatsu, Kōuchi at the *Kobayashi Shōkai Studio,* and Kitayama at the *Nikkatsu Mukojima Photography Office*, which he would later leave to work on his animation studio around 1921.

The first animations by Shimokawa Ōten (1892-1973) and by Yamamoto Sanae were produced technically by using chalk on a blackboard, capturing the drawings, erasing them, and then repeating the process until they obtained the necessary frames. Later, Shimokawa Ōten moved to paper, availing distinct backgrounds on which he drew the characters and which gave greater control over the use of lines with the aid of lighting from an improvised light-box (Shimokawa, 1934; Litten, 2017). Kitayama and Kōuchi also experimented with paper animation and cut-out animation. Tsugata Nobuyuki (2013) noted that from these three pioneers, Kitayama stood out for his ability to establish a mass-production system that ensured greater flow and circulation. "In contrast, Kitayama produced animated shorts with an average output of ten animations per year. In 1921, he established the Kitayama Film Studio, the first

Japanese studio specializing in animation" (Tsugata, 2013:26). The second generation of animators consisted of Yamamoto Sanae (1898-1981), Ōfuji Noburō (1900-1961), and Murata Yasuji (1896-1966). Yamamoto Sanae apprenticed at Kitayama's studio before directing 兎と亀 (*The Hare and the Tortoise*, 1924), and also collaborated with Murata Yasuji, who had his debut with 猿蟹合戦 (*Yasuji Murata's Monkey and the Crabs*, 1927), using cut-out animation.

The collage and cut-out techniques used in the early animations consisted of filming the movements of the cut-outs on a frame-by-frame background that allowed flattened movements of the characters in the various directions of the frame. Because the characters moved in a flattened manner, the audience had the impression of two dimensions even with continuous attempts to manipulate the background to produce an apparent depth. Ōfuji Noburō was one of the animators who explored and expanded the techniques of cut-out and collage, such as the animation お関所 (*At the Border Checkpoint*, 1930). He was initially apprenticed to Kōuchi Junichi and made his debut with the animation 馬具田代と盗賊 (*Burglars of Baghdad Castle*, 1926), a parody of the American film *The Thief of Baghdad* (1924), using the *chiyogami* technique. Animation in *chiyogami* is considered a trademark of the animator. Its process involves cutting *chiyogami* paper into various shapes and then composing them to produce a figure and reproduce its movement through stop-motion animation. Driven by critics of his style and a desire to pursue visual experimentation, Ōfuji tested the formats of American production to combine Japanese and American techniques. This context of combining aesthetic styles created different modes of composing images in Japanese animation.

3.1. Liveliness in Japanese Animation

In Japanese animation, numerous experimentations done with image composition with different timings, such as Limited Animation, Full Limited Animation, Hyper Limited Animation, among other types, were extensively analysed by Thomas Lamarre (2009). However, while the animation body has materiality and, at the same immateriality, they do not necessarily have to contain a direct referent. In this sense, the animation contains a potential for an agency in the order of the simulacrum since it breaks with the classic hierarchy between original and copy. It possesses a *plastic force,* using Nietzsche's term, or a *plasmatic* characteristic, as proposed by Sergei Eisenstein. The rejection of the restriction of form makes the animated body irreducible to the

dialectical process. It produces a charged *pathos* of movement that is the hallmark of the early twentieth century.

In animation production, the primary actions occur in the keyframes made by key animators. In-between animators usually make the secondary actions and subsequent movement. Finally, they complete the frames and produce minor movements, such as the effect of breeze, rhythmic patterns, and elements that create liveliness to the scenes and characters. According to Chow (2013), following Rudolf Arnheim's (1974: 400) thought, the concept of liveliness is about the complexity in the observed behaviour, ranging from simple movements to the complexity of an intentional being. However, the complexity of intentional movement creates liveliness rather than the idea of mind or soul inhabiting the animated body. In animation, liveliness would then correspond to primary and secondary liveliness, focusing on a particular progressive action and giving complex movement cues to the whole. "Japanese popular animation (called anime in the Western context) seems to present a balance of the two types of liveliness, both featured prominently from scene to scene" (Chow, 2013:58).

The balance between the two types of liveliness is observable in how timing and composition organised the image layers in different animation styles. For example, Limited Animation often leads to an average of 8 fps, making the primary action necessary and reserving secondary liveliness to the montage. On the other hand, the limited conditions give space for creative ways to give liveliness. Examples are be found in early animations such as 鉄腕アトム (*Astro Boy*, 1963-1964), マジンガーZ (*Mazinger Z*, 1972-1074), 新世紀エヴァンゲリオン(*Neon Genesis Evangelion*, 1995-1996). Limited Animation was also used interchangeably with Full Animation, giving birth to Full Limited animation. Different degrees of emphasis, movement cues, and affective perception were played using timing interchangeably between 8fps and 12fps or more. Examples are *Evangelion*, 攻殻機動隊 (*Ghost in the Shell*, 1995), among other animations.

Additionally, secondary liveliness has become even more critical with 3D CGI compositions. One example is the animation *Dragon Quest: Your Story* (2019), based on the series of video games *Dragon Quest.* In the animation, the dynamics of 3D compositing are balanced with camera movement that uses 2D animation solutions and camera angles to escape the hardening and awkwardness that 3D compositing can generate. Secondary liveliness is used to promote animation with better expressive quality and modality cues to attribute evocative and expressive qualities to the

characters and, consequently, to the narrative. There has been extensive research into the qualities of the gesture and irregularities of movement and representation to create liveliness in CGI environments. Specifically, Angela Tinwell (2014) has written extensively about the uncanny valley challenge in contemporary media.

In a sense, liveliness is related to a perception of intention, an organic-morphological dynamic within the image. Warburg *Dynamogram* is about discerning forms throughout history, specifically the forms of time which I would argue develops a quest towards the animated form. "This reading may doubtless be generalized even further: we might consider the dynamogram to be a constantly renewed hypothesis of the existence of a *form of forms within time*" (Didi-Huberman, 2017:109). Warburg's methodology is an interdisciplinary project, where Art History, Social Sciences, and Psychology interconnect to the art objects temporality. The dynamic of polarities and the residual survival of the image showed that the movement of the image is internal. However, in the case of the art forms that worked profoundly with movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, such as animation, the interchange between interval and movement became a symptom, a *pathos* intertwined with time.

> Warburgian iconology seeks to produce something like a *dialectical image of the relationships between images*. It works by disassembly [démontage]of the figurative continuum, by "shots" [fusées], of disjointed details, and by the reassembly [remontage] of this material in original visual rhythms. Warburg was famous, even before the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, for his lectures, in which, after a brief introduction, he shouted "Darkness!" (*Dunkel*) as a director shouts "Action!" He commented on the images from his seat in the darkened room, in the jerky rhythm of the successive images. Then he shouted "Light!" (*Licht*), concluded, and the session was finished. (Didi-Huberman, 2017: 326)

The knowledge-montage analysis becomes possible by a reawakening in oneself a series of experienced images and perceiving the relationship between the images. Images and representation modes can travel through time and are not limited to their geographical location. In a sense, an animated mode of thought aims to produce knowledge, meaning, and comprehend the internal life of images. The dynamism of forms reveals something about audience perception, mainly how humans organise their visual perception throughout the body, perceiving and re-enacting it. That is why Arnheim said that the dynamism perceived in the static images reveals something more profound. "We are dealing with the psychological counterpart of the physiological

processes that result in the organization of perceptual stimuli" (Arnheim, 1974: 438). Warburg understood that the visual images and the human psyche and body are deeply connected to the anthropological elements of historicity. In this sense, the perceived motion also relates to our experience of embodiment and how images have been challenging what a body can be or do. The key to these connections is the production and experience of *pathos*, which ultimately interconnects images and bodies.

4. Final considerations

The early twentieth century anticipated the coming dynamics in the space of visual images since the visual presence came to be understood as visual action, an internal movement of expression that became a bridge of knowledge, *pathos,* and bodily recomposition. Specifically, in the animated form, "[…] people make meaning of interactive dynamic presentation of images through sensory perception and motor action" (Chow, 2013: 85). Warburg was a forerunner of this scenario. Yet, although many studies have been made about his works, there are scarce connections between his conceptual work on potential movement, *pathos*, and anthropological context towards the animated image.

I believe it is a missed connection between Art History and New Media studies towards understanding the potentiality of animation and animated-based forms and the challenges they present in contemporary visual forms. However, with this in mind, perhaps these connections are correlated to a more profound stance, that is, where *pathos* and liveliness connect. That is why the technological struggles to appease the creation of digital bodies had to lure back the *gesture* and create graphic textures that connect images to the presence of a human body, actual or constructed. There are multiple ways to create images within the contemporary technological possibilities. Animation or images with animated base techniques intertwined cross the boundary between the original and imaginative even more strongly, mobilising the creation of *pathos* within the moving image and in the viewer's embodied understanding and sensation of *pathos*.

This article not only breaths from Warburg but also tries to follow his methodology towards animation, specifically in the idea of pathos/liveliness and use of composition in Japanese animation. In a similar manner to panel 79 in Mnemosyne Atlas, using both old and new art mediums, the transnational connections between artworks presented

in this article crafts ways that cultural forms and practices have travelled between anthropological scenarios. Finally, if body composition and capture play an essential role in creating aesthetic models in the early twentieth century, the digital body has not become the perfect simulacrum of living in contemporary times. Instead, it made it more evident that the represented body cannot be detached and can only exist as a continuum between images and us.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Angela LONGO *is a PhD candidate at the Graduate School of Global Arts, Department of Arts Studies and Curatorial Practices, at Tokyo University of the Arts with funding from the Japan Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science, and Technology (MEXT). She earned her Master Degree researching Japanese Animation from Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) in Brazil. She has bachelors degrees in Visual Arts from UFRGS, and in the course of Artistic Studies at the University of Coimbra, Portugal with funding from the Ministry of Education of Brazil.*