

- the puppet weeps, the hand holds the handkerchief away from its eyes; when the puppet kills, it stabs its opponent so delicately that the tip of the sword stops short of the breast; when one puppet slaps another, no colour comes off the face; when puppet lovers embrace, it is with such care that the spectator observing their carresses from a respectful distance does not think to question his neighbor about the consequences.”
- 145 As regards facial mimesis, I have often seen children listening to animated conversation, shape their faces to that of the speaker. People and higher primates can often be spied imitating each other’s facial expressions at the zoo.
- 146 Emphasizing the arbitrariness between puppet and voice can also be an attention-getting device in puppetry. Bogatyrev (1983: 61) wrote of knights in old Czech folk puppetry unexpectedly speaking Czech filled with grammatical errors while the peasants spoke Czech correctly.
- 147 Pinet’s parents spoke some Walloon to each other, though not to him. He has a passive knowledge of the language but does not claim to speak it fluently. He does, however, have a fairly strong regional accent and in order to receive his teaching degree was required to take a diction course to “improve” his French pronunciation. He disregards this linguistic training when speaking for Tchanchès and, instead, employs a code-switching variety with heavily regionalized French, typical of the character.
- 148 Tape 40:B
- 149 One of my informants told me that she never learned much in school because she had to fetch water for the household every morning before school which made her late every day. As soon as she arrived, the teacher would send her to stand in the corner with a book on her head for punishment. Needless to say, she quit school as soon as she could.
- 150 It is very common in the medieval and medieval-derived Christian literature to lump together god and prophet names from diverse religions and to refer to all non-Christians as pagans. In the *Song of Roland*, Saracen gods are variously referred to as Tervagant, Muhammad and Apollo.
- 151 This is not a purely created effect in the Liège puppet theater. Battles are often physically exhausting for the puppeteer, so the voices he performs directly after a battle often show the increased breathiness indicative of a wildly pumping heart.
- 152 Bayard figures prominently in Walloon folklore. Depressions in the soil are often known as Bayard’s footprints (Piron 1946).
- 153 See Ehrenreich (1997) for a discussion of humankind’s transformation from prey to predator and the primordial fear of wild beasts that persists in the human psyche. This fear is exploited in many puppet shows for children where Tchanchès fights wild animals and wins.
- 154 For instance, Orson and Valentine has been a popular play for several generations of puppeteers, but it wasn’t until I read the 19th century booklet from which the play was written that I realized that it was about the life of Saint Valentine. The final scene where he is beatified had been excised from the contemporary play.
- 155 The evil cleric is a common character in the puppet theater.
- 156 In this mass, the priest pointed out that Christ was raised in a “working class” family.
- 157 I experienced the disjuncture of official portrayal and personal memories of war when I convinced my father to return to Belgium where he had been a soldier during World War II. Standing in front of the American cemetery, the white crosses seemed to stretch on forever. It was hard to imagine a body under each one. They still show up outside the well-manicured cemeteries from time to time, buried in the Ardennes forest. The dead soldiers also began

- showing up in my father's memory where they had been shut out for fifty years. There was no room for them in the official discourse of heroes born of one nation lending a hand to another to free the world from fascism. Whereas before I had only heard about his experience during World War II as well ordered tales of culture contact, I began to hear of the confusion of a battlefield, illegal murders, the terror of running for your life, the loss of friends.
- 158 Battles are common in traditional puppetry throughout the world. The Ramayana and Mahabarata form the keystone of puppetry traditions in India and Indonesia, and fighting is commonplace. Even in the glove puppet traditions in Europe which do not perform epic material, fighting is a trademark of the popular characters, Guignol and Punch, both of whom carry a big stick (the origin of the term slapstick) for clubbing their opponents. Dufour once told me that the problem with the Nativity and Passion Plays was that there were no battles, so children got bored. He was able to insert battles in the Massacre of the Innocents section of the Nativity, but couldn't figure out where to put battles in the Passion play, so he just stopped performing it.
- 159 *...nous autres Belges, nous ne pourrions former une nation particulière, n'ayant ni frontières naturelles, comme l'Angleterre, ni température distincte comme les Italiens ou les Russes, ni langue générale à nous comme les Français ou les Allemands. Et nous devrions donner gain de cause à ces accapareurs de pays que voudraient nous tenir sous leur serre, si nous n'avions pour nous notre passé, tout plein de grands faits, d'éclatantes actions, de guerres, de révolutions, de récits tristes ou glorieux, notre passé de tant de siècles, la seule asise véritable sur laquelle nous puissions baser la nationalité qu'on ne nous contestera plus peut-être, si nous disons que les trois grands hommes qui ont le plus remué le monde depuis Jules-César jusqu'à Napoléon, sont nés sur notre sol: Charlemagne, Godefroi de Bouillon et Charles-Quint! Trinité puissante, qui est toute une épopée à elle seule. Certes! l'histoire peut donner la nationalité à un peuple à qui la nature a refusé les éléments ordinaires de nationalité: la Belgique est là pour le prouver. Jules de Saint-Genois (1837).*
- 160 To quote Jean-Marie le Pen, "For two thousand years, essentially the same people have posed the same dangers to us. Aren't the Iranian mujahidin the descendants of the Persians who were defeated at Marathon; isn't the Islamic World, now striking at Europe's frontiers and slowly penetrating her, composed of the sons of the Ottoman Turks who reached Vienna, and the Arabs who Charles Martel routed at Poitiers?" (*Le monde*, April 4, 1987, quoted in Stora (1992: 217).
- 161 On July first, 1903, Emile Vandervelde of the Belgian Workers' Party denounced the barbarous treatment of the native population of the Independent State of the Congo. He insisted that while it might be technically true that Belgium did not have a legal relationship with the Congo, the king used the Belgian army to accomplish his tasks down there. Therefore he called on the people of Belgium to protest the forced labor, taking of hostages, killing, cutting off hands, etc. that was being practiced in the hunger for rubber and ivory. One way to break with the reputation of Leopold's Congo was for Belgium to take over the colony which it did on November 18, 1908. Soon thereafter "colonialism" became a chapter in primary school history texts.
- 162 Language was a tool in the missionary endeavor and the White Fathers published a Kiswahili grammar and a French-Kiswahili dictionary about the same time that the Congo Free State was established in 1884 (Fabian 1986: 13).
- 163 This shifting of terms for the Other into different categories appears to be quite common. Courtney Lonergan told me of a football game in Idaho when a young White male called the

- White announcer who was annoying him a “nigger.” People who were there with Black friends gave him angry looks and he appeared embarrassed by what he had said, as if it hadn’t occurred to him that his epithet might be offensive to people around him. Later that evening, they were in the same drinking establishment and he bought the Black spectators and their friends drinks.
- 164 After Engels told me which famous characters were black, brown or yellow, he had me try to guess the “race” of another puppet. After I gave up, he told me it was a Caucasian from the Caucasus. He said that you could tell by the turn of the nose, the mustache and the shape of the chin (Tape 134:A).
- 165 This sentiment is echoed a 1914 poem by Jules Destrée, a leader of the Walloon movement, that compares Liège to Thermopylae.
- 166 I ran across this reference in Kotek’s article on Tintin as a Belgian myth of replacement. Kotek claims that Norbert Wallez was Hergé’s spiritual father and never hesitated to denounce the “*chefs de la finance judéo-germano-américaine*” (1995: 283).
- 167 In 1936 Rex received almost 30% of the vote in parts of Wallonia. By 1939 its popularity had declined considerably (Conway 1996).
- 168 They noted that doors of workers and the petty bourgeois opened more quickly than doors of the rich and well-placed (Tetelbaum 1995: 17).
- 169 *...ce n’est pas un critique, hein, mais la génération actuelle n’a plus la même force physique que la génération précédente. C’était un homme avec ses 5 filles mais c’étaient des femmes (gestures big) une tête plus grande que moi et d’une fois plus large que moi... Vous autres les jeunes actuellement vous êtes très grands – en hauteur, pas en largeur, hein. Vous êtes très minces, toujours minces. Avant, on ne s’occupait pas de la ligne et de la diététique. Seulement on possédait de la force physique que vous autres les jeunes vous avez peine à vous imaginer...maintenant on fait beaucoup de jogging, et beaucoup de marche tous les samedis. Tous les dimanches les gens font des marches 5, 10, 20 kilomètres et ils ont des médailles. Ils sont très fiers, hein. Mais moi, rien que moi sans parler de mon père et de mes oncles et de mon/mes grands-pères, tous les jours avant la guerre, à partir de l’âge de 16 ans jusque, oui jusqu’à l’âge de 19 ans, à Liège on faisait chaque jour 20 km aller-retour à pied pour aller travailler, aller et revenir et puis j’étais encore 8 heures debout devant une machine d’imprimerie et on trouvait ça tout à fait normal, je n’avais pas une médaille tous les jours parce que je faisais mes 20 km à pieds ça!* Victor Termonia, Tape 21:B
- 170 Liège women in the last century had a reputation for being very strong. They carried large loads in baskets on their backs and pulled wagons of coal from the mines and even boats along the canals.
- 171 Jan Martijn told me of a Flemish puppeteer’s wife who never spoke, but she would manipulate the puppets and mouth the words throughout the performance
172. This saying is not restricted to Liège by any means. While I have not done a systematic study, I have come across versions of the saying in both France and Italy.
- 173 Other people would concur with this explanation. When I worked in the vineyard of a count in France, my fellow workers pointed out how tall the visiting nobles were. Nevertheless, I believe the size differential among puppets is an artifact of language, not nutrition.
- 174 *L’ancien montreur de marionnettes, la plupart, je ne dirais pas tous, mais je dis la plupart...c’était des gens assez bizarres si tu veux. Voilà... par exemple...Tu allais lui donner un coup de main. Il acceptait que tu lui donnes un coup de main, mais pour lui, tu ne lui avais pas rendu service. C’est lui qui t’avait fait l’honneur de prendre dans son théâtre.*

- 175 In a study done on language attitudes among Flemish and Walloon secondary school students, “pride” was listed as the first ingroup stereotype for Walloon students and as the first outgroup stereotype for Flemings about Walloons. This attribute only appeared in fourth place (ingroup) and fifth place (outgroup) when referring to Flemings (Laine, Van Leeuwen, Spoelders 1994: 83).
- 176 At the time of the First International, anarchists were dominant in Wallonia.
- 177 Confused by “*La mâle*,” I called on Carleton Carroll who sent my request for clarification to other scholars of medieval French. One plausible explanation offered by Sam Rosenberg is that it is an elliptical form of “*La male fest/eglise (de) St. Martin*” with the added circumflex being a post-medieval respelling.
- 178 Talbot, Chapter 2 of *La Mâle St. Martin* script, p. 5.
- 179 Talbot, Chapter 2 of *La Mâle St. Martin* script, p. 18.
- 180 Dufour Tape 128:B
- 181 One year later this uprising was commemorated in a Walloon play, “*Li 18 Mâs ou lès martyrs di l’ovrière*” (The 18th of March or the martyrs of work) (Havelange, Hélin and Leboutte 1994: 285).
- 182 The puppet history literature is full of stories about the rebellious nature of puppeteers and puppet shows. Guignol players in Lyon, protesting the conditions of silk workers often set up portable theaters at the head of *traboules* or covered alleyways where they could escape when someone signaled that the police were coming. Leach (1985) argues that the wife, hangman and devil who are all killed by Punch represent the three prongs of social control — family, state and religion — and that the violence of the show reflected the violence of society against the nascent industrial working class.
- 183 I should add here, that I gained close to ten pounds over my first year of fieldwork in Liège.
- 184 In one of Dufour’s introductory conversations between Tchantchès and the audience, he pokes fun at a man in the audience who Tchantchès accuses of having conveniently left before his turn to pay for the round of drinks in the local café.
- 185 Tape 64:A
- 186 Oddly enough, Belgium’s own ex-colony of the Congo ranked eleventh in size of foreign communities in Belgium in 1993 (INS).
- 187 I never saw anyone in Liège wearing the working man’s blue smock and red neckerchief except in folkloric events. Then, they were likely to say that they were dressed like Tchantchès. Between the two wars, when Dufour was young, carpet sellers from North Africa were common in Wallonia (Doppagne 1977: 63).
- 188 A version of this section can be found in Gross (1999).
- 189 12/22/82 Tape 135:B
- 190 Marie Thérèse Bettonville-Counet informed me that she has also heard the expressions, “*des mots à deux nonante-cinq*” and “*à quatre nonante-cinq*” with an understood monetary value (francs or centimes).
- 191 Meanwhile, Dufour was teaching his trade to his favorite assistant, the son of Italian immigrants. When Ficarrota finally took over after Dufour’s stroke, the Museum of Walloon Life kept Dufour’s name on the program for several seasons. They told me it was for name recognition, but I suspected that there might have been a reluctance at the Museum to have an Italian name advertised as presenting traditional Liège puppet plays. See Bloommaert and Verschueren (1991) for the way in which immigrants figure into official Belgian discourse.