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“Oh, never mind about the clothes,
they're easily changed.” – Costumes and
identities in *Doctor Who* (1982-1989).

Yorick Sarrail-Dupont

Sous la direction de M. le Professeur Laurent Mellet

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Introduction

The field of film studies has been steadily rising in the academic world in the last few decades, with more and more academical books and articles being written on its various facets. Some of the theories are similar, or inspired by, parallel literature theories that exist as well; due to the difference between the two mediums, there are also ideas that are specific to film studies. Most of these specific works tend to concentrate on the structure of films, such as narratology for instance, rather than on the aesthetics. This difference is even more visible in works on television studies, where the focus seems to be on characters and their evolution within a given show; recent works have been focused on the relationship between a fandom and their favourite show. However, the visual look of a television show is very rarely discussed, even to support the points given above. And, when it is discussed, there is one topic in particular that is often left behind: the study of the costumes the various characters are wearing, and the meaning of these particular outfits, their evolution, or their destruction and sometimes replacement by a different outfit.

It does not mean that the study of costumes, or the study of clothing, has never been tackled before. On the contrary, there are authors that have discussed the subject before, with most of the study focusing on clothes in a particular frame, most of the time in a given historical or social setting. Alison Lurie, in her book *The Language of Clothes*, discusses what she calls “the language of dress” on the back cover. She looks at clothes in a linguistic fashion, writing that “[...] if clothing is a language, it must have a vocabulary and a grammar like other languages”¹. *The Language of Clothes* proceeds to analyse this language based on previous fashion theories (such as what is called Laver's Law, a theory crafted in 1937 by James Laver to define how a given costume will be seen throughout the years²) or adapting Thorstein Veblen's theories of “conspicuous consumption” and “conspicuous leisure”³. However, this book focuses only on outfits and clothes in history and real life. The depiction of clothes and fashion in arts is seldom, if ever, mentioned, and only kept to paintings; characters in films and the outfits they are wearing are never studied.

¹ Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, London, Hamlyn, 1982, 4.

²For instance, a given costume will be “Daring” one year before its time, or “Indecent” ten years before its time.

The same costume will be “Dowdy” one year after its time, or “Hideous” ten years after its time.

³See *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, T. Veblen, 1899.

If Alison Lurie concentrates on real life clothes and outfits, Anne Hollander's work concentrates on outfits as represented in art – *Seeing Through Clothes* deals with art and its history. Two chapters of this book, in particular, can be considered for the theoretical framework of this essay. “Costume” focuses on costumes within the worlds of theatre and opera; Hollander puts an emphasis on how important they are, as “the human beings must appeal personally to the spectator so that the drama has meaning. This is the only way an audience can be transported to mountain heights or palace precincts – by identification with the human figures he sees in these places”⁴. More importantly, Hollander makes the distinction between two types of costumes: she argues that there is a theatrical costume and a dramatic costume, and proceeds to compare the two and highlight their differences. She writes: “Essentially, a theatrical costume is an expansion of the performer's own self, whereas a dramatic costume transforms him completely into a character”⁵. At first sight, it would be evident to assume that the definition of the dramatic costume fits the subject of this study more closely than the definition of the theatrical costume for, as we are going to demonstrate later, each Doctor has a given costume that marks him as that particular character. Later on, Hollander provides another definition of what a costume is according to her:

“It has given subsequent theatrical history one of its most basic concepts of “costume” - that of an outfit that is neither a disguise nor a vehicle of dramatic sense but a special stage suit, instantly recognizable as such, even before its historical or symbolic indications register in the eye of the beholder.”⁶

Finally, a last element worth noting is how Hollander highlights what proves to be a regular occurrence within the field of costume studies: “In the titles the name of the character being portrayed was often omitted (at least in the seventeenth century), and only the performer's name appeared – sometimes the engraver's, too – but certainly never the costume designer's.”⁷. This omission of the costume designer's name, and authorship and importance, sometimes proves to be the deciding factor behind the ideas of some of the works referenced later in this essay, such as Piers D. Britton's works.

⁴ Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, U. of California, 1993, 244.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 250.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 262

⁷ *Ibid.*, 253

In order to find elements of theory and analysis concerning costume in films, the field that has been explored the most is certainly the historical film. It is, for instance, the only category of films that is mentioned in Lurie's Costume chapter referenced above, as she discusses the various representations of Queen Elizabeth I and how, although the costume worn by the actress appeared to be historical, it actually changed throughout the decades to also reflect the current fashion of that time. It is also one of the subjects tackled in Andrew Higson's *English heritage, English cinema: costume drama since 1980*.

Andrew Higson is the author of *English Heritage, English Cinema: Costume Drama since 1980* (2003). Since the title of the book hints at an analysis of a given genre where costume is important enough to appear in its name, the reader might expect the book to deal with the subject of costume itself. Yet, in his book, Andrew Higson decides to put an emphasis on the heritage value of costume drama, and only briefly mentions costumes throughout the book. In his definitions of “historical film” and “costume drama”, Higson states that: “The historical film is often understood to comprise films that depict actual figures from history, in their historical context. The costume drama label, on the other hand, is sometimes reserved for films that present fictional characters in historical settings.”⁸. This is the first definition Higson gives of costume drama, and, as stated above, the emphasis is clearly not on the costume, its value or its role within the drama. Higson bases himself on the notions of “historical” and “fictional” in order to highlight the differences between both genres. The costume drama is the only genre that incorporates fictional elements (here, characters) in historical settings. But none of these notions are aesthetic notions – since they deal with the way the drama is shaped, it would be more accurate to say that these notions have a narratological impact on the drama. Costume is left out of the definition of “costume drama”, and the definition of “costume drama” is itself unable to exist without the definition of “historical film”; it is not a coincidence if, throughout his book, Higson prefers “heritage drama” to the term “costume drama”.

In his chapter “Mapping the Field”, which serves as a global introduction on the subject of his book, Higson references Stella Bruzzi's *Undressing Cinema: Clothing and Identity in the Movies* (Higson is not the only one to use Bruzzi as a reference). Higson's argumentation goes against Bruzzi's opinion that in costume films, clothes only have a diegetic function, as they are only on screen to symbolize the period in which the film takes place and nothing else.

⁸ Andrew Higson, *English heritage, English cinema: costume drama since 1980*, Oxford UP, 2003, 12.

Higson, on the contrary, argues that “At the most basic level, they play some part in establishing the class, gender, age, nationality, wealth, and taste of the character they adorn.”⁹. To Higson, costumes within the costume film have a symbolical function as well as a diegetic function – they are more than just a period marker.

While Higson's book was able to offer new, albeit small, insights on how costume are considered within an academic work, ultimately it also remains similar to a trend that is rather common: when costumes are mentioned, they are not mentioned for themselves, but they are used as an argument for (or against) a point. In Higson's case, costumes cannot exist independently to that notion of “heritage” that exists in British historical drama, which is one of the main subject of his book.

Undressing Cinema: Clothing and Identity in the Movies by Stella Bruzzi is often quoted as being one of the most important books when it comes to costume analysis in film. Written in 1997, the book mainly focuses on the notion of gender (something which is not uncommon in costume studies, as other books also use this angle to tackle the subject), and haute couture in films. It also references A. Lurie, or A. Higson and his theory of the “aesthetic of display” – showing how small the field of costume analysis is.

In the introduction and conclusion of *Costume and Cinema: Dress Codes in Popular Film*, Sarah Street talks about the challenges that costume analyses in films encountered. She quotes Pam Cook as saying “The marginalisation of costume design by film theorists is marked enough to be diagnosed as a symptom”¹⁰. Quoting Pamela Church Gibson, Sarah Street provides several reasons for this neglect, from “the assumption, help by many academics, that fashion is a frivolous, feminine field”¹¹ to “the opinion, held by some feminists, that fashion is one of the primary ways in which women are trapped into gratifying the male gaze”¹². She is also the only scholar to make a case for the analysis of costumes in television series:

“Another potentially productive area is a consideration of costumes in television. With its assumed affinity to realism, the mise-en-scène of television drama has rarely been examined with the thoroughness of film analysis. Yet costumes are a key element of television dramas, soaps, sitcoms and even the news. Just as in film they are carefully chosen to create a particular effect, and some,

⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹⁰ Sarah Street, *Costume and Cinema: Dress Codes in Popular Film*, London: Wallflower, 2002, 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1.

particularly sci-fi series such as *Star Trek*, *Dr Who* and *Red Dwarf*, utilize spectacular costumes which become mythologised in popular memory.”¹³

In terms of narration, the difference between the format of a television show and that of a film is highlighted by Jason Mittell, in his book *Complex TV: The Poetics of Contemporary Television Storytelling*, and in particular its first chapter, “Complexity in Context”. Within the first pages, he writes:

“Although certainly cinema influences many aspects of television, especially concerning visual style, I am reluctant to map a model of storytelling tied to self-containing feature films onto the ongoing long-form narrative structure of series television, where ongoing continuity and seriality are core features, and thus I believe we can more productively develop a vocabulary for television narrative on its own medium terms.”¹⁴

However, while Jason Mittell briefly mentions the cinema influence on what he calls “visual style”, he does not elaborate more on the subject and does not give examples of such influences.

Over the first pages of the book, Jason Mittell also proceeds to define what is a television series, and what its storytelling is. First, in the introduction, he writes that “A basic definition of television serial storytelling charts out this terrain: *a television serial creates a sustained narrative world, populated by a consistent set of characters who experience a chain of events over time*”¹⁵. Later on, in the first chapter, he writes: “Complex television employs a range of serial techniques, with the underlying assumption that a series is a cumulative narrative that builds over time, rather than resetting back to a steady-state equilibrium at the end of every episode”¹⁶. Both definitions highlight the importance of letting the narration build in time, with the second definition implying that the cliffhanger is an integral part of this narration – pushing the audience to come back for the next episode.

There has however been one article and one chapter written on the subject. Both were written by the same scholar, Piers D. Britton. In 1999, he wrote “Dress and the Fabric of the

¹³ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁴ Jason Mittell. *Complex TV: The Poetics of Contemporary Storytelling*. New York: UP, 2015. 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

Television Series: The Costume Designer as Author in Dr. Who”, an article whose main point is to argue the costume designer is an influential figure within a television show and “should be accorded the status of authors as surely as screen-writers or script-editors, for costume constitutes a visual ‘text’ which is often at least as potent as the screenplay”¹⁷, using *Doctor Who* as an example and more precisely the work of June Hudson in 1980. His introduction, as well as highlighting the lack of focus on design in research, focuses on the particular challenge of the television series for the designer. Rather than analysing the content of an episode, the article focuses on P. Britton’s interviews with June Hudson, and her inner process behind the creation of her costumes. Ideas from this article are also used in “Originality and Conservatism in the Imagery of Doctor Who”, the chapter written by P. Britton in *Reading Between Designs: Visual Imagery and the Generation of Meaning in The Avengers, The Prisoner, and Doctor Who*. In particular, the third part of the chapter, entitled “Skirting the issue: Dress and Gender Roles”, focuses on costumes; other parts are more concerned with design as a whole. P. Britton discusses the costumes of the various Doctors, and the costumes of most of their female companions – with only a reduced focus on the few male companions of the show. The chapter also contrasts the Doctors, whose costumes reference either “the professional authority or the upper class”¹⁸, and the female companions, with Polly Wright in the late 1960s “[establishing] the Doctor’s girl companions as an object of the male gaze”¹⁹. Yet, as his chapter focuses on an analysis developed around gender relations, the other aspects of the show (such as secondary characters) are not even mentioned.

Looking at the previous books and theories mentioned, it is not hard to find a major flaw that our study will have to complete. Almost every piece of art and every character mentioned does not correspond to the traditional format of a television show, but rather to the format of a film – that is, a piece where the intrigue takes place within the scope of the film, contrary to a television show where the intrigue unfolds in several episodes that are working together as a unit. The only texts mentioned above that are about costumes within the scope of a television show are elements that are either concentrating on the role of the costume designer as author (in the case of Britton's article), or concentrating only on the costumes worn by the

¹⁷ Piers J. Britton, *Dress and the Fabric of the Television Series: The Costume Designer as Author in Dr Who*”, *Journal of Design History*, 12:4, 1999, 345-356.

¹⁸ Piers D. Britton, “Skirting the Issue: Dress and Gender Roles” in Piers D. Britton and Simon J. Barker, eds., *Reading between Designs: Visual Imagery and the Generation of Meaning in The Avengers, The Prisoner and Doctor Who*, Austin, U. of Texas P., 2003, 131-196, 147.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 154.

main characters of the show without concentrating on *Doctor Who* as a whole (in the case of Britton's chapter).

With all these contextual elements in mind, the main goal of this essay will be to use what has previously been written in the fields of costume analysis (in *Doctor Who* and in films), clothes analysis and character definition and development, in order to assess the importance of costumes within the narrative world of *Doctor Who*: how are the characters impacted by the clothes they are given to wear? The first part of this essay will be concerned with the basics of *Doctor Who*: its vast history, the troubles encountered in the 1980s more specifically, and its titular character(s). The second part will focus on the unknown characters and universes encountered in some stories, and how they are introduced to an audience that does not know where the story takes place and what is going to happen. Finally, the third part will take a closer look at recurring characters other than the Doctor, protagonists and antagonists alike; the final subpart, especially, will deal with the only story playing with the characters and their visual identity.

I. *Doctor Who*: Around the Show

a) An overview of the history of *Doctor Who*

a) Classic *Doctor Who* (1963 – 1989)

Doctor Who was the first major BBC project of Canadian Sydney Newman, who had been appointed Head of Drama at the BBC shortly before, in 1962. Before *Doctor Who*, he also helped create what has been described as another British television classic: *The Avengers*. In order to create *Doctor Who*, he specifically hired young Producer Verity Lambert, and both Lambert and Newman are usually credited with the creation of the show. *Doctor Who* was always meant to be a science-fiction series; however, although it was made by the drama department, the target audience was largely children²⁰.

On November 23rd, 1963, the first ever episode of *Doctor Who* was broadcast. Entitled “An Unearthly Child”, it introduces the character of the Doctor (played by William Hartnell), an alien travelling through time and space with his granddaughter Susan (Carol Ann Ford) in a spaceship called the TARDIS; when teachers Ian Chesterton (William Russell) and Barbara Wright (Jacqueline Hill) discover their secret, he forces them to travel with him. The costume of the First Doctor was of Edwardian inspiration and partly influenced by William Hartnell himself (“Verity remembered that Bill was very inventive with his character and had lots of suggestions about his costume; he loved the slightly Edwardian feel which helped the sense of 'other-worldliness'.”²¹), whereas his companions initially travelled wearing the clothes they had been wearing when they left Earth – contemporary of 1963 fashion. If most of the stories were set on otherworldly planets, some of them were also set on Earth, more precisely in the past. Such stories included “An Unearthly Child” itself (most of the plot takes place during the Stone Age); “The Reign of Terror” (set during the French Revolution), or “The Crusade” (set in twelfth-century Palestine). During these stories, it was common for the main characters to adjust the clothes they were wearing to the time they were visiting; it was explained within the story by the presence of a wardrobe in the Doctor's spaceship. Thus, they did not look out of place and were able to freely interact with whoever they met during their adventures, merely passing off as foreigners.

²⁰ Jessica Carney, *Who's There: The Life and Career of William Hartnell*, Fantom, 2013, Print. 155.

²¹ *Ibid*, 156.

The focus on historical stories vanished rather quickly, and they were seldom seen after 1966. Instead, the emphasis of the show shifted to the science-fiction genre, which had always been part of the show. The second episode of the first season, entitled “The Daleks”, introduced the eponymous villains in the narrative – they have remained a well-known foe of the Doctor ever since, as well as a part of British popular culture. Other science-fiction stories include “The Tenth Planet” (1966), during which the Cybermen have been introduced.

In 1966, William Hartnell could not remain the Doctor any longer due to his ill-health. Rather than cancelling the show, it was decided to take advantage of the Doctor's alien origins and create a plot device to introduce a new actor who would be able to play the part: Patrick Troughton. At the end of “The Tenth Planet”, a brief thirty seconds scene shows the Doctor collapsing; the camera then changes to an extreme close shot of the face of William Hartnell which, through a change in contrast, slowly metamorphoses into Patrick Troughton's face. This act, originally called a “renewal” in “The Power to the Daleks” (1966), became later known as a “regeneration” and is still used in the modern version of the show.

The Second Doctor was noticeably less stern than his predecessor, and his chosen costume made to reflect a certain eccentricity of character. Based on the costume of the First Doctor, *Doctor Who* actor Colin Baker described the outfit as a “dressing down version of the [First Doctor's] costume”²². His jacket was made to appear too big for him, his trousers were baggy, and some parts of his outfit (such as his bowtie) were fixed together by safety pins²³. Much like the First Doctor's companions, the Second Doctor's companions wore outfits inspired from their home time: the Scottish Jacobite Jamie McCrimmon wore a kilt throughout his adventures. Zoe Heriot, a young woman from the future, was instead given simpler, futuristic-looking clothes. However, most of the episodes of this time are missing – at the time, episodes were recorded on tapes and it was not unusual to erase a previously recorded and broadcast episode in order to be able to use the tape once again. Even though some “lost” episodes are reconstructed either through animation or through use of existing pictures of the episode completed with on-screen description and an audio track, it still makes it harder to fully explore the clothing choices during these years.

²² ‘Look 100 years younger’ in *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Twin Dilemma’ (1984), BBC DVD, 2009.

²³ Patrick Mulkern. “Dressing the Doctor”, *Doctor Who Magazine Autumn Special*, Marvel Comics/BBC, 1987, 20.

When Patrick Troughton left the show in 1970, Jon Pertwee was cast as his successor. The Third Doctor's era, from 1970 to 1974, is perhaps remembered best for the unusual amount of episodes taking place on Earth, especially during the first two seasons, due to cost restrictions imposed by the BBC. In the show itself, it was justified by the Doctor being exiled on Earth by his own species, the Time Lords, following a trial where they also forced him to regenerate – this exile was lifted at the end of Season 9, enabling the Doctor and his companion Jo Grant to travel through time and space once more. The Third Doctor was the first Doctor who was given a short scene showcasing his departure from the outfit of his predecessor and him picking new clothing for himself, in “Spearhead From Space” (1970), his first story. It is worth noting that from 1968 onwards, BBC dramas gradually went from being broadcast in black and white to being broadcast in colour; the Third Doctor was the first Doctor benefiting from this change²⁴. The Third Doctor was characterised by his flamboyant outfit (in “The Three Doctors”, he is described as a “dandy” by his predecessor) and, according to Piers D. Britton, was the first Doctor to “[acquire] a stylish image that would firmly underscore rather than belie his status as a superhero”²⁵. Piers D. Britton also likens the Doctor's wardrobe (full of “Inverness cloaks, velvet jackets, and frilly shirts”) to the Peacock Revolution that took place in the 1960s. Nicolas Hrynyk describes the Peacock Revolution as “a shift in men's fashion from the conservative grey suits, shirts, and ties of the 1950s to clothing that partially resembled the colourful and ostentatious silk robes, cravats, and velvet dinner jackets of Hugh Hefner's *playboy*”²⁶. Due to this inspiration, Piers D. Britton also points out that, for the first time, the Doctor's outfits are “up-to-date in fashion terms”²⁷.

After four years, the Third Doctor left and was replaced by the Fourth Doctor (portrayed by Tom Baker), who is recognised as the most popular incarnation of the Doctor in the “Classic” era of the show. If the Third Doctor was the first Doctor who was given a short scene to explain the origin of his new clothing, the Fourth Doctor's scene was even longer and, not only did it give the Doctor a new costume, it also highlighted the eccentricity of this new incarnation compared to the previous one. In the first part of “Robot” (1974), the Fourth Doctor first gets out of the TARDIS in a Viking outfit, then a costume resembling that of a Jack of

²⁴ ‘BBC drama all in colour next year’, Stage and Television Today, November 1969.

https://cuttingsarchive.org/index.php/BBC_drama_all_in_colour_next_year (last accessed 25 August 2020)

²⁵ P. Britton, *Reading Between Designs: Visual Imagery and the Generation of Meaning in The Avengers, The Prisoner, and Doctor Who*, *op.cit.*, 149.

²⁶ Nicholas Hrynyk, “Strutting Like a Peacock”: Masculinity, Consumerism, and Men's Fashion in Toronto, 1966-72”, *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 49:3, Fall 2015, 76-110.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Hearts, then a pantomime costume similar to what a Pierrot would wear, then, finally, the costume he would wear for (almost) his whole tenure. The Viking costume is first filmed in a full shot, allowing the audience to understand why the Brigadier – a character the audience is familiar with, who sees the Doctor before they do – looks so astonished. Once the Doctor changes into the Jack of Hearts, the camera gets gradually closer, only showing three quarters of his body; it is still enough, however, to sense that the Doctor is not wearing the “right” costume. The same shot is used when the Doctor gets out of his TARDIS wearing the Pierrot costume, which then transitions into yet another closer shot as the Doctor finds his costume, and so his identity. The extradiegetic music, which was present in the scene up until that point, also stops, leaving the room for the storyline – the Doctor having now found his trademark costume, the action can begin.

This trademark costume became associated with the Fourth Doctor to such an extent that when it underwent its biggest modification, just before Tom Baker's final season, the overall shape of it was kept intact due to the popularity of the costume. Only the colours of the costume itself were modified: while the previous costume was using a wide range of colours, especially on the emblematic scarf (it still remains associated with that particular incarnation of the Doctor), the new costume designed by June Hudson was made only using shades of burgundy. This modification was considered by Tom Baker and costume designer June Hudson to be a “re-writing” of the previously existing costume, rather than the creation of a new outfit²⁸.

All Doctors from the 1980s onwards will be considered in another part; however, it is important to consider *Doctor Who*'s presence outside of the eponymous television show. Two *Doctor Who* films were made for the big screen in 1965 and 1966, at the same time William Hartnell was playing the Doctor on television. *Dr. Who and the Daleks* (dir. Gordon Flemyng) and *Daleks' Invasion Earth 2150 A.D.* (dir. Gordon Flemyng) are not very different from their television counterpart at first sight. Both films' plots are very similar to the television show, with *Dr. Who and the Daleks'* story being directly taken from “The Daleks”. All of the main characters are also present, although their backstory is different: Dr. Who (played by Peter Cushing) is an inventor who built his time machine in his back garden, instead of being a being of alien origins. Both Susan and Barbara are his granddaughters in the film, and Ian becomes Barbara's boyfriend – meaning that they are all roughly the same age. Despite these differences,

²⁸P. Britton, ‘Dress and the Fabric of Television Series: The Costume Designer as Author in “Dr. Who”’, *Journal of Design History*, *op.cit.*, 345-356.

the costumes have the same goals in both the films and the television show: to establish that Ian, Barbara and Susan are contemporary of the audience watching the films, while the Doctor is still depicted as a grandfather, a clever scientist, and a guide both to his granddaughters and the audience.

b) The hiatus (1989-2005) and derived products (books, audios)

After the cancellation of the classic series in 1989, *Doctor Who* fans – who had, by then, already struggled to keep “their” show alive for several years – focused on keeping the universe of the show alive outside of television. Most notably, it led to an attempt to revive the franchise in 1996, through a television pilot. Simply called *Doctor Who*, although it is often referred to as *Doctor Who: The Movie* to distinguish it from the BBC series, the pilot was a British-American collaboration first broadcast in May 1996 in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The film, originally meant as a “backdoor pilot” for a new *Doctor Who* series and directed at an American audience not familiar with the classic series, was not received favourably by the audience, and this attempt to a revival was ultimately branded as a failure. The film gave both an official departure to the Seventh Doctor and to its regeneration into the Eighth Doctor, played by Paul McGann. For its last television apparition, the Seventh Doctor was given a new costume. The colour scheme of the costume was similar to the costume used for the last series in 1989, with darker colours overall. The main change was the disappearance of the question mark jumper, which was replaced by a simpler red vest. Some secondary accessories and characteristics that were typically associated with the 1980s series (more on that later) such as the umbrella and the scarf disappeared, although the Seventh Doctor still had a hat in the 1996 film. This costume, combined with other elements used during the introduction to the film (such as the music), helped the audience to quickly understand that this incarnation of the Doctor was an older, calmer and more experienced version of the Doctor, even when they didn't know who this Doctor was.

His successor, on the contrary, was established as younger and more romantic. Somewhat surprisingly since he picked the various parts of his costume from different locker rooms in a San Francisco hospital on New Year's Eve, the Eighth Doctor's costume was made out of several sophisticated elements; His long coat, waistcoat, and large tie are seemingly made of velvet-like material, and there is even a silver chain hinting at the presence of a watch

in one of the waistcoat's pockets. As a whole, both the combination of the style used and of the materials used within the costume place this Doctor as a noble and romantic characters – both qualities he showed later in the film itself. In his only other video apparition, in the mini-episode “The Night of the Doctor” made in 2013, the Eighth Doctor's costume is essentially a worn-out version of the 1996 film costume, so as to symbolise not only the natural passing of time but also the hardships this Doctor had to endure up until that point.

If *Doctor Who* is mostly known for his onscreen products, it would be wrong to assume that it is solely limited to this aspect. Instead, its presence can be found in books and audio books, amongst other platforms. One of the most common examples of *Doctor Who*'s lore expanding outside of television is the novelisations of some episodes that previously have been broadcast on television, then adapted into the book format. The first ever novelisation published, *Doctor Who and the Daleks* (not to be mistaken with the film of the same name), was a novelisation of the second-ever *Doctor Who* episode, “The Daleks”. Written by David Whitaker, the program’s first script editor, it was released for the first time in 1964, barely a year after the story was first broadcast. However, these novelisations are nothing more than the retelling of a previous story that the viewer or reader most likely has already seen, so their contribution to the *Doctor Who* universe (and to the subject at hand) is minimal.

On the other hand, the written medium was used after the cancellation of the main show in 1989 to tell new *Doctor Who* stories, featuring previously existing Doctors (the Seventh and Eighth Doctors being particularly used due to them being the “incumbent” Doctors) and companions that either previously existed (Ace, the last television companion, for instance), or specifically created for the occasion. These brand new stories have had a long-lasting impact on the lore of the show itself, with some of the companions being used in other mediums later on (Bernice “Berny” Summerfield, companion to the Seventh Doctor, appeared in both books and audio books) and some original stories later becoming episodes for the 2005 revival of the show (*Human Nature*, written by Paul Cornell and published in 1995, was later adapted into a double episode named “Human Nature / The Family of Blood” in 2007, with the Tenth Doctor replacing the Seventh Doctor, for whom the story had originally been written).

The BBC also released “webcasts” in the past, cartoons released online using characters already existing in the Doctor Who universe. While the voices were provided by their original actors, their likeliness was rendered through drawings, used to visually bridge the story together for the watching audience. One such webcasts, *Real Time*, released by the BBC in 2002 and

starring the characters of the Sixth Doctor and his companion Evelyn Smythe (created after 1989), is particularly interesting to note: the costume of the Sixth Doctor, a bright costume with many colours when displayed on television, is modified in the webcast. If the shape and details remain the same, from the form of the long coat to the cat badge on the Doctor's lapel, the colours used are totally different. Much like what happened to the Fourth Doctor's costume before his last season, this version of the Sixth Doctor's costume was rewritten and simplified into a blue costume now using different shades of blue for all its elements (except the shirt, that remained white). There were various reasons given for such modifications, with the two main ones being the original actor's dislike for the original costume (which had been well documented before *Real Time*), and the technical limitations of the webcast format; the FAQ states that "the process of animation we use works best with images that are simple"²⁹. Since the original costume was known for its complexity, both colour and fabric wise, it would have required more animation work than its "plain" blue counterpart.

The blue costume is, to date, the only costume to have been created outside of a regular *Doctor Who* film or episode, and to have been used in other media since its creation. For instance, the covers used for their 45th audiobook "Project: Lazarus", released in 2002, are featuring the Sixth Doctor using his blue costume and the Seventh Doctor wearing his outfit from the 1996 film. However, it has to be noted that the covers of these audiobooks are not a good indicator of continuity; the cover of "The Hunting Ground", released in December 2018, still shows the Sixth Doctor in the costume he used in the 1980s rather than the costume that was used afterwards. Yet, because audiobooks are stories solely relying on their audience's hearing, such details are ultimately not important – the covers are merely here to show which Doctor, companion, and perhaps enemies are in one given episode.

Other visual depictions of the Doctors and their costumes include cartoons in the various *Doctor Who Magazine* comic strips. Originally launched in 1979 as a weekly magazine (it became monthly in 1980), the magazines are composed for the most part of reviews or articles commenting on the show: the production of one given episode, the current season, or studies of the past season are often the subject of one edition. Each magazine would also feature, on several pages, an ongoing comic series with one of the Doctors as the main character. The Doctor would either be joined by pre-existing companions, or original characters

²⁹ 'Frequently Asked Questions', [bbc.co.uk, http://www.bbc.co.uk/doctorwho/classic/webcasts/realtime/faq.shtml#costume1](http://www.bbc.co.uk/doctorwho/classic/webcasts/realtime/faq.shtml#costume1) (last accessed 25 August 2020).

such as the penguin Frobisher. Most Doctors depicted in the Doctor Who Magazine comics do not wear a costume differing from the one they wore on television. Indeed, at least during the first decade of the Magazine, comics were made and episodes were broadcast simultaneously; changing visual codes allowing the readers of the comics to recognise the characters they were used to see in a particular way every week would not have been logical.

There are, however, two television pieces that have been made between the end of the Classic series in 1989 and the start of the revival in 2005. Both were special episodes, filmed especially for the occasion and not meant to take a particular place within the previously existing episodes. “Dimensions in Time” was made for the Children in Need charity; a crossover between *Doctor Who* and popular television show *EastEnders*, it was broadcast in 1993 and featured various former Doctors and companions trying to stop a villain from manipulating time, with the action happening on fictional locations used in *EastEnders*. The other charity special, “Doctor Who: The Curse of Fatal Death”, was made in 1999 for the Red Nose Day charity; it is widely recognised as a parody of *Doctor Who* itself, with the Doctor being played by Rowan Atkinson. He seems to be wearing an outfit very similar to the outfit of the Eighth Doctor, and every other Doctor appearing in the episode also wears the same outfit. In this case, the main function of the costume seems to link this episode and this particular incarnation of the Doctor to the nearest “official” Doctor the audience may have seen before seeing “Doctor Who: The Curse of Fatal Death” – the film had been broadcast barely three years before.

c) Modern *Doctor Who* (2005)

In September 2003, more than thirteen years after the show had originally been cancelled, a small article published in the Daily Telegraph announced that BBC1 was officially “developing a new series of the sci-fi classic”³⁰. Christopher Eccleston was announced as the Ninth Doctor on March 20th, 2004, by various newspapers. The first episode of what is commonly called “New Who” (so as to make a difference between the Classic series aired between 1963 and 1989 and the ongoing new series), *Rose*, was broadcast a year later, on March 26th, 2005. The

³⁰ Tom Leonard, ‘Doctor Who ready to come out of the TARDIS for Saturday TV series’, Daily Telegraph, 26/09/2003, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1442528/Doctor-Who-ready-to-come-out-of-the-Tardis-for-Saturday-TV-series.html> (last accessed 04 May 2020).

new show decided not to show (at first) what had happened to the character of the Doctor; instead, he appeared on the show as having already had this body for an unspecified amount of time. Thus, unlike most of his predecessors, the Ninth Doctor had no scene where his character picks the clothing he wants, allowing the audience to discover him this way – instead, the audience mainly discovers him through his relationship with his new companion, Rose. The costume of the Ninth Doctor was kept very simple throughout his tenure, with its most defining element being the leather jacket he is wearing. The rest of the outfit was made of a dark, plain T-Shirt, dark trousers, and simple shoes. Unlike most of his predecessors, the Ninth Doctor had no accessories of any kind used to break the simplicity of the ensemble. On par with this darker costume, Eccleston's Doctor is usually characterised as a dark figure, one that does not hesitate to scold the person he is travelling with, to the point he banishes one of his companions from the TARDIS³¹ and so traumatised by the dark events he witnessed during his lives that he is overjoyed when, in *The Doctor Dances*, “everybody lives!”. However, the Ninth Doctor did not stay for long; after only one season, he regenerated into a new Doctor.

This new Doctor, played by David Tennant, is usually credited with making *Doctor Who* popular again, not only in Great Britain but also worldwide – no doubt due to the fact Tennant played the role longer than his predecessor: three series and a few “special episodes” that are considered separately. His costume, while kept simple at first (its base is a suit, with a plain shirt and tie, covered by a long brown coat during some exterior scenes), is much more heavily accessorised: one such example is the use of 3D glasses outside of their intended concept, which had the effect of breaking with the (seemingly) serious appearance of the character³². This specific incarnation of the Doctor is known to wear Converse shoes alongside his overall outfit, a detail that can be noticed in some scenes – when he is running, for instance. It adds to the eccentricity of the character, especially compared to his predecessor, who did not use any accessories. Yet, these accessories can also be easily scrapped or hidden when the scenes call for a more tragic character: only the stricter suit and dark coat remain.

The departure of David Tennant also coincided with the departure of the then-Producer, Russell T. Davies. They were respectively replaced by Matt Smith and Steven Moffat. For Matt Smith, who was the youngest actor ever cast as the Doctor at twenty-six years old, there was a

³¹ In “The Long Game” (2005).

³² In “Doomsday” (2006).

wish to put a particular emphasis on the Doctor's age and experience: "Well, he's old, so I've got to make him feel kind of professorial"³³. Indeed, the Eleventh Doctor's costume looks rather serious and scholarly, reflected especially through the tweed blazer he is wearing. Tweed is a material that became popular in the 19th century and fell out of grace in the 1960s, thus looking old fashioned for audiences in the 21st century³⁴. While the blazer's overall shape is classic and would probably not be seen as outdated in itself, it is the material it is made out of that puts an emphasis on the "ancient" side of it – and, as such, transfers this effect onto its wearer, in this case the Doctor. Matt Smith's incarnation of the Doctor also relies on accessories in order to help maintain that feeling of age and experience: in *The Angels Take Manhattan*, he is relying on glasses to be able to read the book he has in his hand. These glasses, round and with a similarity to horn-rimmed glasses, are fulfilling the same role: helping the audience understand that, although the actor looks quite young, the character of the Doctor is still hundreds of years old. Also, like some of his predecessor, the Eleventh Doctor also had accessories meant to underline the eccentricity of the character; in this case, it was embodied by several fezzes throughout the different series.

On November 23rd, 2013, Doctor Who celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with a special episode, *The Day of the Doctor*. The episode featured every "modern" Doctor except the Ninth Doctor, the actor having declined the invitation. To replace him, a new incarnation of the Doctor was created: the War Doctor (played by John Hurt). Retroactively added between the Eighth and the Ninth incarnations of the Doctor, the War Doctor only appeared in this particular episode. When compared to every other Doctor, his costume was meant to appear only once on screen without any evolution afterwards. The inspiration for his costume is clear, as most of the elements are similar to what the Eighth Doctor was wearing in *The Night of the Doctor* – thus, the place of the War Doctor within the existing incarnations of the Doctors cannot be denied, since his visual identity reflects this. However, the War Doctor's costume appears much older: some parts of the leather coat and leather waistcoat appear to be worn so much the colour has disappeared, for instance. This, alongside the overall unkempt appearance of the War Doctor, symbolises the harsh nature of this Doctor compared to the other incarnations the

³³ Stephanie Mlot, "Matt Smith on 11th Doctor's Original Costume: Not Cool." *Geek.com*, 07 Sept. 2017. <https://www.geek.com/television/matt-smith-on-11th-doctors-original-costume-not-cool-1715052/> (last accessed 04 May 2020).

³⁴ 'The 1960s' in John Peacock, *The Complete Fashion Sourcebook*, London, Thames & Hudson, 2005, 227-28.

audience is used to, but also the rough events he had to live through during the war, hence his name.

The Day of the Doctor also saw the introduction of another new incarnation of the Doctor – the Twelfth one, played by Peter Capaldi and replacing the departing Matt Smith. While the Eleventh Doctor’s costume did put an emphasis on letting the audience know how old the character of the Doctor was, such emphasis was not needed with the Twelfth incarnation, as Peter Capaldi was in his fifties when he took on the mantle of the Doctor. Rather, the new costume was influenced by the vision of the lead actor, who saw a “sharper” Doctor, wearing “dark colours”³⁵. The costumes were also deliberately kept simple, not only to wear but also to emulate. This outfit is one of the first Doctor costumes to take into account the growing practice of “cosplaying”. The practice of cosplay (a portmanteau of the words “costume” and “play”) relies very heavily on clothes and fashion accessories, in order to immediately be recognised as the given character one is trying to embody. The more detailed and complicated the costume is on screen, the harder it will be to faithfully reproduce it for the cosplayer. In an interview, Peter Capaldi stated that he “wanted to wear something that people could emulate without going to any great expense.”³⁶, and this had to be taken into account in the creation of the costume.

Peter Capaldi’s Twelfth Doctor regenerated at the end of the tenth series into a new incarnation of the Doctor who, for the first time in the show’s history, took the shape of a woman³⁷. Played by Jodie Whittaker, her casting proved to be the most controversial to date: while part of the *Doctor Who* community and most of the former actors voiced their support (including Sixth Doctor Colin Baker³⁸ and Seventh Doctor Sylvester McCoy³⁹), other actors and members of the community were more critical of the choice; Fifth Doctor Peter Davison voiced his disappointment at “the loss of a role model for boys”⁴⁰. Costume wise, if the

³⁵ Jonathan Holmes, ‘Peter Capaldi: I Wanted a Doctor Who Costume Fans Could Copy.’ *Radio Times*, 08 Aug. 2017, <https://www.radiotimes.com/news/2014-08-07/peter-capaldi-i-wanted-a-doctor-who-costume-fans-could-copy/> (last accessed 04 May 2020).

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Joanna Lumley played “the Female Doctor” in *Doctor Who and the Curse of Fatal Death*, but this spoof episode is not part of the show *per se* as stated before.

³⁸ <https://twitter.com/SawbonesHex/status/886613052447129601>

³⁹ <https://twitter.com/4SylvesterMcCoy/status/886648080753451008>

⁴⁰ Frances Taylor, ‘Doctor Who’s Peter Davison and Colin Baker clash over Jodie Whittaker’s casting’, *Radio Times*, 21 July 2017, <https://www.radiotimes.com/news/2017-07-21/doctor-whos-peter-davison-and-colin-baker-clash-over-jodie-whittaker-casting/> (last accessed 04 May 2020).

audience decided to discuss the particular references to past Doctors' costumes they thought they could see in the Thirteenth Doctor's outfit, it appears not to have been an influence in the process of creation. The main influence for the costume came from a very particular picture Jodie Whittaker saw, representing a woman with a similar outfit and "a sense of purpose"⁴¹; she also characterised the picture as "neither male or female, which was very important to me"⁴². Yet, the costume also holds a mild militant sign in the form of the colour violet being used in the sleeves – violet being one of the colours associated with suffragettes. The costume also represented the mutual conclusion reached by Jodie Whittaker and costume designer Ray Holman: that the Doctor "loves humanity and loves life and has a respect for everyone."⁴³.

2. Troubled times: the 1980s

a) Michael Grade and the BBC administration

Throughout its history, *Doctor Who* has always been broadcast on the BBC. However, this professional relationship does not mean that the BBC always supported *Doctor Who* related projects. On the contrary, as soon as the series was commissioned by the BBC, it looked as if it was doomed to fail. One reason for this was how the team hired by the BBC to work on *Doctor Who* was far from being composed of their most popular workers. Verity Lambert, the first producer of *Doctor Who*, was recruited specifically for this show by then-BBC Head of Drama, Sydney Newman. In 1962, the BBC drama department was dominated by men; when she was given the role of producer, she was at the time the only woman to be given such a responsibility, as well as the youngest producer of the department (being at the time in her mid-twenties). An additional challenge was that she had no experience of either producing or directing a television show⁴⁴. Contrary to Verity Lambert, Waris Hussein, the director of *An Unearthly Child* (and of parts of *Marco Polo*, later in the same season), was a man. However, his origins made him stand apart from the others. Born in India, he moved to England with his family as a child. When he was hired by the BBC after having been a trainee for them, he

⁴¹ 'The Thirteenth Doctor's Costume | Doctor Who: Series 11', Doctor Who, YouTube, 25 Oct. 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AHJd9C8VmQw> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ J. Carney, *Who's There: The Life and Career of William Hartnell*, op.cit, 155.

became the first Asian director to ever work for the company while in his early twenties, and had to face the lack of support of his colleagues both because of his youth and his ethnicity⁴⁵.

Once Doctor Who became a concrete project, the crew working on the show were not given the most comfortable facilities either. They were given Lime Grove Studio D, a studio described by Jessica Carney as “the oldest studio, with ancient cameras and perhaps the worst facilities in the BBC.”⁴⁶ They were not given much time to film the episodes as well, and both due to that and to the existing technology at the time, were rarely able to film more than one take. As a result, there was much pressure both on the actors and on the crew to do a perfect work, because if they made an important mistake, it would later appear in the final product delivered to the audience. Finally, the finished product’s appearance was also impacted by that same lack of trust the BBC held over it. As Doctor Who was not one of their flagship programs, it meant that the budget given to the show was not very important compared to productions of the same size, and that costume designers and set designers working on the show were restricted based on this. The difficulties that Doctor Who faced from the start of the show were chronicled in a 2013 film, *An Adventure in Space and Time*, as part of the celebrations for the fiftieth anniversary of the show. Additional budget problems arose when *Doctor Who* transitioned from being broadcast in black and white to being broadcast in colour, in 1970, as the BBC refused to give *Doctor Who* more budget to adapt to these expensive changes. These decisions negatively impacted the product as seen on screen, and the entirety of Season 7 and Season 8 was set on Earth partly as a result of the monetary restriction⁴⁷ – although some of the Doctor’s foes were aliens (such as the simplistic Autons in *Spearhead from Space*), making new alien monsters every season was deemed too expensive. On screen, this was explained by the fact the Doctor was banished on Earth, and his TARDIS hijacked to prevent him from leaving. After Season 8, however, this restriction was lifted and the Doctor started to travel through time and space once again at the start of Season 9.

It is unlikely that the BBC made any particular effort to hinder the natural success of its show during what are considered the most popular years, usually understood to be between

⁴⁵ Patrick Mulkern, "Doctor Who's Waris Hussein on William Hartnell, Bette Davis, & Peter Cook Loathing David Frost." *Radio Times*, 27 Jan. 2018, <https://www.radiotimes.com/news/2013-10-16/doctor-whos-waris-hussein-on-william-hartnell-bette-davis-peter-cook-loathing-david-frost/> (last accessed 04 May 2020).

⁴⁶ J. Carney, *Who's There: The Life and Career of William Hartnell*, op.cit, 157.

⁴⁷ David J. Howe, Stephen J. Walker and Mark Stammers, eds., *The Handbook, The Unofficial and Unauthorised Guide to the Production of Doctor Who*, Vol. 1, Telos, 2005, Kindle.

1974 and 1981 when Tom Baker was portraying the Doctor. *City of Death*, a season 17 story, assembled an average of 14.5 million viewers when it was broadcast⁴⁸. However, Tom Baker's last season (season 18) suffered from a dramatic fall in popularity, with the average viewing figure falling at around five million⁴⁹. While various reasons are proposed to explain this fall (from the new American import series broadcast around the same time to the BBC scheduling preventing the show from achieving the success it used to⁵⁰), and while the ratings for season 19 went up again (with an average of 9.3 million⁵¹), season 18 seemed to foreshadow the events that would happen for the rest of the decade.

In 1984, Michael Grade joined the BBC as the Controller of BBC 1, meaning that he was in charge of scheduling what programs would and would not be broadcast. Michael Grade was particularly hostile to *Doctor Who*, to the point that the decisions he made as Controller of BBC 1 effectively ended the show in 1989. His arrival, for instance, coincided with some quick changes in both the format of the episodes and the days these episodes were broadcast. Season 22 (broadcast in 1985) is the only season whose episodes were usually forty-five minutes long; every other season before or after were made of episodes that were usually twenty-five minutes long. The show was also criticised, both by the BBC and by the media, for its increased violence – *Vengeance on Varos*, one of the stories from Season 22, was mentioned the most. One of the most controversial scenes involves the Doctor fighting two attendants in an acid bath room. As the two attendants die from the effects of the acid bath (one having been knocked up into it by accident and the other one having been pulled in by his companion afterwards), the scene ends with the Doctor's sarcastic remark, interpreted by some as a sign of cruelty⁵²: "You'll forgive me if I don't join you".

Shortly after the broadcast of the controversial *Vengeance on Varos*, it was announced that the production of Season 23 was to be postponed until the next financial year, with the budget usually given to the show used to produce new drama instead. Even though the BBC made it clear that *Doctor Who* was not cancelled⁵³, the decision was still met with anger,

⁴⁸ David J. Howe, Stephen J. Walker and Mark Stammers, eds., *The Handbook, The Unofficial and Unauthorised Guide to the Production of Doctor Who*, Vol. 2, Telos, 2005. 147.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 281.

⁵² 'Nice or Nasty' in *Doctor Who* (1963), 'Vengeance on Varos' (1986), BBC DVD, 2012.

⁵³ David Hewson, 'Temporary time warp for Doctor Who', *The Times*, 28 Feb 1985.

https://cuttingsarchive.org/index.php/Temporary_time_warp_for_Dr_Who (last accessed 25 August 2020).

incomprehension, and disappointment. From actors rumoured to be “very upset” by the news⁵⁴ to the production of a pop record entitled “Doctor in Distress”, a campaign was launched in order to save the show from what was perceived, at the time, as a real cancellation threat. Eventually, when Season 23 was finally broadcast, it was at what seemed to be a great cost. Compared to the previous season, the running time had been almost cut by half: both seasons were composed of fourteen episodes, but while Season 22 episodes were forty minutes long, Season 23 episodes were only twenty five minutes long instead. Moreover, there were additional conditions that had to be met: episodes that had been commissioned before the forced break were scrapped, forcing the showrunners to commission new stories over a short period of time⁵⁵. Moreover, the actor playing the Doctor at the time, Colin Baker, was fired, and a new actor was hired for the part. *Doctor Who* lasted for three more seasons, before being cancelled by the BBC in 1989.

b) Internal difficulties in the 1980s

If Michael Grade was certainly *Doctor Who*'s biggest opponent during the 1980s, the then-Producer of the show at the time, John Nathan-Turner, was, on the other hand, *Doctor Who*'s biggest ally and public representative. John Nathan-Turner's appointment as Producer of the show coincided with Tom Baker's last season as the Fourth Doctor, in 1980-1981. From the start, John Nathan-Turner's influence was felt – as explained earlier, it was him who made the decision to modify the Fourth Doctor's costume (and thus, the Fourth Doctor's visual identity), and he did so against the wishes of Tom Baker, who had been *Doctor Who*'s lead actor for the past six years and, by this point, was used to make the decisions about his character⁵⁶. This early story is noteworthy, as it demonstrates both the authority and influence John Nathan-Turner had on “his” show, but also the various internal conflicts that would result from this position and his behaviour.

John Nathan-Turner's opinions on his Doctors costumes not only impacted the Fourth Doctor, but also all subsequent incarnations. Indeed, due to his position, his opinions were sometimes won over the opinions of the lead actors or even the costume designer themselves.

⁵⁴ Charles Catchpole, ‘Dr Who is axed in a BBC plot’, The Sun, 28 Feb 1985.

https://cuttingsarchive.org/index.php/Dr_Who_is_axed_in_a_BBC_plot (last accessed 25 August 2020).

⁵⁵ Richard Marson, *Totally Tasteless: The Life of John Nathan-Turner*, n/a, Miwk, 2016, 193.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

For instance, one visual element shared by the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Doctors is the use of a red question mark somewhere on their respective outfits, in order to brand them as the Doctor. For all Doctors but the Seventh, this red question mark was fairly discreet – since it was thinly embroidered on the collar of their shirts, it was not a dominant part of their visual identity. However, in the Seventh Doctor's case, the red question mark became a dominant part of his costume, through its use as part of the pattern of the knitted jumper this Doctor wore during his entire tenure on television. To further associate the red question mark with the character of the Doctor, it was integrated on one of the Doctor's main accessories, in the form of the handle of his umbrella. Thus, through its integration as part of the clothing and part of the accessories, the red question mark is associated with the Doctor and especially with this incarnation. The decision to insert these question marks on the costumes was taken by John Nathan-Turner, even though none of the actors and/or costume designers seemed to be happy with the decision.

Another example of John Nathan-Turner's influence over the outfits of his character can be found in the Sixth Doctor's costume – it is also one of the most controversial examples. Its main element was a coat made of different colours and textures put together in a chaotic fashion, completed with a pair of trousers made of yellow and black stripes. A bright coloured tie and green boots (sometimes covered by bright orange spats) helped to complete the costume. The ensemble this formed, due to the disharmony between not only the colours but also the patterns and even the fabrics used, gave a “tasteless” impression that was recognised by everyone; some people even drew a parallel between the Doctor's coat and the colourful Hawaiian shirts the producer was fond of wearing. The opposition to this “tasteless” costume is also well documented; in subsequent interviews, Colin Baker stated that this costume was not what he had wanted for his character. When asked what kind of outfit he would have picked, his answer mentions a simple costume, with darker colours; something similar to what Christopher Eccleston wore in 2005⁵⁷. The companions of the Doctor were not free to choose what kind of clothes they wore either; Nicola Bryant, who played Peri between 1984 and 1986, stated that she had to wear clothes that were suiting John Nathan-Turner's vision of the character rather than her own vision, even if these outfits prevented her from moving and running around freely during filming⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ Personal interview with the actor in Crawley, April 2017.

⁵⁸ Personal interview with the actress in Crawley, April 2017.

The creative process was also impacted beyond the visual elements within *Doctor Who*, due to John Nathan-Turner being the highest authority and thus having to give his approval for many aspects of the show, including story ideas and the subsequent scripts produced from them. During John Nathan-Turner's tenure as Producer, many references to the past of the program were inserted in the stories made and, in particular, the return of several antagonists of the Doctor who had appeared on the show previously. The Sontarans, who had appeared for the last time on television in 1975, returned in *The Two Doctors* in 1985. Some of the returning foes were so popular their return warranted a small article in a journal – and thus, publicity for the show, potentially attracting more audience. This was the case with the return of the Daleks in 1984⁵⁹. Well-known Doctor foes, such as the Daleks, the Cybermen or the Master also appeared several times during the decade – in the case of the Daleks and the Cybermen, these foes were so popular the episodes would usually be named after them in some way.

If most of John Nathan-Turner's behind-the-scenes decisions did not usually threaten the future of the show, there are however a few moments where the conflicts stemming from these decisions led to uncomfortable situations. During the production of the season known as *The Trial of a Time Lord*, the writer initially planned for *The Ultimate Foe* passed away. At the time of his death, he had only completed one of the two episodes, with the second episode being only a simple draft and unusable as a result. Script editor Eric Saward, who had already written several *Doctor Who* episodes in the past, was tasked with finishing the story. However, the two men disagreed over the ending the episode, and consequently the season, should have. Eric Saward's original idea was to make the Doctor and his foe, the Valeyard, fighting and falling in a parallel plane, thus leaving their eventual survival an open question⁶⁰. John Nathan-Turner, on the other hand, wished for a clearer ending – one that would see the Doctor and his companion stepping back into the TARDIS, ready for other adventures. He felt that, with the future of the show threatened by an eventual cancellation, Eric Saward's ending would encourage the BBC administration towards this choice. With neither men willing to agree to the other's idea, Eric Saward ultimately decided to resign as a script editor, taking with him the material he had written and legally preventing John Nathan-Turner from using any of it. With little to no time left before filming, writers Pip and Jane Baker (who had already written another

⁵⁹ 'The exterminators return', Radio Times, 04 Feb. 1984, https://cuttingsarchive.org/index.php/The_exterminators_return (last accessed 25 August 2020).

⁶⁰ James Cooray Smith, *The Black Archive #14 - The Ultimate Foe*, n/a, Obverse, 2017, 100.

story of this season) were chosen to re-write the second part of *The Ultimate Foe* – using John Nathan-Turner's idea for the ending.

What happened in the aftermath of this chaotic season was another internal blow to the show, especially the dismissal of Colin Baker – a *sine qua non* condition that could not be negotiated. As Colin Baker's Sixth Doctor had not regenerated as the end of *The Ultimate Foe*, Colin Baker was offered to come back for the first story of the new season, in order to write off his incarnation of the Doctor and allow a regeneration to happen. Colin Baker, unwilling to settle for this offer, refused and forced John Nathan-Turner to find an alternate way to make the Doctor regenerate. This was eventually solved at the beginning of the next season's first story, *Time and the Rani*, during which Sylvester McCoy (helped by a curly blond wig and special effects hiding his face) briefly played a regenerating Sixth Doctor as well as his regular Seventh Doctor role.

c) The budget limitations and the consequences for *Doctor Who*

The examples mentioned before demonstrated how the BBC never fully supported *Doctor Who*. The show was given the worst studio available from the very start, and suffered from a recognised lack of funds and space. It forced everyone to adapt: writers were dissuaded from writing aliens or planets that would be too complicated and expensive to reproduce on screen, while costume designers and designers alike had to come up with clever ideas in order to make sure what they conceived was within the budget they were given, while still looking believable for the audience. From 1970 onwards, the availability of colour television added another layer of complexity to their work, as the cameras and techniques used to film the show evolved as well and greater attention had to be given to everything that appeared on screen. While before, when filmed in black and white, only the shade mattered (meaning that one given character could wear a blue glove and a red glove, and it wouldn't be necessarily noticeable on screen), such a thing could no longer be done when colour television became possible.

One such way to save money was to re-use sets, instead of creating them from scratch for a specific episode. One such example in the 1980s is visible in *Snakedance* (1983), primarily filmed in studio. For the purpose of this story, the creation of a set that was meant to evoke the interior of a palace was required. Instead of building this set from nothing, it was

decided to use some sets that were previously used for another BBC television show, *A Song for Europe*, and adapt them to fit the theme of *Snakedance* instead⁶¹. Regarding exterior locations, quarries were often used as filming locations, especially when the script called for a foreign, alien landscape; examples in the 1980s include *Time and the Rani* in 1987⁶². It also proved convenient budget-wise, as it was less expensive to film in quarries than to build an entire set from scratch in a studio and film the episode that way.

In the 1980s especially, the employees working on *Doctor Who* seemed to belong to two principal categories: either they were experienced costumes and sets designers, who already had worked on the show before (and, thus, were already used to both the vision of the show and the budget adjustments to make), or they were beginners looking for a first professional experience. Ken Trew, for instance worked on the show for the first time in *Terror of the Autons* (1973) until the very last story, *Survival* (1989); he was also responsible for the creation of the Seventh Doctor's costume, as he was the costume designer for *Time and the Rani*. However, the creation of the Doctor's costume was not always given to an experienced costume designer; Pat Godfrey designed the "tasteless" Sixth Doctor's costume during her first *Doctor Who* episode, *The Twin Dilemma*. During the very last seasons, however, all of the costumes and sets designers had already worked on the show during the previous decade, suggesting that John Nathan-Turner specifically called for them because he knew they could prove resourceful and withstand the pressure of the restrictions, both money and time wise.

Due to the nature of the show and the depiction of alien races, some episodes required the creation of prosthetics, in order to shape the actors' faces and allow them to play their roles. An article published in fanzine "The Frame" covered a story whose plot required the use of such prosthetics: "The Curse of Fenric", in 1988. A small amount of prosthetics had to be made in order for the actors to be able to play the antagonists of the story, the Haemovores. The article highlights, in particular, the differences between "normal" prosthetics and these made for "The Curse of Fenric". The article explains that in regular film work, prosthetics are only made to be used one time, and discarded afterwards; however, this was impossible to do in *Doctor Who*, once again for budget reasons⁶³. Instead, the costumes and make-up designers

⁶¹ 'Snakedance' in *Doctor Who* (1963), 'Snakedance' (1983), BBC DVD, 2011.

⁶² 'Time and the Rani' on *Doctor Who*, *The Location Guide*.

<https://www.doctorwholocations.net/stories/timeandtherani> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

⁶³ David J. Howe, "Rising From the Depths", *The Frame* 13, Feb 1990.

had to find a way to build prosthetics that would be able to withstand several days of filming, bad weather, and being immersed in the sea during some scenes. Some tricks used by the designers also have some unplanned consequences on the costumes: for instance, little seeds used to add textures on the masks did sprout due to the high humidity, thus adding extra texture on camera⁶⁴.

Finally, costumes that were specifically commissioned for the show were commissioned in small quantities, so that only the necessary amount of costumes would be made – thus saving money. For instance, only two copies of the Sixth Doctor’s complex costume were made at first, although two other copies were eventually made afterwards⁶⁵. Even more specific costumes were specifically made for the story they appeared in, and the costume designers had to be resourceful for some characters needing a particular effect. In “Ghost Light” (1989), one of the characters, plainly named Light, is written as being an alien, with one of his characteristics being an otherworldly glow all around him that had to be achieved without blinding the camera and preventing it from filming everything else around Light. In order to do so, costume designer Ken Trew devised a system involving different layers of clothes, “so that the outside layers could stand out slightly from the inner ones. When it was lit from the back, the light shone through the layers and gave a halo effect around the cloak”⁶⁶. This system, only involving several layers of fabric, was less complicated and less expensive than using any kind of special effects that could be applied after filming.

3. The main character(s) of the show: the Doctor

a) The character of the Doctor

Due to the length of the show, it is not surprising to see that the main character and the story around him evolved quite a lot from 1963 to 1989. The concept of regeneration, mentioned previously, refers to the process during which the Doctor (when he is critically injured, close to death, or simply old) completely changes his body and character, healing himself in the process. It was also the first characteristic to biologically separate the Doctor, a human-like being, and every other person that travelled with him (except his granddaughter

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Mark Stammers, “Pat Godfrey’s Amazing Technicoloured Sixth Doctor’s Costume”, *The Frame 19*, Autumn 1991.

⁶⁶ David J. Howe, “Let There Be Light”, *The Frame 14*, May 1990.

Susan, implied to be a Time Lord just like him). Before that, the Doctor was simply presented as an old man travelling in his TARDIS. This, instead, set him apart as an alien. There is however a difference in the Gordon Fleming films where all the characters, even the Doctor and his granddaughters, are clearly presented as human.

The alien nature of the Doctor was further established during his second incarnation's life, and especially during the last story, "The War Games" (1969). This story is the first one to introduce further information on the species of the Time Lords, to which the Doctor belongs – the antagonist of the story, the War Chief, is himself another Time Lord. "The War Games" also establishes the existence of a greater authority within the Time Lords, an unnamed higher council able to judge the actions of the Doctor (who is put on trial because he stole the TARDIS he travels in and because he broke the rule of non-interference all Time Lords are meant to abide by) and decide of his punishment – in this case, his regeneration and exile on Earth. This story is also central in establishing that the Doctor, even though he is a Time Lord, is different from most members of his species. This difference is of course made clear through the Doctor's actions, but also through the different costumes used for the Time Lords appearing in this story. The Time Lords members of the council judging the Doctor are all dressed in similar manner, in clothes that are reminiscent of a monastic order. They seem to be wearing simple, white dresses, cut very simply. On top of the dresses, they are wearing a darker piece of fabric that does not seem to serve any function; it does not cover the arms like a coat would, nor does it seem to cover most of the Time Lords' body. Thus, it seems more likely to be part of a ceremonial outfit, worn by Time Lords when performing some functions – such as judging one of their own. The antagonist, the War Chief, seems to be wearing a costume just as simple, except in his case it is more reminiscent of a military uniform (although there aren't any insignia representing a rank). The Doctor, meanwhile, wears an outfit made of different kinds of fabric, and his outfit that cannot be mistaken for a uniform or ceremonial costume either.

The War Games established that the Time Lords were an alien species, but it did not give more information about them – all the audience knew was that they were scientifically-advanced beings able to travel in time and space. Eventually, a few years later, their home planet was named on-screen as being "Gallifrey" in "The Time Warrior" (1973). Yet, most of the lore about Gallifrey and the Time Lords was established during the Fourth Doctor's incarnation, and especially in "The Deadly Assassin" (1976). "The Deadly Assassin" takes place on Gallifrey, thus letting the audience see a normal Time Lord society and the contrast

between what is depicted on Gallifrey and the life the Doctor lives. This contrast is shown by how codified the Time Lord society actually is; visually, it is shown through the different outfits worn. For instance, the outfits of the Castellan separates him visually from the (more common) Gallifreyan guards. Although both outfits are ceremonial in nature, it is still representative of the role they are given. While both the Castellan and the guards are wearing helmets, the Castellan's is more similar to a hat. Moreover, the guards' clothing is made of thicker elements, and tailored to protect them if there is any physical action happening; they are wearing shoulder, elbow and knee pads, along with a protective helmet, a large breastplate and a mantle. The Doctor briefly uses these codes to his advantage as well; it is only when he leaves his usual costume and puts on one of the ceremonial Gallifreyan outfits that he is able to blend in and avoid the guards' suspicions, even though they are searching for him. However, the Doctor only wears a Gallifreyan costume for a small part of the story and still spends most of the episodes wearing his own clothes – showing that he will never be able to blend in after all.

Yet, even though the character of the Doctor was established as an outcast in his native planet, he was also simultaneously established as a character able to hold power; both the Fourth and the Fifth incarnations of the Doctor were given the role of Lord President⁶⁷, even though neither of them were ever bestowed any visual symbol showing their power; indeed, they never assumed the function or the responsibilities coming with it either, preferring to run away from Gallifrey and to continue their adventures. By “The Trial of a Time Lord”, the Sixth Doctor had been removed as Lord President, and, once again was judged for breaking several laws – some of them similar to the laws his second incarnation had broken previously.

The last three years of the program were spent trying to restore some mystery to the character of the Doctor. A plan, dubbed the “Cartmel Masterplan”, was devised by Script Editor Andrew Cartmel, who felt that the audience had gained too many details on the character of the Doctor and on his past during the previous seasons. He also felt that the Doctor had become “a victim of [his] own show”⁶⁸. This was shared by the titular actor, Sylvester McCoy, who wanted to make his character ‘darker, more mysterious’⁶⁹. Some hints were dropped in certain episodes, alluding to a Doctor's mysterious past, for instance in “Remembrance of the Daleks” (1988). While Andrew Cartmel had envisioned the Doctor as being a “hugely powerful, almost

⁶⁷ In “The Invasion of Time” (1978) and “The Five Doctors” (1983) respectively.

⁶⁸ ‘Endgame’ in *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘Survival’ (1989), BBC DVD, 2007.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

deity-like kind of being who existed before the Time Lords”⁷⁰, but Producer John Nathan-Turner vetoed this idea, as it did not fit with his vision of the show. However, *Doctor Who*’s cancellation in 1989 prevented any further development of this vision on television; some of these ideas later became novels of their own, such as *Lungbarrow* (written by Marc Platt in 1997).

b) The wardrobe scenes

As stated previously, the way a new Doctor would be introduced to the audience changed over the course of the show. In 1970, the Third Doctor was the first to have a scene dedicated to the discovery of what would become the costume associated to this incarnation of the character. These scenes later became more and more sophisticated; for instance, the Fourth Doctor tried on several costumes before settling on what would later become his iconic outfit. This trend continued in 1980s, with these costume discovery scenes being used as a way to showcase the character of the new Doctor and direct the audience on what they should expect from him in the future.

In *Castrovalva* (1982), contrary to both scenes mentioned above, the accent is not put on the Fifth Doctor’s discovery of his new costume; rather, it is put on the destruction of his previous incarnation’s outfit while the Doctor is seeking for the “Zero Room”, a room which will help him complete his regeneration. It is notable, as the Fifth Doctor is the only Doctor who is shown destroying the remaining mementos of who he used to be in order to find his new self – whereas the other Doctors merely discard their former outfits. Symbolically, the first element to be destroyed is the long scarf – certainly the most emblematic element of the Fourth Doctor’s costume throughout his tenure. Thus, the destruction of the obnoxiously long scarf can be perceived as a visual way to officially end the Fourth Doctor’s era of the program, with both the Doctor and the show moving away from the character. There is also a clear reference to the myth of Ariadne. In Greek mythology, as Theseus (who volunteered to kill the Minotaur) prepares to enter the labyrinth in which the Minotaur is kept, Ariadne, who fell in love with him, provides him with a weapon and a thread so that he could find his way out of the labyrinth once he had slain the Minotaur. In the same manner, the Doctor attaches the scarf’s thread to

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

the door leading to the TARDIS' console room; once his regeneration is completed, he will thus be able to return to this room and resume his journeys through time and place. Once the scarf is completely shed, the Doctor rids himself of other items: his waistcoat (divided in two) and his boots, at the very least. They are meant as an extension of the scarf's thread once it ends, and thus have the same function.

Yet, although he visually seems to reject his past self, the scenes are also filled with references to his previous incarnations – not only the most recent one, but more ancient ones as well. He adopts the mannerisms and voice tone of the First Doctor (09:52), then plays the recorder and references previous companion Jamie McCrimmon, much like the Second Doctor would have (10:52). Ultimately, both the costume destruction and the Doctor's inability to understand who he is also reflects how hard this Doctor's regeneration is compared to his previous ones, something he voices himself: "I can feel it is not going to be as smooth as in other occasions."

If the Doctor is seeking for a room that will help him stabilise himself, he first seems to regain stability as he finds his own costume. While the audience cannot see the Doctor changing into his new clothes (they only see him enter a room he is first suspicious of, after deciding he has to take urgent care of a cricket bat), they can see him adding the last elements that will complete his costume: his jacket and his hat. It is only once he is in possession of his full costume – and through it, his visual identity and part of who he is going to be – that he finally realises where is the room that he has been seeking for all this time.



*Figure 1 - The Fifth Doctor tries on his new coat.
(Castrovalva)*

In *The Twin Dilemma*, the Sixth Doctor has a valid narratological reason to update his outfit; the costume his former self was wearing was damaged prior to his regeneration, and thus becomes unwearable. The Doctor picks his new costume in three subsequent scenes, with two of them mainly taking place in one of the TARDIS' wardrobes. This time however, the audience is allowed to see the Doctor's choice; so is the Doctor's current companion, Peri, who is with him and does not hesitate to comment on the Doctor's taste (or lack thereof). All the scenes are linked together by their common setting (the wardrobe room) and characters.

The first scene is conceived to showcase the new Doctor's temper. It also makes explicit the disdain the new incarnation has about anything that is related to who he was only a few hours earlier: he dismisses the Fifth Doctor's now destroyed clothes that he is still wearing (Never mind the clothes, they're easily changed!", "my outward appearance is of no importance whatsoever") and, later, openly admits to his companion that he is not fond of who is used to be: "my last incarnation – I was never happy with that one". It ends with the Doctor and Peri entering the TARDIS' wardrobe and the Doctor having what could be characterised as a "regeneration breakdown" - breaking out in laughter in the middle of the coats, much to Peri's terror.

The second scene puts an emphasis on the Doctor looking at (and trying on) several coats and jackets for his future costume. Much like the Fifth Doctor, the Sixth Doctor also references previous incarnations of his. For this, he uses coats that are resembling previous items wore in the past. First, he gets hold of an item that references the fur coat the Second Doctor wore in some episodes (*The Abominable Showmen*, *The Ice Warriors*). Then, he tries on a dark red, velvet-like jacket, similar to the kind of jackets the Third Doctor was fond of at the start of Season Nine (*The Day of the Daleks*, *The Curse of Peladon*). Yet, the Doctor dismisses both items and continues to look for the one jacket that would suit him, showing he is not fond of either. It is only when finding a third coat that a smile appears on his face. However, the audience is not shown the item that has been picked by the Doctor in its entirety—they are only able to see the upper part of the coat. It is just enough to see that the coat has a mostly red and green colour scheme, but not enough to know what the coat looks like in its entirety⁷¹.

The last scene starts with a medium wide shot of the Doctor (now wearing the coat and what seems to be a completed costume) in front of a mirror, admiring himself. Due to the way

⁷¹ Peter Moffatt, *Doctor Who* (1963), 'The Twin Dilemma' (1984), part 1, BBC DVD, 2009, 04:59 – 05:57.

the shot is constructed, the audience can see both the front and the back of the coat, putting a greater emphasis on how disorganised its pattern is. This shot then transitions into a close-up of the Doctor putting a cat badge on the lapel of his coat, bringing what appears to be the final touch to his costume. Yet, in this second scene, two elements are conflicting with each other. The Doctor clearly is proud of his appearance and outfit, as he is admiring himself in the mirror. The camera films him using medium wide shots that are rather long (nine and five seconds respectively), thus showing the costume as much as it can and giving the audience time to admire it. This “fantasy” ends when Peri appears again and the Doctor has to share the camera with her; as the camera reverts to medium shots and does not showcase the Doctor’s new costume any more, Peri comments on the Doctor’s costume, saying that the Doctor will “look dreadful” and later describing the Doctor’s costume as “yuck”, much to the Doctor’s dismay – and in opposition to his original enthusiasm for the costume.



Figure 2 - The Sixth Doctor admires himself. (The Twin Dilemma)

If the Fifth and Sixth Doctors’ wardrobe scenes were different from each other in the way they were built, the Sixth and Seventh Doctors’ wardrobe scenes are more similar to each other. Both scenes are taking place in a wardrobe in the TARDIS, and in both scenes the Doctor tries on several pieces of garments in front of his companion. However, in the Seventh Doctor’s case, his costume exploration is taking place in one continuous scene of two minutes. This scene can subsequently be divided into two different parts: one where the Doctor explores references that are general and can be recognised by a wider audience, and one where the Doctor explores references that are proper to the show’s lore.

The first part of the scene can be perceived as a reference to the Fourth Doctor's costume introduction. Much like in 1974, the Doctor briefly references existing characters and/or people for comedic reasons. First, he appears to be dressed as Napoleon Bonaparte; he then changes his hat into one that references the Queen's Guard, before changing his hat once more and adding a cape to reference an academic graduate. All of the changes are accompanied by an extradiegetic music cue, enhancing the comic of the situation and, through it, the comical side of this new incarnation of the Doctor. Thus, even though the Doctor is not really trying out clothes that will be a part of his future costume, this part of the extract still allows the audience to get to know him. The second part of the scene, one that is similar to any Doctor created during the 1980s, shows him trying on the Fourth Doctor's second outfit, the Third Doctor's frilly shirt and Inverness cape, and the Second Doctor's coat. It is this coat that is used in the reveal of the real Seventh Doctor's costume, when the Doctor proudly opens it to reveal a simpler cream safari jacket and his trademark jumper with red question marks. He also wears tweed trousers, but they were worn at the start of the scene already; thus, they are not *per se* part of the reveal. Most of the shots used to show the Doctor's various attempts at finding something that suits him are medium wide shots; whereas his companion's reactions are showed through closer shots. Once again, the camera only starts to film the Doctor from a closer angle once the proper costume has been found, meaning that the Doctor is finally himself and will finally be able to focus on the matter at hand.



*Figure 3 - The Seventh Doctor unveils his new costume.
(Time and the Rani)*

However, contrary to both of the previous scenes, the Seventh Doctor's scenes serves another purpose within the narrative of the episode itself. If the Doctor is shown finding a new, more appropriate outfit for his new persona, he does so in front of a person he thinks is Mel, his companion; in reality, she is impersonated by the antagonist of the episode, the Rani, who pretends to be Mel in order to gain the trust of the Doctor and convince him to do her bidding. Her reactions to the Doctor's antics are less than kind; as the scene goes on, she looks more and more annoyed at him, and it is out of annoyance that she encourages the Doctor to wear what is to become his definitive costume. The end of this scene also seems to indicate that, now that the Doctor is starting to settle into his new persona and regain his senses, it may become harder to lure him into thinking that the Rani is his companion. Indeed, it is only once the Doctor is wearing his costume that he is able to start to see through the Rani's plan of pretending to be the Doctor's companion. However, because the Rani previously drugged him, it is now the drug that is preventing him from fully understanding the situation rather than the confusion stemming from his recent regeneration, and although the Doctor is able to briefly understand something is wrong, the Rani is ultimately able to keep her control on the Doctor – for now.

It is interesting to note that, even though these costume scenes may be taking place in different situations (on a menacing planet and under the grip of the antagonist for the Seventh Doctor, in post-regeneration euphoria for the Sixth Doctor and in post-regeneration confusion for the Fifth Doctor), they are still sharing similarities, especially concerning the various references to their previous incarnations. Yet, these scenes are also a first glimpse showing the audience what this new, unknown Doctor is going to be in the future; the Fifth Doctor is presented as a young, athletic man, the Sixth Doctor's main characteristic seems to be his arrogance and high opinion of himself, while the multiple costumes' changes of the Seventh Doctor (along with the various remarks he is making at the same time) indicates that he will be a more light-hearted incarnation.

c) The (lack of) evolution

As explained previously, every Doctor incarnation is unique and, in terms of costuming, is given a unique outfit meant to visually express the persona of the new Doctor. This outfit

almost always receives its own scene when the Doctor puts it on for the first time, thus also giving the audience a first moment to discover the new main character of the show. However, one of the specificities of the television show format is its continuity; in the case of Doctor Who, a season is made out of several stories, and a story is made out of several episodes that are broadcast in a regular rhythm (weekly, most of the time). While there are several months between two seasons, it is still unusual for the show to vanish off the screens for more a year. In contrast, films are made of only one block that is not broadcast as frequently and, even in the case of film series, there is usually a gap of several years between two films.

The costume of the Fifth Doctor does not evolve much during his tenure. Its biggest modification happens during the Fifth Doctor's last story, *The Caves of Androzani*. The story, taking place on an alien planet, sees two sides fighting for a precious substance; however, the substance is also toxic and both the Doctor and his companion Peri are poisoned by it. It is up to the Doctor to find a cure for the both of them. The last episode sees the destruction of Androzani Minor and the regeneration of the Doctor into a new incarnation, as he decided to give the cure to Peri, hoping he would be able to regenerate to save his life. At the beginning of the story, the (healthy) Doctor arrives on Androzani Minor with a clean costume. At the end of the story, as the Doctor is dying and fears his body will not be able to handle a regeneration, his costume is far less clean. The jacket, in particular, is damaged and dirty to the point part of it becomes black instead of light grey. Some of the damage is also echoed by the stains on the jumper and on the trousers, especially at the bottom.

Apart from this destruction at the end, and outside of his "normal" costume, the Doctor seldom wears something else, apart from a Harlequin outfit he wears during *Black Orchid* (along with the meaning of this particular costume, this subject will be discussed later). Some accessories are added to the overall costume over time, but they barely have a role within the various stories as well. Only the celery the Doctor wore on his lapel proved to have a narratological reason, since in at least one episode, the Doctor mentions its ability to detect certain toxic gases⁷².

The Sixth Doctor's costume did not change much either during its first season – although in this character's case, part of it can be explained by the cost of the outfit (most of the pieces used being custom made for the part) and the complexity of the overall outfit,

⁷² In "The Caves of Androzani" (1984).

especially as far as the colour balance is concerned. However, the costume was sometimes modified for the length of one story, or less, to accommodate the plot and / or the actors. The example of *The Two Doctors* can be quoted here. The story used two main settings: the first one, to introduce the story, was a studio setting representing a spaceship, in which the Doctor and his companion landed. The second setting, and by far the most used within the story, is a real life location in Spain. Due to both the location and the weather, the costumes of the main actors had to be adjusted. The Doctor thus dons a much lighter version of his outfit; the coat is not used altogether due to the hot temperatures, and his usual wool waistcoat is replaced by a waistcoat whose material seems to be lighter (and thus, keeping less heat); moreover, the waistcoat stays open during much of the story. The design of the waistcoat is also modified, perhaps as an effort to fit into a lighter theme more reminiscent of summer: the colours used are from a lighter palette (mostly blue and orange), and instead of a more traditional pattern the waistcoat features a floral theme.

Season 23, also known as “The Trial of the Time Lord”, used the Doctor’s costume in a clever way in order to help the audience tackle the complicated format of the season. “The Trial of a Time Lord” was entirely build around the concept of the Doctor being in trial for his life, with the action displayed within the episodes actually being pieces of evidence shown by either the Doctor (in an attempt to defend himself) or by the prosecutor (in an attempt to prove the Doctor is guilty). *The Mysterious Planet*, being the first story, uses evidence taken from the Doctor’s past; *Mindwarp*, the second story, shows evidence taken immediately before the Doctor’s trial, closer to his present. As for the third story, *Terror of the Vervoids*, it displays evidence from the Doctor’s future. Due to three time periods being displayed in one single season, and mixed with events taken from a fourth time periods, decision was taken to use part of the Doctor’s costume to help the audience deal with the different periods and understand when the action on their screen was taking place, using the ties, vests, and vest chains he wore. The fourth (and last) story of the season, *The Ultimate Foe*, uses the same codes present in *Mindwarp*, as the story is back to the Doctor’s present.

	Tie colour	Vest colour and pattern	Vest chain colour
The Mysterious Planet	Blue, with polka dots	Grid pattern; green, red and white colours	Green
Mindwarp	Red, with polka dots	Grid pattern; red and white colours	Pink
Terror of the Vervoids	Yellow, with polka dots	Stripped pattern; green, purple and pink colours	Green
The Ultimate Foe	Red, with polka dots	Grid pattern; red and white colours	Green

The Seventh Doctor is perhaps the Doctor who undergoes the greatest costume modification out of the three Doctors studied. First presented as a comic Doctor through the physical acting style of Sylvester McCoy, but also through some misused quotes (“More hasta less vista”, in *Time and the Rani*, is an example), the Doctor gradually evolved into a darker character. Some of the traits he was given earlier, such as the misused or misunderstood quotes, were barely used again after the first season of the character. Instead, the emphasis was placed on his tendency to manipulate other people to make sure his overall plan would succeed, no matter the cost. Moreover, the last seasons coincided with the efforts of Andrew Cartmel to make the character mysterious again. As a result of all these modifications, it is safe to say that the Doctor in *Survival* is very different from the Doctor who first appeared in *Time and the Rani*. To reflect this change, the costume evolved between Seasons 25 and 26. The main elements remained the same; what changed was the colour theme of the whole, becoming darker to echo the now darker nature of the Doctor. During the first two seasons of the program, the colour palette used was light brown; in the last season, the jacket, the trousers, and part of the accessories (such as the hat) changed from a light brown to a darker, more serious brown tone.

Initially, a “big” reveal was planned for this new version of the costume. In *The Curse of Fenric*, an emphasis is made on the fact the Doctor steps out of the TARDIS at the start of the first episode wearing a long, brown coat, justified by the bad weather outside but at the same time hiding his costume. Thus, the new, darker costume is only revealed when the Doctor removes his coat, several minutes after the start of the episode – a similar technique was used to first introduce the Seventh Doctor’s costume, back in *Time and the Rani*. Since *The Curse*

of Fenric was initially planned as the first story of the season, the audience would have been forced to pay attention to the change, by watching the Doctor remove his coat. However, the BBC felt that the theme of the story was more suited for October, and thus decided to delay its broadcast. By the time *The Curse of Fenric* was broadcast, during the last week of October and the first weeks of November, the audience was already used to the dark brown costume, having seen it in two stories previously: *Battlefield* and *Ghost Light*. Also due to this broadcast change, the whole emphasis on the new costume was lost in context; instead, the Doctor was perceived as wearing a coat solely because of the bad weather outside, and all effect of surprise was essentially lost.

Although most of the costume slightly evolved during their time on screen, not all of them reflected the progression or evolution of their respective Doctor. Some of these choices were made for more practical reasons, and were only temporary (like the Sixth Doctor in *The Two Doctors*). Some of these choices also benefited from, and played around, the format of a television show. Perhaps, if “The Trial of a Time Lord” had been made in a single unit, the viewer would not have needed to have visual elements reminding him of when the story is taking place. Instead, due to the episodes being delivered in weekly instalments, these elements become almost necessary for them, allowing the audience to notice small clues that help them understand, week after week, the plot of the story. It is also important to notice that not some changes could also have happened identically in a film; it is not rare for a major protagonist to change clothes to note a big characterisation change, much like what was decided with the Seventh Doctor.

This part exposed the general context around the show, mentioning the creation process and the various formats that have been used. Through this scope, issues more specific to the time period studied have also been mentioned, such as the struggles during the second half of the 1980s. As part of the general context, the visual identity of the show and of its main character has also been discussed, in greater detail due to the ever evolving aspect of the visual identity – perhaps something specific to the television show format, or maybe even to this particular television show.

II. Unexplored settings and unknown characters, and how to introduce them

1. Militaristic societies and hippy circuses: strong visual identities

a) “The Happiness Patrol”

“The Happiness Patrol” is a Seventh Doctor story, broadcast in 1988 as part of Season 25. In this three-part story, the Doctor and Ace are visiting the human colony of Terra Alpha, where they quickly realise that being unhappy is a crime, punishable by death. Throughout their adventures, the Doctor and Ace get involved with the local rebellion that is mounting against the leader of Terra Alpha, Helen A. The rebellion is successful and, as Helen A is forced to flee, Terra Alpha is finally free to be sad.

From a more technical point of view, this story was the only story of its season to have been filmed within a studio in its entirety. The story itself plays around this constraint, and what could have appeared to be technical flaws in other stories (such as the lack of lights or the simplicity of the sets used) are instead used as an integral part of what script editor Andrew Cartmel calls the “nocturnal sorrow and menace of the city”⁷³.

The pressure of “being happy” that is being put on the Terra Alpha citizens is visually made explicit – not only to the Doctor or Ace but also to the audience at home – through the excess of the colour pink, both within the city but also the visual identity of the characters. Although the sets are kept dark on purpose, the establishing shots of the story still show that the walls are painted with a pale pink colour. Later on in the story, it is the Doctor’s TARDIS itself that is painted in pink (instead of its usual blue) in order to fit within the landscape⁷⁴. In addition to this, almost every character linked to Terra Alpha is shown wearing pink in some way – not only on their clothing, but also on their make-up and their wigs. The outfits’ variety is based on the role of the people wearing them – each role having its own set of clothes.

For instance, the Happiness Patrol, whose members are predominantly female (there are only a few male guards), have very stylised outfits. Although the name itself would hint at an almost militaristic role (one of the definitions of “patrol” being “a unit of persons or vehicles

⁷³ ‘The Happiness Patrol’ in A. Cartmel, *Script Editor: The Inside Story of Doctor Who 1986-1989*, Richmond, Reynolds & Hearn, 2005, 141.

⁷⁴ Chris Clough, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Happiness Patrol’ (1988), part 1, BBC DVD, 2012, 5:25.

employed for reconnaissance, security, or combat”⁷⁵), the costumes of the members of the Patrol do not look like military uniforms at all. Their jackets are seemingly made from pale cream silk – not from a fabric that would favour physical action. Members of the Happiness Patrol also seem to wear coloured wigs, either pink or purple – both colours usually being associated with sweetness and happiness rather than violence and militaristic action. Some larger shots also show that members of the Patrol are wearing high heels rather than flat shoes that would make it easier for them to run after fugitives. In fact, the only part of their visual identity that identifies them as soldiers does not come from their clothing, but rather from their “accessories” – as they are armed with real weapons, able to harm people if shot.



Figure 4 - The Happiness Patrol. (*The Happiness Patrol*)



Figure 5 - Helen A. (*The Happiness Patrol*)

This regime is headed by Helen A, responsible for the colony with her husband Joseph C – although she is the one holding most, if not all of the power by herself. Her visual identity shares some elements with the Happiness Patrol, as a way to represent this power that she shares with the “military”: the wig and make-up that she wears are similar to theirs. She also wears a rank letter sewn on her left sleeve, like everybody else. On the other hand, the rest of her visual identity sets her apart as the person in power. If everyone on Terra Alpha wears paler shades of pink or cream, Helen A’s visual identity is associated with a more violent red that is not shared with anyone else – as such, she cannot be mistaken for anyone else but the person in charge, regardless of who she is with.

Unlike many of the other characters that were created for Doctor Who, another important inspiration for the character of Helen A came from a real-life person. Both the crew

⁷⁵ ‘patrol’, Merriam Webster, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/patrol> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

working on the story and the actress playing Helen A, Sheila Hancock, certainly considered the part as a satire of then-Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher (this satiric side to the story was not advertised at the time⁷⁶, although in later years the team behind *Doctor Who* opened more about their anti-Thatcher feelings⁷⁷). Her fashion style was described as a “power dressing” style and used to assert her power as the first female Prime Minister⁷⁸ (she once stated that “people expect me to dress like an executive and so that is what I do”⁷⁹). Helen A was given the same visual characteristics, wearing simple suits with straight silhouettes and a monochromatic colour palette. Thus, while for people who were not privy to the satiric side Helen A only appeared as an authoritarian character, for those who knew both Helen’s A visual identity and the overall story formed a clear satirical take on Margaret Thatcher’s politics.

Apart from the Doctor and Ace, who are not native residents of Terra Alpha and are thus excluded in a way, there are only a few exceptions when it comes to predominantly wearing pale colours. The very first sequence of the story introduces the “killjoys”, residents of the planet who are breaking the laws of Terra Alpha by being openly unhappy – or do not appear to be happy enough in the eyes of the Happiness Patrol. The killjoys are characterised by two different types of outfits. They can be seen wearing black trench coats over their regular pink clothes (this is also the visual identity used by the spy Silas P. in order to infiltrate the ranks of the killjoys and denounce them later). The second type of killjoy outfit is introduced at the start of the last part, in one sequence that shows a group of people manifesting on the streets of Terra Alpha. In this scene, they are all wearing mourning dresses and veils, in what is the most open display of sadness in the story. The sadness is enhanced by the high angle shot used to film this scene, which is later on shown to be an intra-diegetic camera showing the revolt to Helen A through a black-and-white television screen. The combination of the mourning clothing and the black-and-white television screen makes the sadness even more

⁷⁶ ‘Happiness Will Prevail’ in *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Happiness Patrol’ (1988), *op.cit.*

⁷⁷ Stephen Adams, ‘Doctor Who “had anti-Thatcher agenda”’, *The Telegraph*, 14 Feb. 2010, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/doctor-who/7235547/Doctor-Who-had-anti-Thatcher-agenda.html> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

⁷⁸ Kashmira Gander, ‘Fashion, women and power-dressing: Margaret Thatcher’s impact on clothing’, *Independent*, 18 Dec. 2016, <https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/fashion/margaret-thatcher-clothes-dress-suits-power-dressing-fashion-impact-women-victoria-and-albert-museum-a7480026.html> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

⁷⁹ Jo Ellison, ‘Thatcher deployed clothes as weapons of feminine assault’, *Financial Times*, 04 Nov. 2015, <https://www.ft.com/content/a6361688-8306-11e5-8095-ed1a37d1e096> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

visible and catching, especially as the television screen is part of a very colourful set⁸⁰ - underlining the upcoming defeat of Helen A and her regime of happiness.

The Doctor and Ace are not the only strangers stranded on Terra Alpha; there are two other characters that do not come from this planet, both identified by the “last name” Sigma and by the fact they do not wear pink unlike almost everybody else. The first one to be introduced is Earl Sigma, a blues player who cannot buy himself a ticket out of Terra Alpha due to the sadness of his music, and who does not have any other way to earn money. His clothing identifies him as a blues player, as it is similar to what blues musicians wore in the 1950s: a simple light grey suit and a fedora hat. Moreover, as it is mentioned that he has been stranded on Terra Alpha for quite a while now, the fact he did not change his clothing to comply with the legislation of the planet indicates an unwillingness to fit in – also shown when he helps the Doctor and Ace in their adventures.

The other character who is not from Terra Alpha is Trevor Sigma, a bureaucrat who is tasked with referencing the citizens of Terra Alpha and identifying those who have disappeared. A minor character, he is travelling to Terra Alpha on a professional capacity, reflected by his outfit: he is wearing a black suit with a handkerchief in his lapel pocket and a tie. The only sign of eccentricity present in the character is the colour of the tie: yellow. This may well be a way to foreshadow the sensitivity of Trevor Sigma to the blues played by Earl Sigma; if everyone on Terra Alpha seems to be against blues, Trevor Sigma openly admits that the music makes him feel “a pleasant melancholy”⁸¹.

The main theme of “The Happiness Patrol”, even more so than the satire of Thatcherism, was to subvert the usual idea that the Doctor, when visiting a new place, was able to help the local inhabitants and exert their newfound freedom in the way they deemed fit⁸². However, while in most stories the Doctor’s intervention allows the local to finally be happy, in this case the inhabitants of Terra Alpha are left with the ability to be sad. This discrepancy is made clear due to the fact happiness is made omnipresent in this story due to its plot, but especially its visual identity. The colour pink and its different shades are used for both the sets and the costumes, with stronger colours being rarer and being only associated with important characters, such as Helen A. On the other hand, the few characters that dare to be openly sad

⁸⁰ C. Clough, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Happiness Patrol’, part 3, *op.cit.*, 1:21–1:59.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 11:51.

⁸² ‘Happiness Will Prevail’ in *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Happiness Patrol’ (1988), *op.cit.*

are associated with the only displays of darker colours and mourning clothes, both traditionally associated with death and sadness.

b) “The Greatest Show in the Galaxy”

“The Greatest Show in the Galaxy” (Season 25, 1988) takes place on the fictional planet of Segonax, where a circus dubbing itself the “Greatest Show in the Galaxy” has established itself. The Doctor and Ace receive an invitation to the talent contest organised by the circus and, although Ace is fearful of the circus world, the Doctor still decides to take part in the contest, dragging Ace along with him. Even though the story takes place on a foreign planet, most of the plot is set in the circus; it is, as such, what defines the visual identity of this story. In particular, it also defines the visual identity of most of the antagonists, who are only known by the role they are given within the circus system.

The first character to appear is the Ringmaster. The first episode opens with him entering the circus ring, taking centre stage, and declaring that the show has officially started, in a sequence made as much for the audience of the circus as it is for the audience at home – it is the only sequence to break the fourth wall in the episode, the last shot being a close-up of the Ringmaster talking directly to the camera. Throughout the episode, the Ringmaster is responsible for introducing the contestants and entertaining the audience between the contestants’ appearances, which he does through a witted rap, coming up with new rhymes every time. His outfit was made to reflect his role as the leading man of the circus – at least on the surface. Dressed in an outfit made to resemble the traditional ringmasters, special attention was given to the colour of his riding coat especially. In modern imagery, the riding coat of a ringmaster is usually represented in red; yet, the idea was vetoed by director Alan Wareing⁸³, and Rosalind Ebbutt had to find an alternative. Her solution was to draw inspiration from Victorian times, where ringmasters would preferably wear either blue or black – the finished episode shows the Ringmaster wearing a blue coat, thus pleasing the director while keeping a sense of realism on screen. The Ringmaster’s top hat and whip also seems to be accessories that define him; when the Ringmaster dies, during the fourth episode, the only pieces that remains of him are the hat and the whip.

⁸³ David J. Howe, ‘Fantasy Factory – Rosalind Ebbutt interview’ *The Frame* 10, *op.cit.*, 8.

While the Ringmaster is, as his name shows, mainly associated with the ring and the organisation of the show, he is not the only character to run the circus and is not responsible for the organisation of the circus behind the scenes. The greeting of the contestants for the circus' show is handled by another character, Morgana. Everyone working in the circus has a special talent they use; Morgana's appears to be fortune telling. This is mostly conveyed by the use of accessories: the tarot cards (which, like the Ringmaster's hat and whip, are the only things remaining after Morgana's death) and the crystal ball (which appears to also be a way to speak directly to the real antagonists of the story without giving away their identities). Her visual identity also alludes to the popular cliché of the foreign fortune teller; she wears a long dress with several additional layers; a shawl draped over her shoulders and a headband with golden decoration complete the ensemble. It is implied that Morgana herself is aware of this and uses this cliché deliberately: she performs her readings using a fake foreign accent that she does not use when speaking to the rest of the circus members, and she is mainly seen in a caravan that seems to be able to move independently from the rest of the circus, and is only used as a ticket office because a temporary sign has been placed above it.

The third major antagonist is the Chief Clown of the circus. Contrary to the Ringmaster, whose character is presented in relation with his position and work, the Chief Clown's first apparition occurs as he is wearing the clothes of an undertaker above his original clown costume. In this sequence, he is also shown in a black car, hunting two performers who have escaped from the circus. Both due to the original costume and the first sequence he is shown in, this character plays off the natural aversion that some of the audience and the characters (including Ace) may have toward clowns, more than the other clowns appearing in the episode. The Chief Clown is also the most ruthless antagonist depicted in the story – he is shown to comment on several deaths occurring without showing any feelings about it and, in the last part of the story, is the only antagonist shown to actively try to harm other people.

The Chief Clown is the leader of other, lesser clowns, that are also part of the universe of the circus. There is always at least one such clown present near the entrance of the circus; they, coincidentally, are always seen performing a trick that places them higher than the ground, such as walking on a tightrope, on stilts, or riding a unicycle. There are also other clowns in the circus, performing alongside the Ringmaster while he calls for a new contestant. They are also used as the henchmen of their leader, blindly obeying his orders and chasing the protagonists throughout the story when they rebel against the circus. All of these clowns are

not humans, but robots modelled after the Chief Clown; their lack of identity and “robotness” is helped by the fact they all wear a mask that was modelled from the face of Ian Reddington, the actor playing the Chief Clown⁸⁴. The way clowns were dressed, both in the past and in the present, was extensively researched by Rosalind Ebbutt and her assistant for this story, and every clown is given its own individual costume.



Figure 6 - The Ringmaster announcing a contestant. (*The Greatest Show in the Galaxy*)



Figure 7 - The Chief Clown and Morgana. (*The Greatest Show in the Galaxy*)

There are also “renegade” members of the circus, who decided to leave the Greatest Show in the Galaxy as they did not share the same ideals as the other members of the circus any more. The last two renegade members, Bellboy and Flowerchild, are shown in the first part of the story, being chased by the Chief Clown. Flowerchild is especially different as her costume does not follow any of the circus codes; instead, both through her name and her costume, she uses hippie codes from the 1970s, wearing a light dress and flower necklaces and letting her long, blond hair loose. As for Bellboy, who is the only one of the two to be caught by the Chief Clown (Flowerchild dies instead), his outfit hints at a previous circus reference: he wears a jacket whose fastening system seems to be similar to those used by lion tamers in the circus industry, only in a more stylised way. Such a reference is logic within the story, as later on Bellboy is shown to be the original creator of many of the robots used by the circus, including the clown ones. But the rest of his appearance is unkempt; the jacket appears to be dirty yellow and he does not wear a shirt. The robot tamer does not seem to be able to tame any

⁸⁴ Andrew Cartmel, *Script Doctor; The Inside Story of Doctor Who 1986-1989*, Richmond, Reynolds & Hearn, 2005, 120.

robots anymore (except briefly in the third part – locked in his workshop, he commits suicide by ordering his robots to kill him).

The Doctor and Ace are not the only ones to be interested in the circus' competition; throughout the story, they encounter other possible contestants. The first one they see is Nord the Vandal; as his name indicates, he is one of the least friendly candidates, refusing to give the Doctor and Ace a ride on their way to the circus. His appearance is as rough as his behaviour. He wears an outfit mostly made out of jeans material and an original helmet, specially devised by costume designer Rosalind Ebbutt so that the audience would be able to see the actor's face despite him wearing the helmet⁸⁵.

Another contestant, called Whizzkid, is the only contestant described as “nice, clean, [and] respectable”⁸⁶ by the Stallslady – all the more surprising since it is shown that she dislikes foreigners coming to her planet for the circus competition. According to Rosalind Ebbutt, Whizzkid was modelled out of the “boring enthusiast type that you used to find in the comics of the late 1950s”⁸⁷. His clothes are clean cut, his glasses clean – and he is shown to be one of the most fervent admirers of both the circus and Captain Cook, which ultimately causes his demise. The character of Captain Cook is even more straightforward than the two other contestants: everything hints at him being an (intergalactic) explorer. From his name (a reference to Captain James Cook) to his costume (an all-blown Victorian explorer costume, complete with accessories such as binoculars), it is impossible to mistake him for anything but an explorer.

Although none of the performers above have links to the circus imagery, this aspect is taken care of; as they prepare for their performance, they will be given accessories to include them in the circus world. In the case of Nord the Vandal, for instance, he wears a leopard skin above his usual biker clothes, characterising him as a strongman even before he gets to lift the weights he has been given. But all the characters keep their own individual identity, and none of them are fully adopted as part of the circus; indeed, they die at the end of their performance (except Captain Cook, whose demise is due to his mistreatments of his companion Mags).

⁸⁵ David Howe, *Fantasy Factory – Rosalind Ebbutt interview*, *The Frame 10*, May 1989, 8.

⁸⁶ Alan Wareing, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Greatest Show in the Galaxy’, part 1, *op.cit.*, 21.13

⁸⁷ D. Howe, *Fantasy Factory – Rosalind Ebbutt interview*, *op.cit.*, 8.

On paper, *The Greatest Show in the Galaxy* was not meant to be successful. Apart from the usual constraints of budget and time, it also suffered from a sudden change of plans, as the studios that were going to be used for the filming of the story suddenly became unavailable, due to the discovery of asbestos⁸⁸ - instead, the story was filmed in a unused parking lot. Yet, this is one of the stories that have been praised the most, especially in regard to the visual elements composing it. Script editor Andrew Cartmel wrote that “The make-up and the costume are of the highest calibre, showing imagination and flair and real feel for the story.”⁸⁹. Every character being part of the story is given a strong visual identity that either makes them part of the circus, and thus in most cases an antagonist, wanting to be a part of the circus and thus destined to die, or ready and willing to overthrow what the circus has become. Originally meant to be a show made by and for free spirits such as Flowerchild, the members of the circus ended up becoming slaves for the Gods of Ragnarok. Deprived of what made its success in the first place and seemingly stranded on the planet of Segonax, it offers the perfect setting to capitalise on the audience’s possible the fear of the circus (or parts of it) – Ace herself states from the start that she is afraid of clowns⁹⁰ and the horror of the story is enough for the Doctor to share her apprehension by the end of the story⁹¹.

c) Vengeance on Varos

Vengeance on Varos (Season 22, 1985) is a Sixth Doctor story. Part of the stories that were filmed entirely in studios, without any shots on location, the story takes place on the fictional planet of Varos. The primary antagonist of the story, Sil, the foreign representative of a mining corporation, tries to take advantage of the difficult living conditions on Varos to convince the Governor to sell Zeiton-4 (a special mineral and the primary source of income for Varos) to a price below its original value. In that, he is helped by the Chief Officer of Varos who, although he is meant to be an ally to the Governor, tries to convince him to listen to Sil. There are also internal conflicts in the planet, in the form of a rebellion led by citizens who are not satisfied with the harsh conditions they are living in. It is within this context that the Doctor and Peri arrive, themselves in need of Zeiton-4 to fix the TARDIS. The culture of Varos is shown to be mainly militaristic, almost autocratic. This is reflected not only through the sets

⁸⁸ A. Cartmel, *Script Doctor, The Inside Story of Doctor Who 1986-1989*, *op.cit.*, 123.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁹⁰ Alan Wareing, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Greatest Show in the Galaxy’, *op.cit.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

that are dark, without much embellishment, but also through the costumes. Yet, although it could appear as bleak, there are subtleties – for instance, in the way the different “social classes” are separated.

Overall, there are two categories of people on Varos that can be distinguished: those given to what appears to be the “civilians”, and those given to what appears to be the “elite”, holding the power. While there is no confusion about who belongs to what category, the clothes are one of the elements allowing the audience to clearly separate the elite and the others.

The civilians are represented through two couples, mirroring each other. Jondar and Areta are presented as young, prominent rebels; Jondar, especially, is important enough to be tortured on national television. Arak and Etta, on the other hand, are two middle-aged citizens who are shown to respect the law, albeit reluctantly for Arak, and are enjoying the (mandatory) entertainment provided by the state. Thus, they are both representing one aspect of the citizens of Varos: one pair agreeing with the government of Varos, the other pair willing to die to change it. These differences in convictions are also reflected in their outfits: Arak and Etta’s costumes share some similarities with the elite’s military outfits, while Jondar and Areta’s costumes are almost completely different. Arak wears a mostly black outfit, similar to military clothing: there are epaulettes (although there is no military decoration or rank on them), and he wears the insignia representing Varos on his chest – being officially endorsed as a citizen of Varos through it. Etta also wears a strict uniform with the insignia of Varos on her chest and, while being less militaristic in essence (she does not have epaulette, for instance), is still severe in appearance. Their way to wear their uniforms also reflects their attitude towards the state in a deeper manner: Arak wears his in a less serious manner, not buttoning all the buttons of his jacket for instance. Likewise, at the end of the second episode, he does not hesitate to vote using Etta’s vote, and she reacts by threatening him with the fate that awaits all traitors on Varos: being arrested, and eventually killed⁹² (this also shows how devoted to Varos Etta is, being willing to report her own partner for breaking the rules).

As for Jondar, he is first shown on screen being tortured, only wearing his trousers while the torture focuses on his upper chest. This is how he stays for most of the first part of the story, being on the run with the Doctor and Peri. It is only when rescued by Areta that he is given a shirt, much different than Arak’s however. Jondar’s shirt does not look like any part of a uniform, indicating that he does not support or work with the state. There are no differences,

⁹² Ron Jones, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘Vengeance on Varos’, part 2, BBC DVD, 1985, 33.13.

however, between Areta and Etta's costumes: both are cut the same way, and both women wear the insignia of Varos even though her beliefs are very different.



Figure 8 - Jondar and Areta. (*Vengeance on Varos*)



Figure 9 - Arak and Etta. (*Vengeance on Varos*)

Almost every other character of the story encountered by the Doctor and Peri are dressed in military uniforms and employed by Varos. They can in turn be divided into two broad categories, distinguished by the difference of their uniform's main colour: there are people wearing mostly black, and people wearing mostly grey. The black uniforms are those seemingly involved with the most physical jobs, such as chasing the rebels within Varos. Maldak, a Senior Guard who appears in both parts of the story, is a member of this category. He first appears guarding Jondar before his planned execution, wearing his usual black costume and an "anti-hallucination helmet" (he thinks it does not work upon seeing the Doctor and Peri). Other parts of the costume include thick gloves and boots made of solid leather, a metallic sash (the sash being a mark of both rank and duty for officers⁹³), and a laser gun he later uses. His allegiance to Varos is displayed through the use of the insignia of Varos on his costume, not once but twice: first in a prominent way on a small upper chest metallic piece, then on the belt buckle. The costume does not change much for higher ranking soldiers: the Chief Officer (only known by his title) is dressed in a very similar manner, the most important difference being the distinction on their epaulettes, due to the rank difference. The only other colour appearing on their costumes (in very small quantities) is a bright red, used for their epaulettes, the Varos insignia, the interior of their gloves and the side of their trousers. The colour red does nothing to make them less menacing; on the contrary, "red, above all, is the color of blood", writes

⁹³ 'Army Dress Regulations (All Ranks)' Ministry of Defence, January 2011, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/626107/2017-03109.pdf (last accessed 25 August 2020), Part 1 Sect 4.

Alison Lurie⁹⁴. The presence of the colours black and red and the laser gun they wear around their waist or hold in their hands marks them as dangerous individuals, who will not hesitate to use violence in order to uphold order in Varos.

The grey uniforms, on the other hand, are less numerous. The grey uniforms are introduced to the audience by the character of Bax, who is the only guard in the episode seen wearing a peaked cap, associated with military outfits⁹⁵. Their highest ranking officer is the Governor of Varos himself. While the militaristic aspect is kept in the shape of the grey uniform (the epaulettes, the sash and the bands on the side of the trousers are present on both uniforms), it is clear the accent is more on the ceremonial. Instead of the chest piece present on black uniforms, the Governor of Varos wears a medal with the same insignia – providing less security to his chest, but still marking him as a representative of Varos (in the case of Bax and other lower ranking officials, the insignia of Varos is sewed directly on their shirts). Moreover, his sash is not made out of metal: it is instead made out of fabrics reflecting the colours worn by the Governor, and in turn the colours of Varos itself. The epaulettes are kept bare, with no indication of military rank. Finally, the Governor is never seen with a weapon either; most of the story shows him negotiating with the antagonist of the story in order to seal the best commercial deal possible for Varos and its citizens, indicating a less violent nature and a greater emphasis on the administration of the country.



Figure 10 - Maldak, Bax, and the Governor. (*Vengeance on Varos*)

⁹⁴ A. Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, *op.cit.*, 195.

⁹⁵ 'Army Dress Regulations (All Ranks)', Ministry of Defence, *op.cit.* (last accessed 25 August 2020), Part 2 Sect 2 – 6.

Such a ceremonial use to the costume of the Governor of Varos is also hinted at through the way he communicates with the citizens of the planet. One of the key ideas of the story is the medium of television and its uses. Having a television is mandatory for the citizens of Varos. It is how they learn about the affairs of the state and how they express their opinions on them: each television is equipped with “Yes” and “No” buttons on one side of the screen. Thus, television is the primary mode of communication for the Governor, and in the story itself he only communicates with his citizens through this manner – it appears to be the only way the citizens of Varos can ever see their Governor. The broadcast themselves appear to be highly codified: the start of these broadcasts is marked by a small song, and the set used for them is only used for this purpose. Visually speaking, as the Governor prepares himself to speak in front of the camera, there is only one minor costume change: he puts gloves on. The broadcasts are the only moments of the story where the Governor is seen using gloves, and they are hinted at being more than ceremonial. These broadcasts are used to submit votes to the citizens of Varos, the matter of the vote being the Governor’s recommendation. If the recommendation is defeated, then the Governor is punished by being subjected to Human Cell Disintegration Bombardment – a possibly lethal experience, during which he is restrained through shackles around his wrists. The gloves are then used to protect the wrists’s skin, and removed as soon as the ordeal is over. Yet, for a highly ceremonial broadcast, the lack of modification on the Governor’s visual appearance definitely indicates that his costume is less actively militaristic and more formal in essence.

In essence, ‘Vengeance on Varos’ could be compared to ‘The Happiness Patrol’: both stories are centred around authoritative governments, adamant on controlling the lives of their citizens and ruthless towards those who do not submit to their rule. However, if in ‘The Happiness Patrol’ emphasis was put on sweet colours meant to signify happiness, in ‘Vengeance on Varos’ the reality is shown as grim. Costumes all have a simple cut and colours demonstrates the lack of fantasy in the planet’s culture. Order and submission to the military is clearly what is expected from the citizens of Varos – and, when the Governor decides to abolish the current government’s regime, both Arak and Etta do not know what to do with their newfound freedom.

2. The recognition of guest characters on Earth and in space

a) “Ghost Light”

Definitions given in the introduction definitely established *Doctor Who* as a television series that met the criteria to be defined as serial television. Subsequent chapters in the book are discussing several aspects impacted by serial television, with one chapter specifically dedicated to characters. In this chapter, Jason Mittell writes:

Murray Smith identifies recognition as one of the chief components of character engagement in cinema, as film viewers differentiate between characters and other figures, whether they be inhuman objects or humans who do not rise to the level of characters, such as background extras in a group scene. For serial television, recognition also means viewers differentiating roles within a programme’s ongoing ensemble, where characters are positioned in fluid but meaningful tiers of primary lead characters, secondary supporting characters, tertiary recurring characters, nonrecurring guest characters, and background extras.⁹⁶

In the case of *Doctor Who*, the format of the show represents an added complexity. Most of the television series quoted by J. Mittell in this chapter, such as *Lost* or *The Sopranos*, are made out of episodes with a running time of roughly an hour. However, while modern *Doctor Who* has adopted that format as well, the format of classic *Doctor Who* is much different, as explained earlier. Episodes are much shorter, and some of them are linked within each other to form a coherent story. The Doctor, through his clothing, is immediately identified as the lead character of the story as soon as the audience, even an unfamiliar one, sees him. The TARDIS also helps that identification: both the Doctor and his companion(s) appear either in this closed space or getting out of it on their way to the adventure waiting for them. The audience recognising them as lead characters does not depend solely on the way they are dressed. But in most stories, the Doctor and his companion(s) are the only characters the audience is familiar with. The story has to introduce not only a mystery, but also new characters, in a very limited amount of time. Using Mittell’s model, every new character introduced in a story has to be quickly understood by the audience as being either a nonrecurring guest

⁹⁶ J. Mittell, *Complex TV: The Poetics of Contemporary Storytelling*, *op.cit.*, 123.

character or a background extra (assuming every recurring character will be recognised by the Doctor upon their meeting).

‘Ghost Light’, a 1989 story and one of the last stories to have been made for the show, presents its own challenges as well. It is recognised as being an exceptionally fast paced story, with a dense script. Jonathan Dennis, author of *The Black Archive #6 • Ghost Light*, highlights this fast pace in the first page of his book and explains it partly due to production issues: “In order to make the running time, several scenes were shortened or deleted”⁹⁷. In this story, the Doctor and Ace land on the upper floor of a haunted house, part of an important experience in Ace’s past. The Doctor, who landed there on purpose, describes the ongoing experience as an ‘initiative test’. The new characters introduced in this story can broadly be divided in three categories: the household members, the maids and butler, and the guests. As the household members are also the antagonists of the story, this part will not focus on them – by their role, they have to stand out. Instead, this part will focus on the last two categories.

The maids are divided into two groups, of which only the ‘principal’ maid is named. Some maids are only here during the day, and one of the first scenes of the story shows them hastily running away as soon as it is six in the evening, in a moment that sets the tone for the rest of the episode: “Our day is done. We shan’t stay here a moment longer. And heaven help anyone who's still here after dark”⁹⁸. Of these maids, no one is really introduced; the audience can guess the head housemaid’s name as being Mrs. Grose as she mentions her husband later on. All three daily maids are dressed with flowery dresses and sweet colours such as pink, evoking nature and daylight. Their sweet colours and the fact Mrs. Grose is the one to open the front door to welcome the first guest of the story could have implied a bigger role for them, but them leaving within the first minutes of the first episode and the story almost entirely happening at dusk or night completely undermines that idea – indeed, Mrs. Grose only appears twice in the entire story, and the two other maids are not seen past the first part of it.

Instead, these roles are filled by maids only appearing after six o’clock in the evening. They are headed by the housekeeper, Mrs. Pritchard. Much like the daily maids, they are all dressed in the exact same way: black dress, white apron and mobcap. The only exception to this is Mrs. Pritchard, who is dressed in black only. Mrs. Pritchard also receives special

⁹⁷ Jonathan Dennis, *The Black Archive #6 • Ghost Light*, n/a, Obverse, 2016, 14.

⁹⁸ Alan Wareing, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘Ghost Light’ (1989), part 1, BBC DVD, 2004.

treatment from both the plot and the camera: she is the first character to appear in the story, in a sequence starting with a medium long shot where she is the focus of the camera. Later on in the sequence, while the camera allows the maid accompanying Mrs. Pritchard to be hidden by the set, Mrs. Pritchard herself is still clearly visible. Towards the end of the scene, her face and left hand are displayed in a close-up. This close-up allows the audience to see that her mobcap and sleeves are more refined than the other maids's; moreover, she is the only one to wear jewellery, with the close-up showcasing both gold earrings and a golden ring, perhaps a wedding ring⁹⁹. Through all these details, a larger role is foreshadowed for her character: later on, her backstory is developed, despite the fast pace of the story.

While there are several maids, with only one of them receiving the focus of the story, this same focus does not have to be divided when it comes to butlers: there is only one appearing in 'Ghost Light'. Nimrod appears later than the maids, but his character is the one that interacts with the Doctor the most. It is the Doctor who understands very quickly that Nimrod is not a Homo Sapiens, but a Neanderthal. Yet, before being a Neanderthal, Nimrod is first and foremost a butler, characterised by the costume and by his ties to other characters: he obeys Josiah Smith (one of the antagonists), and he worships Light (another of the antagonists). He is not given as much special treatment by the camera as Mrs. Pritchard is, but by being the only Neanderthal and the only butler, he still attracts a fair amount of attention.



Figure 11 - Nimrod, the butler. (*Ghost Light*)



Figure 12 - Mrs Pritchard and the maids. (*Ghost Light*)

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 00:51 – 01:31.

The guests present in the story, much like the maids and the butler, are characterised by their professional occupation; the difference is that this occupation is not linked to the manor. The first guest to be introduced is Reverend Matthews, but the audience does not see much of him: the story always finds a way to write him off-screen, by making him wait for the master of the house (something he himself complains about¹⁰⁰) or by forcibly making him fall asleep¹⁰¹. Dressed in austere and dark clothes and always complaining when he appears on-screen, the audience cannot form any attachment towards him; at best, one feels pity when he is killed off for the amusement of one of the antagonists. Thus, while not being a background character (he is given a name and some focus), he is less important than most of the other characters in the story.

His presence in the story is replaced by Inspector Mackenzie, who is kept asleep within the manor until he is woken up by the Doctor. He is, however, no different than the Reverend: only defined as a policeman (including visually, with a dark blue cap and cape and a moustache similar to older pictures of the police force¹⁰²) and only here to investigate the mysterious events happening in the manor, he is clearly an inconvenience for every character he encounters (the Doctor does not even hide his annoyance¹⁰³). His character is not given depth beyond being an Inspector, and is killed off in the last part of the story.

The only guest of the manor not to be killed off is the hunter and explorer, Redvers Fenn-Cooper. Dressed with light brown, used clothing, badly shaved, he is shown to be skilled with firearms and other weapons; he is also the only guest to grow and evolve throughout the story, both visually (his hair goes from blond to white after he is subjected to an uncanny light that frightens him) and narratologically: his madness, emphasised in the first part of the story, gradually fades away and by the end of the story, Redvers is sane enough to decide to go back to his old job as an explorer – albeit in a spaceship this time.

‘Ghost Light’ relies heavily on visual signs that would be familiar in order to quickly establish the setting for the audience at home; as this story happens in Victorian times, it also has the luxury to use coding previously used during that period, which is not always the case

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 06:55.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 19:34.

¹⁰² ‘Hasting Borough Police, PC 31’, *Old Police Cells Museum*, https://www.oldpolicecellsmuseum.org.uk/content/photo-gallery/british-police-online-museum-sussex-police-forces/hastings-borough-police/hasting_borough_police_pc_31 (last accessed 27.08.2020)

¹⁰³ A. Wareing, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘Ghost Light’ (1989), part 2, *op.cit.*, 13:52.

in a science-fiction show. While some characters meant to be background characters are given the same visual identity and no opportunities to stand out (such as the maids), other characters are given a visual identity that are theirs and that they do not share within that story. But costumes are far from being the only clue given to the audience to help them understand which characters will be important in the story: camera work also greatly helps. Paired with shots giving the emphasis on one character and not another, costumes are not doing all the work, but they are most certainly helpful.

b) “Four to Doomsday”

Season 19 is one of a few seasons where all the stories are linked amongst themselves by a general plotline: one of the Doctor’s companions, Tegan, who unwillingly boarded the TARDIS at the end of the previous season, wishes to go back to Earth in order to start her new job as an air stewardess – something she was due to do before her adventures with the Doctor. The Doctor agrees to help her, but is unable to do so as he always miscalculates the destination or the historical period. Thus, all of the stories within Season 19 are linked to this common theme – including ‘Four to Doomsday’, where the Doctor lands in an unknown spaceship.

Here, they are hosted by three representatives of an alien race called the Urbankans – the last representative of their species. They are also hosted by four other representatives seemingly coming from Earth, but not from a time that is familiar to them. They are respectively introduced as Bigon, an Athenian philosopher; Villagra, a Mayan Princess who vowed not to speak until she gets back to her village; Lin Futu, a member of a (fictional) early Chinese Dynasty; and Kurkutji, an Australian aborigine.

The first of these representatives the Doctor is introduced to (and the one who will be his closest ally in the spaceship) is Bigon. Bigon's outfit does not fully correspond to how the most famous Greek philosophers have commonly been depicted in arts. The example of Socrates, one if not the most well-known Greek philosopher, shows that Socrates is almost always represented wearing a toga, an outfit made out of a single piece of white cloth draped

over the person's body, with usually one naked shoulder¹⁰⁴. In *Four to Doomsday*, Bigon does not wear a toga which is exactly similar; buttons indicate that his own toga is most likely made out of several pieces of fabric. However, such a difference in the clothing can be explained within the episode, as the cliffhanger of the first part of the episode relies on that clothing detail. Moreover, Bigon defines himself as an "Athenian"¹⁰⁵ and is described by Monarch as "a philosopher and a doubter"¹⁰⁶. It is his beliefs that are drawing him to not trust Monarch and side with the Doctor: during the third part of the story he explains that while the other chiefs have been "corrupted by power" and thus will not help them, he was protected due to his belief that "in a civilised world there is no substitute for democracy"¹⁰⁷. Likewise, he is the only leader to have been punished for his "one and only attempt at revolt", something Bigon explains to the Doctor as he shows him what was his jail¹⁰⁸ - over the course of the story, he is punished a second time for this exact same reason.

The three other cultural representatives also hold important places in the story, although none of them is as important as Bigon is. Lin Futu, the representative of the (fictional) Futu Dynasty, is the one that appears the most, since he is represented as holding some power over specific departments within the ship. If the Futu dynasty was invented specifically for the script, the overall appearance of Lin Futu and of each of the spaceship citizens associated with this dynasty is based on a visual landmark associated with early Chinese dynasties: the Terracotta Army. Similarities shared between the terracotta soldiers and Lin Futu include their haircut style, with the hair tied toward the back part of the top of the head¹⁰⁹, and the overall style of their clothing – red, for instance, is mentioned as being a common colour used for the terracotta soldiers¹¹⁰, and it is also one of the dominant colours used for Lin Futu. Yet, at least as far as Lin Futu is concerned, the way he is depicted visually (as a higher official) is not entirely accurate. Contrary to many of the higher ranking officers in the Terracotta army, Lin Futu does not have an armour, instead wearing a large piece of padding – historically, most of the soldiers wearing simpler to no armour were lower-ranked soldiers who could not afford

¹⁰⁴ see *La Mort de Socrate*, by Jacques-Louis David (1787).

¹⁰⁵ John Black, *Doctor Who* (1963), 'Four to Doomsday', part 1, BBC DVD, 1982, 19:21.

¹⁰⁶ J. Black, *Doctor Who* (1963), 'Four to Doomsday', part 2, *op.cit.*, 06.29.

¹⁰⁷ J. Black, *Doctor Who* (1963), 'Four to Doomsday', part 3, *op.cit.*, 21.20.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.40.

¹⁰⁹ *L'Armée en terre cuite des Qin : Un monde de rêve*. Editions de Xian, 2006, 90.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 102.

something else¹¹¹. However, narratologically, this has no impact: Lin Futu is not required to fight, and neither are his men.

In addition to these two characters, there are two other leaders who represent their people, but have a reduced role in the overall story. One of them, named Kurkutji, is an Australian aborigine. His clothing is kept very simple as he wears nothing but a simple loin cloth over the lower part of his body. In fact, his main visual characteristics seem not to be the way he is clothed, but rather the scars and particular body paint on his upper body and face. That, along with particular remarks throughout Kurkutji's appearances that show he believes he is on his way to the "Time of the Dreaming" (implied to be the Aborigine afterlife world in *Four to Doomsday*), suggests a ceremonial meaning to the make-up – along with a visual indication of his rank as chief.

Finally, the fourth character is also the only one whose status as a leader is explicitly linked to her royal status – thus, given by birth instead of earned. Villagra is introduced as a Mayan princess as soon as she appears on screen. Both her origins and her royal status are represented not through the clothes she wears (indeed, her yellow outfit seems to be cut in a simple manner, although there are some golden decorations at the bottom of her top), but rather through the jewellery she is seen with throughout the story. Middle shots as well as close-ups allow the audience to fully see the long necklaces and the golden armbands, but also the earrings and the complex haircut, held together by what appear to be strings of gold.



Figure 13 - The four cultural representatives. (*Four to Doomsday*)

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 114.

The various cultures present in the spaceship are not only represented through their main representatives: they are also showcased during several recreational events organised by the Urbankans at the benefit of the Doctor and his companions. Taking place in what could be described as the “ballroom” of the ship, these recreational events are divided into several small segments during the second and fourth episodes of the story. They take place in what could be described as the “ballroom” of the ship. While the initial goal of the recreational is, seemingly, to entertain the Doctor and help him to trust the Urbankans, the role of these recreational expands until it becomes a crucial part of the Doctor’s plan and of the plot in a more general manner.

The first recreational event, shown in the second episode, is primarily used as a way to establish how each culture represents itself. Because of the nature of these sequences (the emphasis is on showing the general show rather than seeking a tiny detail within it), and because every act is played by a group of several people, the shots focusing on the entertainment are very large. The first culture to appear is the Mayan culture; they are represented by four women, as well as Villagra herself. Their cultural background is made clearer by the fact they all wear the same base clothing, similar to Villagra’s. Only Villagra’s clothing is slightly different: she wears a cape unlike the other women, most likely due to their difference in social status (she is a Princess, and the leader of her people on the spaceship). The second group to appear are the Mandarin people. Their show takes the shape of two big dragons, each handled by two people, dancing in front of each other. The various shots focusing on this dance are wider than the shots used for the Mayan dance, to allow enough room to showcase both dragons; these shots also show the Doctor and Tegan watching on the upper balcony. The third part of the show, organised by Bigon’s people, is not a dance but a fight between two Greek warriors. Both are dressed accordingly with their time: armour, breastplate and chin protections. They also wear the round shield and the crest helmets associated with Greek warriors¹¹². Finally, the last part of the show is seemingly shown only at the benefit of the audience watching at home; by this time, the Doctor, Tegan, Bigon, and the Urbankan looking after them have already left the room. It is also, because of this, a very brief sequence only showing what the audience needs to know: four Australian aborigines dancing, each with

¹¹² “Ancient Greek warriors”, dkfindout.com, n/a, <https://www.dkfindout.com/us/history/ancient-greece/ancient-greek-warriors/> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

different ceremonial bodypainting. It is also the sequence that bridges both recreational events together: the start of the second recreational event is also the Australian aborigine dancing.

In *The Language of Clothes*, Alison Lurie dedicates a few paragraphs to what she calls “Magical Clothing”, stating that “the original purpose of clothing was magical”¹¹³ and quoting Rachel Kemper to further her point: “Paint, ornament, and rudimentary clothing were first employed to attract good animistic powers and to ward off evil”¹¹⁴. Indeed, the second recreational element is less about entertainment, and more about keeping the evil away and, ultimately, getting rid of it. The various elements used throughout the recreational are the same; it is the way they are used that is changed. The space below the Chinese dragons is used to subtly extract the Doctor, Adric, and Bigon from the room without the Urbankans noticing. The same chaos distracts the Urbankans long enough for the Doctor and his allies to build a plan to free the ship from their influence. It is no surprise Monarch, the leader of the Urbankans, is defeated in the midst of the chaotic recreational room; deprived of all his influence on the ship, he has no power anymore. As the Doctor bids farewell to his temporary allies, the chaos is still going on behind him – however, now that there are no antagonists anymore, it looks more like a celebration from the communities of the spaceship than the initial revolt it was.

Every nonrecurring guest character is defined by their original time period. Although they had several thousands of years to adapt and change, their visual appearance is a symbol of the lack of evolution of their culture in the spaceship. It is also this lack of evolution that, ultimately, saves everyone. Bigon did not change his beliefs, and that made him a perfect ally for the Doctor. Visually, it is their ancestral costumes and performances that provided enough distraction for the Doctor and his allies to save everyone.

c) “Terror of the Vervoids”

The final example, ‘Terror of the Vervoids’ (an unofficial title for parts nine, ten, eleven and twelve of Season 23) is part of a season known for its eccentric structure. The season, as well as being usually divided into several stories, is also divided into a general trial – that of the Doctor – and the proofs presented, both for and against the accused. ‘Terror of the Vervoids’ is the third story of the season, and one in which the Doctor presents his defence. Most of the

¹¹³ ‘Clothing as a Sign System’ in Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, London, Hamlyn, 1982, 29.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

story itself is in a spaceship (the closed set of the story) with only a few moments happening in the trial room. Yet, it represents an additional challenge: not only does the audience have to remember which character is which from one episode to the next, but they also are interrupted within the episodes themselves. Moreover, contrary to previous stories studied before, every character is from the same species and from the same chronological time (contrary to ‘Four to Doomsday’) and they are (almost) all scientists, so they cannot be told apart by their jobs (contrary to ‘Ghost Light’).

The first part of the story, during which the spaceship plot is introduced, makes up for most of the first episode¹¹⁵; it is framed by a small scene at the very start to introduce the content the tribunal (and the audience) is about to see, and by a scene five minutes away from the end of the episode where the Doctor suggests that the evidence he is showing has been tampered with, although this statement has no impact on the spaceship plot whatsoever. It however gives plenty of time to the audience to get to know the characters of the story they are about to watch. New characters are introduced one by one and some of them are given a small exposition scene.

The first characters to be introduced are some of the guests travelling in the spaceship. Professor Sarah Lasky, first shown as an authoritative guest (she yells at the flight attendant as she thinks her cabin number is wrong, when she simply misread the key), is also given one of the brightest colour shown in this episode: bright pink; there is no other colour used in her costume. If pink, in theory, evokes positive feelings (Alison Lurie identified the colour as being “related to the affections”¹¹⁶), both the strength of the pink when compared to the other passengers’ costumes and the behaviour of Lasky completely undermine this idea. The sweetness of the pink colour associated with a deliberately mean character is something that is sometimes done to make the wickedness of the character stand out; for example, it was used in the *Harry Potter* saga for the character of Dolores Umbridge. She is the only character who changes her clothes, although it is only once: when she exercises at the gym, she wears a lavender sports outfit instead. Once again, only a single colour is used for the costume.

¹¹⁵ From 01:36 up until 20:36; the episode, credits included, is twenty-five minutes long.

¹¹⁶ A. Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, *op.cit.*, 160.

Lasky is accompanied by two assistants, Doland and Bruchner. Both are also given one colour only: Doland is dressed in brown, and Bruchner is dressed in dark blue. While both colours are not used by anyone else in this episode, they are still not as bright as the main colour used for Lasky, indicating Bruchner and Doland are below her in rank and importance. These dimmer tones are also quite deceptive: although they were characterised as subordinates to Lasky, both Bruchner and Doland end up betraying her – and dying before she does. Hidden by tones that are less visible than the colourful Doctor, the cream Mel, and the pink Lasky, their betrayal is a complete surprise.



Figure 14 - An example of colour coding. (*Terror of the Vervoids*)

Other guests in the ship include an old man, Kimber, and a middle aged traveller, Grenville. Like every other guest, they are given a unique colour: Kimber is dressed in green (a lighter shade for the shirt, a darker shade for the jacket and trousers), while Grenville wears grey. Grey, a neutral colour that is neither black nor white, “can also suggest that one is mysterious, ambiguous, puzzling”¹¹⁷. While all the other colours before were misleading to some extent, Grenville’s colour is the only one that is accurate: he is a spy, whose real name is Hallett. Kimber is the only one able to see through, as he recognises Hallett / Grenville from a previous encounter (something which Hallett / Grenville denies). The spy quickly disguises his identity again, while Kimber does not have much of a role after this encounter; he is the first passenger to be killed by the Vervoids.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 194

The colour coding is also used, although much less, with the last three passengers of the ship. They are Mogarians, an alien race which cannot survive in the oxygen-rich atmosphere of the ship; they have to wear spacesuits covering their entire body. The only way to distinguish them from one another is to look at the only coloured part of their suits: the diamond-shaped translator on their torso is red for one, green for the other, and golden for the third one – the same colour as the straps used to hold the translator. Interestingly, the only Mogarian whose translator blends in with the straps used to hold it is also the only one not to be a Mogarian: it is Hallett, once again in disguise, trying to blend in. This does not work, as he is assassinated.

In contrast, not much effort is given to the costumes of the crew of the spaceship. The colours used for them are much more neutral (white, black, dark burgundy being the least neutral colour used for the security), and they are more likely to be interchangeable or to fade in the background, leaving the camera, action, and audience to focus on the guests instead. The only members of the crew who stand out to the audience is due to the fact they are the highest ranking member at their position, such as the Commodore or Security Officer Ridge, or because they are the only one in their position directly speaking to the passengers of the spaceship, such as Janet the receptionist. The Commodore is wearing an all-white uniform, while Ridge is wearing a black top and white trousers combination; they not only stand out from the rest of the crew and the passengers, but also from one another, foreshadowing Ridge's betrayal due to what he perceives to be constant belittlement from the Commodore. Janet is wearing a combination of white and a pink that is much duller than the one wore by Lasky, indicating a subdued temper and encouraging the passengers to rely on her if they need to. That being said, she does not have an important role in 'Terror of the Vervoids' – not quite being a background character, but not standing out on her own either.

To go around the problems posed by the structure of the story, 'Terror of the Vervoids' uses colour coding to its full capacity. Every nonrecurring guest character (using J. Mittell's terms) wears a different colour – not only to tell them apart, but sometimes to mislead the audience on their ultimate role in the story. Due to the use of neutral colours for background characters, and the Doctor and Mel using unique colours (or combination of colours, in the case of the Doctor), the audience does not need to intimately know the new characters in order for them to stand out: their visual identity do it for them.

It has to be mentioned that stereotypical costuming is not found only in television shows; in her analysis of *Titanic* (1997), Sarah Street also noted that “stereotypical costuming is used for the steerage passengers who represent a far more international grouping than in *A Night to Remember*”¹¹⁸. The importance of the costumes of the background characters in film and theatre had also already been noticed by Anne Hollander, who states:

“The costumes worn by extras will automatically convey more than the principal actors’ or singers’ costumes do, since they are performing a purely visual function. Audiences [...] will accept the most minimally conceived costumes on the chief actors, who can convey all the significant atmosphere by their speech and movement. Hamlet can wear anything; so can Gertrude; the only restrictions on their dress might be that no jarring symbolic elements be superadded. But extras in *Hamlet*, particularly if they are not expected to behave dramatically, must wear carefully conceived clothes.”¹¹⁹

Although both statements were made considering theatre and film work, they can very easily be adapted to television study: the importance of the costumes of the background characters is enhanced by the quick pace of the scenarios and the short time given to the episodes (twenty to forty minutes); to work around these limits, similar techniques to those used in films are used, such as stereotypical costuming.

This part has shown why background characters and characters who only appear in one story, despite the lack of emphasis on them, are an important part of the show. Yet, another important part of the story has to concentrate on other characters that are usually recognised as more important than the background characters, and are given most of the attention: the antagonists and the recurring primary characters.

¹¹⁸ S. Street, *Costume and Cinema: Dress Codes in Popular Film*, *op.cit.*, 23.

¹¹⁹ A. Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, *op.cit.*, 238

III. Identification of the main characters and the antagonists

1. The Doctor's foes

a) The Doctor's rival: The Master (1971-1989)

Much like the Daleks and the Cybermen (mentioned previously), the Master is a recurring foe of the Doctor that first appeared in the Classic part of the show. The Master first appears in *Terror of the Autons* (1973), where he is played by Roger Delgado. The character is introduced as a fellow renegade Time Lord with a previous, although untold, history with the Doctor – back before the Doctor even began his travels. The Master's position as a major antagonist of the doctor is solidified throughout Season 8, with a relationship comparable to the one between Sherlock and Moriarty. The development of the character had to be halted due to Roger Delgado's death in 1973 – however, the character was not killed off afterwards. Rather, in *The Deadly Assassin* (1976), the Master is reintroduced as a decayed body, said to be at the end of his current life, but also of all his lives, unable to regenerate. In order to survive despite this, the Master takes possession of the body of Nyssa's father, Tremas (played by Anthony Ainley), thus ensuring his survival¹²⁰. Anthony Ainley played the part from 1976 to 1989, with his character appearing regularly to face the Doctor (eleven stories in total), being defeated every time. His fate being left unknown at the end of *Survival* (1989), he is reintroduced in the newest instalment of the series, where he has been played by John Simm, Michelle Gomez, and Sacha Dhawan.

Throughout his tenure, the Delgado Master was seen wearing different costumes, according to the situation he was with and who he had to deal with as a result. He was for instance wearing a suit with a matching tie and handkerchief in his first episode, *Terror of the Autons*, in order to pass as a convincing factory boss. Later on in the same story, as his evil schemes are exposed, he dons a different, almost entirely black costume. Although the black costume appeared several times (for instance, the Master was still wearing it in *The Sea Devils*, during Season 9), the Delgado Master was not averse to costumes changes, depending on the situations and the person or role he impersonated. In comparison, the Ainley Master (who, although not chronologically directly following the Delgado Master, was the next incarnation

¹²⁰ 'A New Body for the Master | The Keeper of Traken | Doctor Who | BBC', Doctor Who, YouTube, 25 Apr. 2013. <https://youtu.be/bAKHb0JImNo> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

able to choose his own clothing), almost always wears the same outfit when out of disguise – the one that appeared onto him as he took possession of Tremas’ body back on Traken¹²¹. This costume shares some similarities with the black costume associated with the Delgado Master, especially as far as shape is concerned. Both costumes have fairly simple lines both on the upper and on the lower body, with a high collar all around the Master’s neck. Both Masters are also wearing the same kind of leather gloves.

However, there are differences that can be noticed between both costumes. The collar, for instance, is plain black for the Delgado Master; the Ainley Master, on the other hand, wears a collar embroidered with golden motives all around it. The upper part of the costume, and especially the shoulders, are also slightly different; while they are kept simple in the 1970s, there is a greater emphasis on the shoulders in the 1980s. Finally, the costume’s fabric has switched from something simple to velvet, appearing as a more precious fabric. As a result of these differences, the costume of the Master as it appears on screen in the 1980s has been said to be less contemporary and much more theatrical in essence¹²². Yet, it is still possible to link both costumes to the “overall” character of the Master – unlike the Doctor who, at the start of each new incarnation, goes to great length to find and wear a new costume that symbolises a new start and a new character.

The black colour being so predominant in the Master’s usual clothing is not without meaning. In her chapter “Color and Pattern”, Alison Lurie puts an emphasis on how “for thousands of years [black] has stood for sorrow, sin, and death”¹²³. Furthermore, she writes that “depending on the situation and the style of the costume, the newcomer may seem holy, evil, dangerous, melancholy, grief-stricken or any combination of these”¹²⁴. Especially when compared with the Doctor, whose costumes always steer clear of plain black or even grey (the only exceptions being when *Doctor Who* was still broadcast in black and white, before the Master was created), the contrast is visible: the Master is, and always will be, the evil one as soon as he appears to face the Doctor, and although their relationship is more complex than it appears to be, the evilness of the Master does not change.

¹²¹ It is interesting to note that, much like the Second Doctor in 1966, this incarnation of the Master seems to come with his costume, rather than choose it later on.

¹²² Mat Greenfield, “I Always Dress For The Occasion!” – The Master’s Look Down the Decades’, *Blogtor Who*, 22 June 2017. <https://www.blogtorwho.com/master-looks/> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

¹²³ ‘Color and Pattern’ in A. Lurie, *The Language of Clothes, op.cit.*, 185.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 189

As mentioned previously, both incarnations of the Master are not averse to disguises when it can help them in their plot to defeat the Doctor, starting with the Delgado Master, for instance, impersonating a priest in *The Daemons* (1971) in order to both summon a daemon and hide his identity. Much like his predecessor, the Ainley Master also disguises himself when he needs to achieve a special goal, although the disguises are only used in the first few seasons: Seasons 19 and Season 20.



Figure 15 - The Master (Anthony Ainley). (Castrovalva)



Figure 16 - The Master in disguise: the Portreeve. (Castrovalva)

The first encounter between the Fifth Doctor and the Master actually occurs while the Master is in disguise, and the Doctor in his post-regeneration confused state, in *Castrovalva*. In order to gain the trust of the Doctor and his companions, the Master impersonates an old man only known as the Portreeve – itself an existing word in English given to a person “charged with keeping the peace and with other duties in a port or market borough of early England”¹²⁵. Visually, the Portreeve is represented as the complete opposite of the Master: he wears an outfit where white is the dominant colour (from the hat to the robe he is wearing). Accessories he uses include a walking stick he has to rely on in order to walk and a long, full white beard.

The overabundance of the white colour contributes to hiding the identity of the Master up until he decides to reveal it himself. If black is the absence of light, white is its absolute contrary. In the Portreeve’s case, it also points out at the assumed age of the character, and the weakness of his body; white is one of the ways to represent “physical infirmity or weakness”¹²⁶

¹²⁵ ‘portreeve’, Merriam Webster. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/portreeve> (last accessed 25 August 2020).

¹²⁶ ‘Color and Pattern’ in A. Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, *op.cit*, 185.

and the use of the walking stick supports this reading. The association of the character's name and the colour of his clothing also alludes to the character's age and the experience and wisdom that comes from this, white also being associated to godhood and the values of the gods through "the snow-topped mountains where the gods dwelt"¹²⁷. This camouflage is effective, as the Doctor and his companions do not realise who the Portreeve really is until it is almost too late. Once his real identity is discovered, the Master reverts back to his black, evil costume as soon as he is able to do so.

Contrary to the Doctor and, sometimes, his companions, the Master also uses his disguise talents in order to blend in with the times he is in. In *The King's Demons*, where the Master's goal is to avert the signing of the Magna Carta in 1215, the Master pretends to be Sir Gilles Estram, King John's champion. Like every other character native of this time, he is seen wearing clothing that reminds the audience of medieval times; in addition to that, as he is King John's champion and thus has a fighting role within his court, he is wearing additional layers of solid leather meant to protect him during his fights. However, by the first minutes of the second part of the story, as the Master's identity was once again discovered by the Doctor, the Master enters his TARDIS to escape and reverts once again to his usual black costume. This time, the identity of the Master is never really hidden: the Master does not wear prosthetics to hide his face (only a different beard), and his name, Estram, is a simple anagram of the word "Master".

The third disguise used by the Master occurs in *Time-Flight*, where he poses as a character named Kalid. Presented as an oriental mystic, the clothes he is given for this disguise are also different from his usual costume. Kalid wears a grey robe, with larger sleeves, embroidered with colourful motives. This time, the identity reveal seems to carry a more dramatic meaning; Kalid is believed dead, until he stands up and rips his skin off, revealing that the Master was Kalid in disguise all along.

When not wearing these disguises, the Master almost always wears his black, theatrical costume. There are however a few variations to this. In *Planet of Fire*, the Master appears to be wearing a suit during several sequences of the story. The change of outfit in this story does not symbolise a change of character, but rather that the Master is *not* the Master; in reality, when wearing the suit, the Master is impersonated by a robot named Kamelion, who has the

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 185.

ability to mimic appearances; the appearance of the Master is the one he takes when he is being controlled by him. The real Master, in the meantime, is still seen wearing his usual, black costume.

If all the disguises and pretences are excluded, the only real evolution of the Master's costume within his ten years' tenure occurred in the very last episode of the show, *Survival* (1989). Some scenes show a Master only wearing a simple shirt, with a grey waistcoat and a black tie; but most scenes add a black coat on top of this, closed by a belt. The fabric of the overall costume seems to have changed as well, as the Master does not wear velvet any more. There is no on screen explanation given for this costume change, although of all of the costume changes highlighted it is the one that resembles an evolution the most; every other change was either a disguise or a way to hint at the fact the Master was not really the Master after all. Moreover, as the show was unexpectedly cancelled after *Survival*, there is no way to tell if the costume change would have been definitive or not.

Despite having been a foe of the Doctor who appeared on the show for almost twenty years, the Master does not seem to have evolved much during his tenure, if at all. It could even be argued that the role became more theatrical and more codified, costume-wise, throughout the years. Even as the Master disguises himself, as soon as his real identity is found (or as soon as he reveals it himself), he quickly reverts back to his usual costume, showing that his evil nature always comes out. The lack of evolution also sets him apart when he is compared to his arch-nemesis, the Doctor. Unlike the Doctor, who always drastically changes his clothing (and character) from one incarnation to the next, both incarnations of the Master share visual similarities. Not only does it help the audience link the two distinct characters into the same continuity, it also shows that although the Master does not technically remain in the same body, his character and goals have not changed much: he still remains the Doctor's foe, and still wants to harm him and even his companions.

b) A female antagonist: The Rani (1985-1987)

The major villains appearing in the 1980s were, for the most part, villains that had appeared in the show previously: the Daleks and their creator Davros, and the Cybermen and their leader are only a few examples. The Master, mentioned before, also belongs in this

category. Yet, the 1980s also saw the creation of several other foes – sometimes for one episode only, sometimes for more. The Rani (portrayed by Kate O’Mara) was created by writers Pip and Jane Baker, and is particularly interesting in that she’s one of the few Time Lords who appear several times in the show, and only the second renegade Time Lord to do so within the 1980s decade. Moreover, she holds the distinction of being one of the two female Time Lords to have a somewhat major role during at least one episode – the only other one being former companion Romana. This importance is shown in the names of the stories the Rani is in: both stories, *The Mark of the Rani* (a Sixth Doctor story) and *Time and the Rani* (a Seventh Doctor story) are named after her.

While the relationship between the Doctor and the Master is defined by the duality between these two Time Lords (the Doctor trying to do good around him, the Master being focused on either doing evil or hurting the Doctor, or even both at the same time), the Rani’s primary focus is described as more neutral. In her first story, *The Mark of the Rani*, she is presented as being a scientist only interested in her experiments, not caring about the unfortunate consequences that could arise from these. Moreover, she only collaborates with the Master only after he blackmails her by threatening to destroy the equivalent of several months of research. In *Time and the Rani*, she is not after the Doctor himself, but after his vast knowledge. In her description of the Rani, Kate O’Mara does not even mention the Doctor: for her, the Rani is ‘a hard and ruthless megalomaniac who wants to rule the Universe’¹²⁸.

Much like the Master as well, the Rani does not appear under her real appearance at first. Rather, in order to be able to conduct her research undisturbed, she assumes the disguise of an old woman in charge of the bathhouse of the village of Killingworth. When impersonating this character, described as an “old crone” behind-the-scenes¹²⁹, she uses black, raggedy clothes in order to conceal her shape, along with a mask and a white-haired wig to look old enough (Kate O’Mara was in her late forties at the time). Upon being discovered by the Master, she removes her mask and false hair to show her real face to him¹³⁰. This close-up on her face both before and after the reveal also gives a better insight on the upper part of the raggedy costume, showing that there is still a certain attention given to the Rani’s body shape under the black shawl. Some shots also show that the Rani still has a defined waist as well, implying that

¹²⁸ Peter Haining, *Doctor Who. 25 Glorious Years*, London, WH Allen & Co, 1988. 168.

¹²⁹ ‘Lord and Luddites’ in *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Mark of the Rani’ (1985), BBC DVD, 2006.

¹³⁰ Sarah Hellings, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Mark of the Rani’ (1985), part 1, BBC DVD, 2006, 21:03–22:20.

although she is pretending to be an old, poor woman, she is still aware of (and taking care of) the way she looks.

Like other major villains who need to be recognised, the Rani does not keep this disguise for the entirety of the episode. However, unlike the Master, who gets rid of his disguise immediately after having been recognised, the Rani does not; instead, in *The Mark of the Rani*, it is only when she enters her TARDIS that she is able to completely get rid of her disguise – which she never puts back on. If the disguise was meant to hide her youth, shape, and femininity as much as possible, the Rani’s real clothes almost have the complete opposite function. Her top underlines the shape of her body and, as supposed earlier, her waist is defined, and she wears black leather trousers completed with high heels. The high heels do not only have an aesthetic function, but they are also helping in terms of camera framing, as Kate O’Mara was much smaller than Anthony Ainley or Colin Baker, actors she had to appear with in some closer shots¹³¹. The accent on the femininity of the character is helped by the addition of jewellery: rings, bracelets, and earrings are added to the ensemble (at the detriment of proper continuity: the earrings seem to appear at 18:00 without any moment given to the Rani to put them on, and the rings also appear on the Rani’s hands as she enters the cave her TARDIS is in without any sign of the Rani putting them on beforehand). It is also important to note that at least one of the bracelets is not only a cosmetic accessory, but also an accessory that has been weaponised by the Rani: the bracelet on her left hand is made of several containers, one of them used against Peri in the second part of the story¹³².



Figure 17 - The Rani (left) and the Master. (*The Mark of the Rani*)

¹³¹ ‘Lord and Luddites’ in *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Mark of the Rani’ (1985), *op.cit.*

¹³² Sarah Hellings, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘The Mark of the Rani’ (1985), part 2, BBC DVD, 2006, 35:35.

While the Rani had to share the antagonist role with the Master in her first appearance, by her second appearance in *Time and the Rani* she is left as the primary antagonist of the story. Unlike the first story, she also appears directly as her own self from the very start of the first part (it is through her appearance that the story is introduced). The audience is able to see that, although her outfit changed between her appearances, the overall style remains the same: the top is tailored to closely fit her waist, her trousers are also highlighting the shape of her legs, and she still wears heels. There is also jewellery, including the bracelet the Rani was wearing in *The Mark of the Rani*. Overall, there are only small changes, but the costume seems to confirm the existence of a “Rani-type” outfit that would always follow the same codes, with the only changes being the colour palette and some of the lesser noticeable accessories. This differs from the treatment given to other, mostly male antagonists (such as the Master) who wear the same clothing several times in a row, in turn suggesting that perhaps the Rani is given special attention due to her gender.

Halfway through the first episode, the Rani decides to take advantage of the confusion of the newly regenerated Doctor to manipulate him into helping her. In order to convince him, she decides to assume the appearance of the Doctor’s companion, Mel. She finds a wig whose cut is similar to Mel’s haircut, and an outfit resembling what Mel wore the last time the Doctor saw her. Although the audience is not fooled (they are aware of her plan as soon as she voices it to a secondary antagonist), it is enough for the Doctor to fall in the trap. As “Mel”, the Rani also removes all her jewellery except her weaponised bracelet. Once the trick stops working and the Doctor realises he has been fooled, at the start of the third part, the Rani promptly goes back to the clothes she was wearing in the first place, becoming her own self visually again.

The Rani only made two distinct appearances in *Doctor Who*, but her appearances were important as she always was one of, if not the only, primary antagonist of her stories. She shares traits with some other antagonists: she is not above using disguises to further her plans and never keeps these disguises until the end, getting rid of them either because they failed to work or because she has achieved as much as she could under her hidden identity. Her regular clothing seems to change from episode to episode but the overall visual identity given to the audience through her costumes remains the same, indicating somebody who cares about what she wears unlike some other villains who seldom, if ever, change what they wear. Due to the reduced number of female recurring antagonists, it is impossible to say whether these changes and special attention given to her visual identity are meant to be a characteristic of the character, or an emphasis on her gender and femininity.

- c) One time only: “Four to Doomsday” (1982) and “The Greatest Show in the Galaxy” (1988)

The two previous parts exposed how some of the more recurring villains decide to use costumes in order to hide their identity, in order to surprise the Doctor and his companions; however, they are not the only antagonists to hide their real identities behind layers of clothing. Other villains that appear in the show also use this tactic in order to hide their real form and imitate a human shape and / or behaviour. Examples include the main antagonists of *Four to Doomsday*, mentioned previously, as well as the main antagonists of *The Greatest Show in the Galaxy*.

Season 19’s “Four to Doomsday”, a Fifth Doctor’s story, partly relies on such a mechanism. The main antagonists of the episode, the Urbankans, are first shown under their real appearance. They appear to be fairly big, genderless creatures, barely moving away from their thrones. When they do so, it is very slowly. Their clothes are not very flattering either: they seem to wear large robes made from light green and silver, thus hiding the shape of their bodies. They do not seem to have shoes on either, lending more weight to the fact they are not meant to move away from their thrones – at least, not while “wearing” this physical look. At some point during their first encounter with the Urbankans (in the first episode), Tegan is asked to draw what she would consider a good representation of Earth’s fashion for both men and women, based on what she knows from her own time – the Eighties. As these drawings are shown to the Urbankans, Tegan is not told what these will be used for; it is only as the Doctor’s companions exit the throne room that it is hinted these drawings were not collected solely out of scientific curiosity, and will be used as part of a greater plan.

At the end of the first part, these designs are revealed to have been used as a template for a human appearance, used by two of the three Urbankans; only the Monarch never hides his real form under such a costume. Thus, the designs drawn by Tegan are exactly reproduced by the two aliens. The Urbankan male is wearing a simple three-pieces suit, while the Urbankan female is wearing a dress that is, indeed, reminiscent of the mid 1980s – with, for instance, the belt cutting the dress in half and showing the shape of the body below in greater detail. The fabric used for their costume is almost identical to the fabric used for their robes. The colour

scheme used previously has also been kept, as a visual reminder of who the two characters really are: with the exception of the white shirt of the Urbankan make, every other piece of clothes s green.



Figure 18 – Tegan’s drawing. (*Four to Doomsday*)



Figure 19 – Persuasion and Enlightenment. (*Four to Doomsday*)

In *The Greatest Show in the Galaxy*, a Season 25 story taking place in a circus, the characters and the audience are led to believe that the antagonists are the personnel of the circus itself, with the most threatening of them being the Chief Clown. While this is true to a certain extent, the real antagonists (called the “Gods of Ragnarok”) only make themselves known later in the story; it is only by the end of the second episode that they are hinted at being the real power behind what is happening in the circus. Yet, it is revealed they have been appearing on screen since the start of the story, under the disguise of a harmless family. The Doctor even tries to befriend them the first time they meet, as they are the only other spectators in the circus; the family is not receptive to this, and the Doctor does not push the matter further. Each God of Ragnarok is represented by a member of the family: there is a Father, a Mother, and a Little Girl. This is also how they are referred to; they are not given individual names, but rather part of a same unit represented by a nameless family. Physically, they do appear under the traits of a middle class family; they are all wearing a fairly conservative style of clothing, especially when compared to the other people entering the circus. Costume designer Rosalind Ebbutt, who designed the costumes for this particular story, wanted them to “look like a very boring 1950s advertisement-type family”, and designed the costumes to be “dreary looking”¹³³. This appears to be a carefully crafted look whose goal is not to attract the attention and making the

¹³³ David J. Howe, ‘Fantasy Factory – Rosalind Ebbutt interview’ *The Frame* 10, 1989, 8.

other people entering the circus suspicious, which works: even the Doctor is not able to see through their disguise until the very last moment.

Their original form, encountered by the Doctor during the last part of the story, is slightly more telling. There are still three Gods, but the few elements that gave them their individuality (namely, what they were wearing previously) have now disappeared from the ensemble: it is impossible to tell which figure is Father, which figure is Mother, and which figure is Little Girl. The few elements that hinted at a possible humanity have also disappeared: the figures sitting in front of the Doctor are seemingly made out of the same stone as their surroundings. Moreover, they do not seem able to move at all, except for their arms: as the arena falls apart all around them after the Doctor's victory, they can be seen falling as well, unable to run away from the destruction of their universe¹³⁴.



Figure 20 - Mother, Little Girl, and Father. (*The Greatest Show in the Galaxy*)



Figure 21 - The Gods of Ragnarok. (*The Greatest Show in the Galaxy*)

The human forms taken by the aliens are never definite: at some point, either at the beginning (*Four to Doomsday*) or at the end (*The Greatest Show in the Galaxy*), at least one of the characters is able to see the real appearance of who is hiding behind this shape. In both cases, however, the decision seems to have been made to gain the trust of their surroundings, or at the very least blend in without standing out in a threatening manner. In *Four to Doomsday*, the two Urbankans are able to walk around without appearing to be out of place in the middle of the Doctor, his companions, and the other humans aboard the ship. As for the Gods of Ragnarok in *The Greatest Show in the Galaxy*, by assuming the appearance of a harmless

¹³⁴ Alan Wareing. *Doctor Who* (1963), 'The Greatest Show in the Galaxy' (1988), part 4, BBC DVD, 2012, 22:02.

family they are able to sit in the circus and watch the show without being suspected by anybody of being the masterminds behind it.

Moreover, there seems to be a social class subtext associated to the way the antagonists are dressed. In both episodes, the way they are dressed indicates that they belong (or see themselves) to a higher social class than the rest of the character. In *Four to Doomsday*, the Urbankan male is dressed with a three pieces' suit; that, along with the way he carries himself, shows that he thinks of himself as better than the rest of the people in the spaceship. In a similar way, the Gods of Ragnarok's costumes are perceived as very classy, whereas the other characters initially meant to become part of the audience are dressed in a different way; one of them, for instance, is a biker wearing leather and jeans.

2. Character growth: the Doctor's companions

a) The male companions: Adric and Vislor Turlough

Throughout the show, it is extremely rare to see the Doctor travel alone; especially between 1963 and 1985, travelling with several companions (up to three) was almost the norm. Despite the high number of companions that entered the TARDIS, there is a clear pattern that can be seen, with the Doctor often travelling with female companions and seldom having a male companion by his side. In the 1980s, while the Doctor travelled with five female companions, only two male companions can be seen: Adric and Vislor Turlough. Interestingly, even though it is not unusual for companions to overlap each other so as to not leave the Doctor without an assistant, Adric and Turlough never interact or even see each other. Moreover, both travelled with the Fifth Doctor only – both the Sixth and the Seventh Doctor only travelled with female companions.

Adric first appears in “Full Circle”, a Fourth Doctor story taking place on the fictional planet of Alzarian. Adric is presented as both a very promising student and as a young teenager eager to impress his older brother. Visually, Adric does not stand out compared to the other members of the Alzarian society: his clothes are made of the same light fabrics (due to the naturally warm environment of Alzarian), and the colour scheme used for his costume is also shared with most of the Alzarian people. Only the elders seem to have an added mantle, as a way to represent their wisdom. The only element that sets Adric apart from the other Alzarian

people is the gold star pinned on his chest. Coincidentally, it is pinned on a red pocket that does not seem to have any other use, only to make the gold star stand out. This gold star is mentioned to be a price that was given to Adric, thus visually representing his mathematical skill (which, in several stories, is depicted as the main asset of the character). After the death of his brother Varsh, Adric also added his brother's sash to his outfit, as a memento not only representing his dead brother, but also his planet.

During the ten stories Adric appears in, the outfit in which he appears almost never changes. The only notable exception to that is "Black Orchid", during which every character, at some point, has to wear a costume to attend the event taking place in the first part of the story. It is worth noting, however, that even though Adric has to wear a costume that is different to his usual clothes, some of the accessories characterising him are still appearing: his gold star, symbol of his intellectual abilities, is still visible on his chest (although it is not as predominantly visible as it usually is).

Adric's departure, in "Earthshock", is perceived as unusual and brutal by the standards of the show. Contrary to almost all the other companions in the show, Adric is not written out by leaving for new adventures without the Doctor; he is killed in the crash of a spaceship at the end of the story, much to the shock of the Doctor, Tegan, and Nyssa. The departure itself is foreshadowed in the narration of the episode. Adric mentions wanting to go back to his native planet at the end of the story, suggesting the novelty of the travels in the TARDIS has worn off. The last interaction of Adric with Tegan shows him half-heartedly saying goodbye to her, expecting to see her soon¹³⁵ – something that, of course, will never happen, giving this final goodbye emotional weight. There is, however, only one visual element that can be related to Adric's departure. Halfway through the story, as the antagonists are closing in on him, they notice that Adric's badge is made of gold, a metal highly harmful for them, and take it away from him. Later on, this same badge will save the life of the Doctor, Nyssa, and Tegan, breaking into smaller pieces thereafter – close to when Adric's death happens off-screen. The parallel with this badge is double: on the one hand, it symbolises the broken life of Adric, who died while still being a promising teenager who could have done great things, especially with what he learnt from the Doctor. On the other hand, it acts as a memento to remember Adric by in the last minutes of the story. Much like how Adric holds his dead brother's sash in his last moments, the Doctor and his companions are left staring at Adric's broken star, the only physical object

¹³⁵ Peter Grimwalde, *Doctor Who* (1963), 'Earthshock' (1982), part 4, BBC DVD, 2003, 20:40.

left to remember him by. Since the broken star is used as the background picture of the closing credits of the episode, the audience can also grieve this way as well.



Figure 22 - The Doctor (left) and Adric. (Full Circle)



Figure 23 - Vislor Turlough. (Mawdryn Undead)

As for Vislor Turlough, he receives more character development in his first stories than a lot of companions of the Doctor ever did. “Mawdryn Undead”, the first story to feature the character, is also the first story of the so-called “Black Guardian Trilogy”, focusing on the Black Guardian’s attempt to kill the Doctor through the hand of Turlough. However, when Turlough first appears on screen, this plan is not yet known to the audience, and they have to judge Turlough’s character by what they see – Turlough’s actions, but also Turlough’s visual identity. Because of both elements, the audience is led to believe that this new character is nothing more than a rebellious schoolboy, wearing a uniform like every other pupil. The uniform was essentially kept the same until Turlough’s departure from the TARDIS, with some slight modifications regarding the blazer: it is replaced by a waistcoat in “Terminus”, and sometimes removed (halfway through “Enlightenment”, for instance), although he always gets the full uniform back by the start of the following story.

Although the character develops afterwards in regard to his behaviour (growing less suspicious of the Doctor and his companions, becoming less sarcastic, etc), it is only in his last story, “Planet of Fire”, that Turlough gets to wear an outfit that is not his normal schoolboy one. First, in the opening minutes of the episode, he can be seen not wearing his tie for the first time since he appeared on screen – even though the rest of the costume still looks standard. Then, as the TARDIS lands on the island of Lanzarote, Turlough puts on clothes that are more fitting to the environment of the island, and also to the environment of Sarn, a fictional planet where the major part of the story takes place. It is composed of a simple T-Shirt and denim shorts, with lighter shoes. While the motivation for lighter clothes is implied in the story itself

(even the Doctor does not wear his full outfit due to the hot weather), it is still interesting to note that it is during his last story only that Turlough does not wear something similar to what he wore during the entirety of his travels with the Doctor. In “The Five Doctors” for instance, while most of the other characters were given a coat to help show the colder temperatures, Turlough was not given anything and still wore his uniform only. “Planet of Fire” is also the story where the characters and the audience learn more about the backstory of the character, and where Turlough shows how much he has grown while travelling to the Doctor, as he is confident enough to take responsibility for his family’s actions; ultimately, he stays on Sarn to help the planet and its inhabitants to recover from what it went through.

In his fourth chapter on characterisation, Jason Mittell mentions that “One common model of change is *character growth*, evoking the process of maturation in which a character becomes more realised and fleshed out over time”¹³⁶. This is indeed what happens to most of the companions of the Doctor: they are fairly young when they enter the TARDIS, and the Doctor is a teacher figure to them. Both Adric and Turlough are also characters who evolve this way throughout the show. They both have similar origins, being presented as schoolboys and teenagers the Doctor ends up taking under his wing. Neither Adric nor Turlough are originally from Earth (although it is where Turlough was encountered for the first time). Thus, both characters are characterised by their youth and their potential development and intellectual abilities. Contrary to the female companions travelling with the Doctor, the clothing they are given does not evolve much, but is also not objectifying them as young men.

However, apart from these starting situations, the two young men could not be more different – both in their temper, growth and in their ultimate fates. Adric is introduced as a very promising mathematician on his native planet of Alzarian, and a character the Doctor trusts very quickly. Turlough is a rebellious schoolboy first seen stealing, and crashing, his schoolmaster’s car; moreover, he has to earn the trust of the Doctor, a character he was initially meant to kill. Thus, while Adric’s growth was more theoretical and based on the abilities of the character, Turlough’s growth was more of a moral one. Subsequent scenes gave the audience clues about their development – Adric was mentioned to be somebody the Doctor could trust with the TARDIS in “Castrovalva”, while Turlough saves Peri’s life in “Planet of Fire”.

¹³⁶ Jason Mittell, *Complex TV, The Poetics of Contemporary Television Storytelling*, *op.cit.*, 137.

Adric's character growth is stopped in its tracks with his impromptu death in "Earthshock", with him not having been able to apply what he learnt from the Doctor outside of the TARDIS. Thus, he still died as a student, wearing his Alzarian student outfit (minus the badge, used as a memento for the other characters and the audience), with little to no costume change symbolising this. Whereas Turlough, leaving the TARDIS at the end of "Planet of Fire", has grown out of his schoolboy outfit and is no longer a young man, but an adult able to handle life outside of the guidance of the Doctor.

b) Sexualised young women: Tegan Jovanka and Peri Brown

The previous part discussed the only two male companions that appeared on the show during the 1980s; yet, the majority of the Doctor's companions were female companions. Some of these women were fairly young: at the start of her travels Nyssa was still a teenager under the responsibility of her father, Ace had just failed her O-Levels and Peri was just a few months away from starting college. Only Tegan and Mel, on the other hand, already had jobs by the time they started their travels.

It is through the visual lens of her job that Tegan, an assistant to the Fourth and Fifth Doctors, was first introduced. In *Logopolis*, she enters the TARDIS while thinking it is a legitimate phone box, as she needs to make an urgent phone call to the police. She is more or less forced to stay with the Doctor because of the events occurring in *Logopolis*, even though she was on her way to London Heathrow to start her new job as a stewardess. At the start of the story, she is already wearing her work uniform, that she actually keeps for the subsequent stories. She is already wearing her stewardess uniform at the start of the story, which she keeps in the subsequent stories. As she keeps travelling with the Doctor during Season 19, it is evident that she wishes to go back to Earth and start her new job, to the point this becomes the Doctor's goal to bring her back, and the storyline linking all the stories from this season together. It ends with *Time-Flight*, where she is finally dropped at Heathrow Airport. Thus, Tegan's costume does not help her to blend in the city or planet she is visiting; rather, it is constantly used as a reminder of what Tegan's goal is. Even though in some adventures she will not wear the full uniform (in *Earthshock*, she even trades it for a more practical uniform allowing her to step out of the TARDIS to help rescue the Doctor and Adric), it is never really far away and she always comes back to it by the time a new story starts; in *The Visitation*, Tegan can be seen putting on

her stewardess outfit and adjusting her lipstick, fully expecting the Doctor to drop her to Heathrow¹³⁷. If in the previous part it was established that Turlough's evolution was symbolised by his costume change in his last story, Tegan's lack of evolution (on purpose) symbolises her desire *not* to travel with the Doctor.

Although *Time-Flight* was written as Tegan's departure, it was proven to be false, as the character returned during the first story of Season 20, *Arc of Infinity*. Season 20 marks a big shift in Tegan's character, however. If previously she had been an unwilling passenger in the Doctor's TARDIS, focused mostly on getting home, at the end of *Arc of Infinity* she willingly agreed to resume her travels with the Doctor and Nyssa. As she has been fired from her job as a stewardess, she does not have the uniform she wore during Season 19. Instead, she can be seen wearing different outfits, changing every two or three stories usually. These clothes are made of less strict materials (such as the leather skirt in *Resurrection of the Daleks*) and usually put more emphasis on her body and femininity, showing more cleavage (*Arc of Infinity*) and/or more legs (*Resurrection of the Daleks*) than the previous, stricter uniform. Freed from her Earthly obligations dominating Season 19, Tegan is finally free to showcase her personal identity throughout her clothing.



Figure 25 - Tegan's first time in the TARDIS. (*Logopolis*)



Figure 26 – Tegan outside of her stewardess outfit. (*Arc of Infinity*)

Contrary to Tegan, Peri never started her adventures in a uniform. Introduced as a student on vacation on Lanzarote with her mother and stepfather, she almost drowns at sea but is rescued by Turlough. Brought to the TARDIS to recover, it is how she ends up – accidentally

¹³⁷ Peter Moffatt, *Doctor Who* (1963), 'The Visitation' (1982), part 1, BBC DVD, 2013, 06:34–07:20.

– travelling with the Doctor. As Peri is on vacation in a hot climate (Lanzarote being a Spanish island), the costume she is given matches her relaxed mood: Peri is wearing a light shirt (tied around her waist so as to be even lighter), shorts, and light shoes, with a bikini below. While being an outfit adapted to a relaxed vacation near the beach, it is made clear that it is not suited for the adventure Peri is unwillingly part of: running in the sand or in the stones, in particular, seems to be a delicate operation for her.

It is quickly established that Peri is somebody who is interested in the way she looks; in *The Twin Dilemma*, she changes her clothes and seeks the approval of the only other person in the TARDIS, the Doctor, who answers with a sarcastic remark¹³⁸. Many of the outfits worn by Peri during Seasons 19 and 20 characterise her as a teenager interested by the way she looks, and wearing clothes that are quite revealing of her body. The only costume whose emphasis is not on Peri's body is in *The Mark of the Rani*, for which she is given a dress that was supposed to match an original time and destination that the Doctor missed due to a "time distortion", quoted as being Kew Gardens. Instead, they end up several decades earlier in a small mining village, Killingworth. *The Mark of the Rani* set aside, Peri's other costumes are more similar to what she was wearing in her debut, placing the emphasis on the aesthetic more than the practical.

Peri's character growth, in fact, seems to happen between Seasons 20 and 21, outside of the audience's reach. As Season 21 starts with *The Mysterious Planet*, the audience is re-introduced to a much different Peri. Her relationship with the Doctor has evolved to something less sarcastic and more sincere and she, as a person, seems to have grown out of her teenage years as well – and the clear representation of this evolution is her visual identity. Presented with longer hair than before, her clothing style was also modified to reflect her newfound maturity. In *The Mysterious Planet*, the jacket she wears is longer than what she wore in the previous seasons and the cut does not reveal her shape as much; she is also wearing trousers instead of shorts or skirts. Although some of the details are still hinting at her femininity (there is still a bit of cleavage shown, and the shoes are still not made for running, as they have a little heel), these details are not the primary emphasis of any of Peri's outfit. Whatever experiences Peri went through off-screen, it impacted her character so much that most of her visual identity

¹³⁸ Peter Moffatt, *Doctor Who* (1963), 'The Twin Dilemma' (1984), *op.cit.*, 10:32.

had to be rewritten; sadly, her character is killed off halfway through the season, preventing the audience from fully seeing the consequences of the changes.



Figure 27- Peri during Season 22. (*Vengeance on Varos*)



Figure 28 - Peri at the start of season 23. (*The Mysterious Planet*)

Both Tegan and Peri were, in their own way, an embodiment of femininity – or rather, of femininity as John Nathan-Turner saw it. Nicola Bryant, the actress playing Peri, was fairly vocal about how she usually disliked the outfits she was given while in the show, and how they would fit John Nathan-Turner’s vision more than the costume designer’s or her own¹³⁹. It also demonstrates how costume can be used to gratify the male gaze, as first explained by Laura Mulvey, even in television shows – something that had already been noticed by Piers D. Britton in his study of *Doctor Who*.

c) Adults and children: Nyssa, Mel, and Ace

If Mel is an adult (older than Peri), she is also one of the Doctor’s companions who evolve the least, due to the fact her character appeared on the show for less than two seasons. Her introduction within the show is different from everybody else’s: she does not have a formal “introduction scene”, as her first appearance occurs in “Terror of the Vervoids”, a story taking place in the Doctor’s future – where he already knows her. Thus, the audience is not given part of Mel’s progression, and is not given anything that would allow them to “guess” what

¹³⁹ Personal interview with the actress, Crawley, April 2017.

happened off screen either. Contrary to Peri, whose character growth took place between two seasons, the audience is not given Mel's starting "point".

This is also reflected in her visual identity, and most, if not all of her costumes use the same visual style. She is almost always wearing trousers, unlike most of the female assistants before or after her, and in most episodes she is also wearing a shoulder pad jacket, associated with the 1980s¹⁴⁰. There is certainly a lesser emphasis on her body, when compared to Tegan or Peri; Mel is more represented as a woman who does not need to put her body forward and dresses accordingly with the fashion of her time.

Nyssa, who was an assistant to the Fifth Doctor at the same time as Adric and Tegan, was also given a more "permanent" costume rather than an overall style of clothes evolving from story to story. As her first story also introduced her as the daughter of the Keeper of Traken (one of the highest ranked individual on the planet), her original costume was made to reflect her social status. She is seen wearing a dress that seems rather complicated in the way it is shaped; there are several layers to it. The overall cut itself is not straightforward, with the shoulders being made larger, seemingly with another colour of the same fabric used for the overall outfit. Nyssa is also one of the few characters to wear accessories as well: in *The Keeper of Traken*, she wears a tiara¹⁴¹, and a brooch is used to close the collar of her dress. All of this draws back to the principle of Conspicuous Consumption. First introduced by American sociologist Thorstein Veblen in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), it was later used by Alison Lurie in *The Language of Clothes* (1982) from a clothing point of view. She especially highlighted what she calls "Conspicuous Addition", and how "another simple and time-honored way of consuming conspicuously is to wear more clothes than other people do"¹⁴². By adding several optional layers in the clothing and accessories, it shows how privileged the person wearing these is. This principle from real life is in turn inserted into a fictional TV show to make the audience understand that Nyssa and her family are also part of the privileged people of Traken.

This first costume had to be modified quickly, as the lower part of the outfit (a dress) was hindering the actress's performance within the show, not allowing her to run. The dress was replaced with a pair of trousers cut out from the same material as the rest of the outfit; this

¹⁴⁰ John Peacock, *The Complete Fashion Sourcebook*, *op.cit.*, 383, fig 1 and 3.

¹⁴¹ John Black, Doctor Who (1963), 'The Keeper of Traken' (1981), part 1, BBC DVD, 2007. 07:40.

¹⁴² 'Fashion and Status' in Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, *op.cit.*, 1982. 120.

change was not commented upon by any of the characters and there was no emphasis on it within the show.

Much like Tegan, Nyssa's costume remained the same until Season 20, at which point it evolved into different outfits. The main difference between Season 19 and Season 20 is the lack of emphasis on the princess's status of Nyssa. Instead, the emphasis shifts on the personal growth of Nyssa, from a young teenager who left Traken to a young woman at the end of her adventures with the Doctor. Season 20 costumes used several colours where Season 19 only used a dark purple shade; the emphasis on Nyssa's evolution also included a more visible make-up, using colours used in the costumes she wears. Finally, Nyssa's last costume change in her last story, *Terminus*, has been perceived as somewhat controversial. Throughout the story, Nyssa is seen removing several layers of her clothing; by the time she bids farewell to the Doctor and Tegan, she is wearing nothing more than her undergarments. Not only through her actions during the story but also through the fact she now wears revealing undergarments (and, in general, clothes not designed to hide her body), the narration now establishes Nyssa as a young woman, able to make her own choices and to fend for herself once the Doctor will not be here to look after her any more. The actress, Sarah Sutton, also suggested this final costume was a farewell to the audience¹⁴³.



Figure 29 – Nyssa (left) and Tegan. (Castrovalva)



Figure 30 - Nyssa's last costume. (Terminus)

Ace, the last companion of “classic” Doctor Who, is also one of the most popular companions to have ever appeared in the show. She first meets the Doctor in “Dragonfire”, where she appears to be a waitress in a bar on the planet in which the story takes place. After

¹⁴³ P. Haining, *Doctor Who. 25 Glorious Years, op.cit.* 125.

she quits the job halfway through the story (a job she never intended to keep in the first place, it appears quickly), she transitions into wearing the base costume she will be wearing until her very last story.

The most defining feature of this costume is most certainly the bomber jacket she is wearing most of the time, regardless of the weather outside. The jacket itself is customised with patches and badges. Some of them are here from the start of “Dragonfire” and, as such, do not carry much significance beyond the original character of Ace. Other badges and patches, however, are found or given to Ace in other stories, representing characters that she met or experiences that she went through. In “The Greatest Show in the Galaxy”, she finds what is later revealed as a previously killed off character’s earring, which she adds to her jacket. When she meets the character’s lover, he officially “bestows” the earring to her by pinning it to her jacket himself. In “The Curse of Fenric”, she is given a Russian Soviet Red Army badge by a Soviet soldier; it is implied there are romantic feelings that cannot be acted upon between both characters. Other parts of her costume include T-Shirts that appear to be either simple (in “The Greatest Show in the Galaxy” for instance) or cartoony (in “Dragonfire”), black and red leggings, and Doc Martins. The character is thus fully represented as a fun, yet rebel teenager, and it is not surprising to see the Doctor and Ace develop some sort of teacher/student bond – which is the angle chosen to display Ace’s character growth.



Figure 31 - Ace (left) and Mel. (Dragonfire)

The last season of *Doctor Who*, especially, is recognised as a season focusing especially on the development of Ace, her backstory, and her development – more than any season before. Of course, the clothing is used in this manner as well, showing visually just how much of a rebel Ace is compared to the characters she encounters. “Ghost Light”, a story happening in Victorian times, sees Ace being forced to put on women’s evening clothing, that is a dress. Ace,

instead, puts on formal man's evening dress, until she is forced to wear the woman's evening dress not only by the hostess of the house, but also by the Doctor himself. In the same way, despite the action of "The Curse of Fenric" taking place during the Second World War and part of Ace's costume fitting the time (as she is wearing a simple, light blue blouse), she still gets out of the TARDIS with her blazer and her badges, some of those referencing things that have not been invented yet. Thus, her costume becomes an inherent part of her being represented as a rebel and a non-conforming teenager, no matter her surroundings.

Although there are not many things to say about some of the characters (such as Mel), as far as the companions with costume changes are concerned it is always to demonstrate either an aspect of their personality or their growth as individuals. Most of the time, this costume transition is made off screen as well; the audience only witnesses the "finished" outfits, and they never see the characters changing their outfit. This, in turn, can be linked, according to Richard Marson, to a deliberate choice made by John Nathan-Turner. In *Totally Tasteless*, Marson writes that "[John Nathan-Turner's] decision to clad the regular cast in "uniforms" rather than allowing them to change from story to story was all because he was thinking of their potential in product terms"¹⁴⁴. Thus, a choice made for marketing purposes, outside of the realm of television narration, ends up directly affecting the on-screen content – and how the characters are perceived.

3. Costume ball and identity theft: 'Black Orchid'

a) Is 'Black Orchid' a historical serial?

Mentioned briefly at the beginning, so called "historical stories" were part of the early days of *Doctor Who*. They were equally as important as the science-fiction content the show produced (and later became known for), if not more important than these stories – as the first seasons of the show had educational purposes. Even though Doctor Who was a pure BBC (and so British) product, historical stories were not necessarily centred on the history of Great Britain. In the earliest historical story made for the show, *Marco Polo* (1963), the Doctor his companions meet Venetian explorer Marco Polo and Mongolian Emperor Kublai Khan in a story taking place in China in the 13th century. The Doctor and his companions also have to

¹⁴⁴ Richard Marson, *Totally Tasteless, The Life of John Nathan-Turner*, Reigate, Miwk, 2016, 227.

thwart the various plans of Tegana, a villain especially created for *Marco Polo* who conspires to hinder Marco Polo's progress, and tries to assassinate the Emperor himself. Kublai Khan is only saved by the intervention of the Doctor and his companions, thus allowing history to develop as it was meant to.

Historical stories were not only meant to teach the characters (and so, through them, the audience) about a particular event that happened in the past, they were also about moral lessons. *The Aztecs* (1963) is a very good example of this. In this story, Barbara, one of the First Doctor's companions, is believed by the Aztecs to be the reincarnation of one of their goddesses. Barbara quickly decides to use her newfound authority to put an end to human sacrifices, believing that by doing so, she will prevent the extinction of the Aztecs and help their society become a better one. She is advised against doing so by the Doctor, who refuses to see her interfere with the past, even if it could possibly produce a better future. It is Barbara's desire to modify the Aztec society that puts the Doctor and his companions in danger, until they are able to run away at the end of the story. As they leave, history has not changed (Barbara having been recognised as a false goddess, no one believes her), and the events unfold as intended.

Doctor Who stopped producing historical stories very early on in its history. In fact, apart from the First Doctor, there is no other Doctor having near as much historical stories as he does. The Second Doctor met one of his companions, Jamie McCrimmon, during one of the few historical stories he was given, in *The Highlanders* (1966). After that, it is possible to argue that most of the episodes that have a historical setting should not be considered as "pure" historical episodes. In these stories, their plot relies very heavily on at least one science fiction element to unfold, such as the presence of an alien species hostile to a part of the population, or the presence of an alien device endangering the particular place or the proper course of history; in short, the only historical part of the story is its settings. Some stories mentioned earlier, such as *The Mark of the Rani* (1986), and *The Curse of Fenric* (1988), fit this description.

In other episodes, the science fiction element of the plot is actually used to provide the explanation for something that really happened in the Earth history common to both the audience and the characters within the show. The ending of *Earthshock* (1982), for instance, provides an alternate explanation to the Cretaceous–Paleogene extinction event as well as a dramatic exit for one of the Doctor's companions at the time. The start of the Great Fire of

London is also explained (and shown to be partially the result of the Doctor's actions) during the last episode of "The Visitation" (1982).

"Black Orchid" (1982) stands out from its season for various reasons. Its format is different; while every other story was a "four parter" (meaning, four episodes of twenty minutes), "Black Orchid" is the only "two parter" of the season – meaning the story would only be half as long as its counterparts. Moreover, it is also one of the three stories in Season 19 focusing on one of the Doctor's assistants: in this case, Nyssa. Tegan had her own story in *Kinda*, while *Earthshock* serves as Adric's swansong. Finally, and most importantly, *Black Orchid* is the first story since *The Highlanders* to have its plot free of any influences from science-fiction. The only science fiction element that appears is the Doctor's ship, dropping the characters off at the start of the story as the Doctor desperately tries to bring Tegan back to Heathrow Airport and fails once more; in the second part of the story, it also serves as a way to prove the Doctor's alien origins.

Contrary to the examples mentioned above, "Black Orchid" is not centred around a particular, well-known event; rather, it could be considered as a historical story because the Doctor and his companions are nowhere near the 1980s decade. The story takes place in England, in 1925, and more specifically within Cranleigh Hall, a (fictional) property in Oxfordshire belonging to the Cranleigh family. Quite surprisingly for a forty-minute story, the core intrigue seems to really appear at the very end of the first part of the story (when a murder and a kidnapping occur), and its conclusion rushed in the second part. Instead, most of the first part is devoted to the Doctor and his companions discovering life at Cranleigh Hall – first through a cricket match, then through a costume ball. Through these events, most of the secondary characters are understood to be a part of the upper-class of the country, with both the historical period and the social class of the characters is mainly conveyed through their clothes.

One such upper-class character is the mother of the owner of Cranleigh Hall, Lady Cranleigh. During the cricket match, Lady Cranleigh is one of the few characters who do not participate, instead being seated nearby. The sequence during which she is introduced for the first time shows her seated, wearing a dark brown outfit with a silk coat, a scarf with a flowery pattern and white gloves. A subsequent close up on her face shows jewellery beneath the scarf, and as she turns her head, it shows the flowers ornament on one side of the hat she is wearing.

This is consistent with the costume a woman of her time and place would have worn in 1925, along with what American sociologist Thorstein Veblen calls Vicarious Ostentation. This idea is explored by Alison Lurie, who writes that “In the nineteenth century, [...] men were relieved of the need to display their wealth through expensive, wasteful and uncomfortable dress; instead they delegated the task to their wives and daughters.”¹⁴⁵. While Lord Charles Cranleigh is free to play cricket and relax, his mother (who, in the absence of a wife for Charles Cranleigh, is still Lady Cranleigh) is responsible for displaying the wealth of her family through her physical appearance.

The Cranleigh annual costume ball is yet another display of wealth from the family. Not only are they able to give costumes to the Doctor and his companions on such short notice (they arrive less than a day before the ball is due to start), the first sequence of the costume ball itself starts with a display of all the food and drinks that have been ordered by the Cranleigh family for their guests, and only then transitions into an exposition shot of the various costumes worn by the participants.

In the “*Doctor Who* sense” of it, “Black Orchid” cannot be properly be described as a historical story, as it does not focus on a historical event which the Doctor and his companions have to save for the Earth history to unfold as it is meant to. Yet, it still has a historical setting, as its plot does not focus at all on science fiction and is instead based on fictional historical events taking place in a real Earth setting, accurately depicted on screen. The setting is partly conveyed through the costumes of the secondary characters, up until the moment the costume ball starts. The costume ball, on the other hand, is more centred around reproducing famous costumes worn by known people or characters in history. The discovered murder providing the cliffhanger at the end of the first part further places this story less as a historical story and more as a whodunit in a historically accurate setting, and shifts the emphasis from a visual display of social class and costume dresses to the real intrigue at hand.

b) Twin sisters from different worlds: Ann Talbot and Nyssa

An important part of the plot of *Black Orchid* plays off the resemblance between two central characters for the story: Nyssa, who has been travelling with the Doctor for some time, and Ann Talbot, the fiancée of the Doctor’s host, Charles Cranleigh – she is later revealed to

¹⁴⁵ Alison Lurie, ‘Fashion and Status’ in *The Language of Clothes*, *op.cit.*, 144

have been the fiancée of Charles Cranleigh's elder brother Georges as well, who is the antagonist of the story. The resemblance is highlighted as both of these characters are played by Sarah Sutton, who was portraying Nyssa. For some of the shots where both characters were forced to appear at the same time, one or the other character would usually be placed in the background, have their face hidden by their hair and be played by a body double. As such, the physical resemblance between these two characters is noticed by everybody. This is foreshadowed even before Ann Talbot appears on screen, by the few characters that are familiar with Ann and are introduced to Nyssa. Some, such as Lady Cranleigh, are convinced that the characters must be related¹⁴⁶.

As both characters are identical and recognised as such, the way to mark the difference between them has to be provided in another way; this is where costume plays one of its most central roles within this particular story. The difference in the way they dress is emphasised as they meet for the first time, by a very large shot showing both characters in front of each other¹⁴⁷. This particular shot clearly shows every element forming their respective outfits. It has been previously mentioned that Nyssa, during the season for which *Black Orchid* was made (season 19), still wore her original outfit from Traken – albeit with trousers instead of the original long skirt. This outfit's goal was to establish her as a noble, yet still young character, growing under the supervision of the Doctor. While Ann Talbot is first mentioned as looking identical to Nyssa and engaged to Lord Charles Cranleigh, her physical appearance still seems to reference her youth. She is wearing a simple light blue blouse that, compared to Nyssa's clothes, look very simple; it is also closer to what the fashionable, middle-class woman would have worn in the mid-1920s, described by John Peacock as a “simple, sparsely decorated, shapeless tube with a hip-level ‘waist-line’ and a skirt barely covering the knees”¹⁴⁸. When compared to what Lady Cranleigh wears, it is clear that for now she does not have to be a vehicle for Vicarious Ostentation; she does not have to show the wealth of the Cranleigh family, as she is not yet part of them.

Two further shots that are closer to the characters than the previous very large shot (each medium shot focusing on one character at the time) allows the audience to see with greater details the differences between the two characters. Ann Talbot, who is the first to be shown¹⁴⁹,

¹⁴⁶ Ron Jones, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘Black Orchid’, part 1, BBC DVD, 1982, 06:55.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 10:11.

¹⁴⁸ John Peacock, *The Complete Fashion Sourcebook*, London, Thames and Hudson, 2005, 11.

¹⁴⁹ R. Jones, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘Black Orchid’, part 1, *op.cit.*, 10:15.

has a shorter hair cut which, once again, seems to be on par with what would be expected of a middle-class woman in 1925. Nyssa's shot¹⁵⁰, on the other hand, shows she has longer hair, and a haircut that leaves more room for her face. There does not seem to be a great difference in terms of make-up. Most of the remaining time in the sequence, until 10:50, is recorded using the same very large shot it was started with, and as the shock of the resemblance is now gone, the conversation and the shots gradually move on from the situation.

The second sequence showing both characters interacting with each other is all about erasing all of the previous differences that have been noticed by both the characters and the audience during the first ten minutes of the story. It shows Ann, already halfway dressed for the upcoming costume ball, exposing her plan to Nyssa: she wants them to wear the same costume on purpose, so that no one at the ball will be able to tell them apart. For the problem of having different haircuts, Ann argues that "with the headdress, nobody but nobody will be able to tell [them] apart"¹⁵¹. Nyssa agrees with Ann's plan. This sequence also exposes the only remaining way to tell Ann and Nyssa apart, when Ann shows that she has a mole on her shoulder that Nyssa does not have. Only the audience and Tegan, who is also of the room, are aware that there is a difference and where to look for it. However, it is also shown that this mole will be hidden by the dress both women are wearing, and this difference is never explicitly used in the story either.

One of the main features of the costume ball at the end of the first part of the story is the way it plays with this trick. As the party begins, one of the girls asks Adric to dance with her, while the other dances with Charles Cranleigh; there is no way to tell who is dancing with whom. Later on, one sequence shows both of them entering a room and then getting back outside to dance with the exact same partners as before, dancing partners who try to guess who they are dancing with¹⁵² (subsequent dialogue in this sequence suggests that Adric has been dancing with Nyssa at least once, as Adric's partner enquires about the whereabouts of the Doctor at some point). Yet another sequence demonstrates that Ann and Nyssa have the same dancing abilities, contrary to what Adric believes¹⁵³.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 10:18.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 14:02.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 16:47 – 17:32.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 20:05 – 20:26.



Figure 32 - Nyssa and Ann meet for the first time. (*Black Orchid*)



Figure 33 – Who is who? (*Black Orchid*)

What was initially shown as an innocent joke played by two young ladies on the rest of the characters takes a turn for the worse when Lord Cranleigh's elder brother George, the antagonist, uses the costume attributed to the Doctor and attempts to harm one of the two women. The dramatic weight of this sequence is enhanced by the fact the audience does not know who has been harmed. It could have been Ann Talbot, a character they have known for twenty minutes, or Nyssa, who they have seen grow for almost a season prior to this story, and a character they feel attached to. Moreover, this sequence serves as the only cliffhanger of the story: the audience does not have a way to immediately know the answer to the mystery, and have to wait until the next part of the story to find out.

The beginning of the second episode immediately gives the answer to the audience, through one of the most obvious differences between both characters. As the antagonist removes the headdress, it reveals a shorter haircut: Ann Talbot was the unfortunate victim all along. From this point on, as the headdresses are removed and the primary difference between the characters is revealed, the plot of the story recognises Ann and Nyssa as two different people once again: at the party, when Charles Cranleigh speaks to Nyssa, he is able to guess he is not having a conversation with his fiancée.

The only character not to recognise the differences between Ann and Nyssa is also the one character who has never seen both girls at the same time: the antagonist of the story. Even as the haircuts have been revealed, he still kidnaps Nyssa instead of Ann Talbot on his second attempt. What was meant to be a physical resemblance at the service of a funny joke evolves to be a potentially deadly risk in the final moments of the story: the Doctor wonders whether Nyssa will be safe or in greater danger once the antagonist realises he has the wrong person.

The situation is also what gives closure to the story, as Nyssa is saved but the antagonist accidentally falls to his death. The last scene of the story shows everyone by the TARDIS, as the Doctor and his companions prepare to leave for new adventures. While Nyssa, along with the rest of the TARDIS crew, has reverted back to her usual costume, Ann Talbot is in mourning clothes. Their adventure now over, Ann and Nyssa are separated by the circumstances of their lives.

Through the character of Ann Talbot, *Black Orchid* does what almost no other *Doctor Who* story does, in that it fully uses costumes to direct its main storyline. Without Ann Talbot's idea of dressing Nyssa with the exact same dress she has, none of the unfortunate events at Cranleigh Hall would have happened. And, if the story went to great lengths to underline the similarities of the characters in the first part, the second part undoes this work. In the last sequence, while Ann Talbot is mourning along with the Cranleigh family and wears similar clothing to them (not standing apart from them as much as she did at the start of the story), Nyssa has reverted back to what she usually wears, with no external signs of what just happened to her – this adventure is now over for her. Back to a narrative “status quo”, she is free to travel once again with the Doctor to new destinations.

c) Usurpation of identity in ‘Black Orchid’

Although *Black Orchid* is recognised as a story focusing on the character of Nyssa more than most of the other stories she is a part of, she is not the only character who is impacted by costume changes throughout the story: it is also the case of the Doctor.

The Doctor is victim of a case of “mistaken identity” from the start of the story: it is the very reason *Black Orchid* happens in the first place. As the Doctor lands on the platform of the Cranleigh train station, he is mistaken for another doctor by the chauffeur of Cranleigh Hall. The chauffeur had orders to wait for a doctor meant to play a game of cricket with Lord Cranleigh and it is the Doctor's “regular” outfit that convinces the chauffeur he is with the right man. It was shown from the Fifth Doctor's very first story that his costume was directly taken from what cricket players wear; it is demonstrated by a sequence in *Castrovalva* where the

Doctor grabs a cricket bat and tries on several cricket positions in front of a mirror¹⁵⁴. While the costume characterised this incarnation of the Doctor as youthful and athletic, the cricket reference was not addressed further apart from the inclusion of a cricket ball in the Doctor's accessories, which he uses in a few occasions (for example, in *Four to Doomsday*). In *Black Orchid*, this reference is instead used as a central narrative tool to launch the story and put the characters in the right place, at the right time, so that the plot can unfold.

The Doctor thus becomes an unwilling participant in a cricket match and his costume is slightly modified to remove accessories not useful in a cricket match itself (such as the jacket and the hat), and to include other accessories such as protective pads, gloves, and a bat. These accessories are what makes the difference in the characterisation of the Doctor during the cricket game: he goes from being the "regular Doctor" to being a keen cricketer, who contributes to the comeback and subsequent victory of the Cranleigh team. The superiority of the Doctor over his opponents is also demonstrated via a quick succession of shots, showing the Doctor batting and the scoreboard rising in favour of Cranleigh's team¹⁵⁵; it is strongly implied by the sequence that the Doctor wins the match by himself.

After the Doctor wins the cricket game for Lord Cranleigh's team and is properly introduced to the inhabitants of Cranleigh Hall, he and his assistants are invited to the costume ball afterwards, such an invitation being extended due to the Doctor's previous performance. While his assistants are given their respective costumes, Charles Cranleigh gives the Doctor a Harlequin suit, complete with a mask meant to cover the entire face of its wearer. The Harlequin is a character associated to the Commedia Dell Arte, as one of the most popular *zanni*, or comic servants.

The Doctor's assistants are given costumes that are not identifiable as being a particular character taken from a particular world; the Doctor is the only one who does. The Doctor is also the only character to be given this costume; there are no other copies within Cranleigh Hall. Yet, as the Doctor leaves the room to take a shower and his costume unattended, his costume is stolen by George Cranleigh, the antagonist of the story. The Doctor, while looking for the person who stole his costume, locks himself inside a hidden tunnel and cannot join the costume ball. In the meantime, George Cranleigh is quick enough to use the Doctor's costume

¹⁵⁴ Fiona Cumming, *Doctor Who* (1963), 'Castrovalva', part 1, BBC DVD, 1982, 14:06-14:32.

¹⁵⁵ R. Jones, *Doctor Who* (1963), 'Black Orchid', part 1, *op.cit.*, 05:46-06:33.

to infiltrate the costume ball, kidnap Ann Talbot, kill a butler, and put the costume back in the Doctor's room. The Doctor, unaware of what has been going on in his absence, manages to get back in his room and, upon wanting to join the costume ball wearing the Harlequin costume, is instantly accused of the crimes committed. For the second time in this story, the Doctor is mistaken for somebody he is not.



Figure 34 - The Doctor wears the Harlequin's mask. (Black Orchid)



Figure 35 – The Harlequin. (Black Orchid)

This time however, he denies the acts attributed to his name, and quickly removes his mask to try and convince them that he is the Doctor, and not the murderer. Because of this, he is the only character that is given a costume for the ball, but does not get to use it to its full extent. From the moment he gets rid of the mask, he is not the Harlequin any more, but a desperate Doctor trying to convince his audience that he is not the Harlequin. The only person who could help him, Lady Cranleigh (who was with him in the secret tunnels when the crimes were committed), does not say anything; she wishes to protect George Cranleigh, her son and the “real” Harlequin.

George Cranleigh was a famous explorer, who disappeared during one of his expeditions. Although everyone who knew him believes he is dead, it is not the case; an Amazonian tribe leader named Latoni rescued him and brought him back to Cranleigh Hall, where Cranleigh is hidden with the complicity of his mother. Although he harms (and sometimes kills) several people, including his former fiancée Ann Talbot, the plot makes it appear as being due to his insanity rather than out of spite. His behaviour towards Ann is never violent and he only seems to wish her well; in the second episode, when he realises he had kidnapped Nyssa, he lets her go without harm and without any other violent reaction. In that sense, both because of his lack of evil and his love interest, he is more of a Harlequin, albeit a

tragic one, than the Doctor will ever be. The character of the Harlequin is described as “[existing] in a mental world wherein concepts of morality have no being, and yet, despite such absence of morality, he displays no viciousness”¹⁵⁶. In addition, he is often associated and shown in love with the character of Columbina¹⁵⁷ - much like how George is in love with Ann, a love that was once reciprocated, before George’s death.

The first lie about the identity of the Doctor does not hold for the whole story either. Halfway throughout the second part, Lord Cranleigh receives a call and finally learns that the Doctor is not who he pretends to be¹⁵⁸. This call strips the Doctor of his “good” identity, only leaving him with the “bad” one. Moreover, the usual mystery attached to the character (which allowed him to impersonate a doctor that he is not) is against him: the Doctor does not have any means of identification at Cranleigh Hall that could convince the constable and the Cranleighs that he is really a Time Lord travelling through space and time. Arrested by the Constable for crimes he did not commit and wearing a costume that is not his, the Doctor is simultaneously stripped of his identity and rendered powerless. The only thing that makes him the Doctor again is another part of his visual identity: the interior of the TARDIS. The TARDIS’ eeriness is the only thing able to convince everyone, and it is only from this point onwards that he is able to regain his authority as the Doctor, and save the day at the end of the story.

The whole plot of Black Orchid relies on people trading their identities for others. While in the case of Nyssa she is a willing participant, in the case of the Doctor everything seems to be happening against his will. Everything the Doctor is bound to wear throughout the story is misinterpreted; first as a countryside doctor, then as a murderer. This is even more striking as the Doctor has always been shown as being the titular character of the show, the person with the most experience within the TARDIS and the one who, almost always, saves people in danger. In this case however, before being able to save Nyssa, he has to save himself. The plot also hints at this disaster by giving the Doctor a Harlequin costume: how could a character whose morality and values are recognised by even his primary antagonists be able to wear the costume of a Harlequin characterised by his “absence of morality”?

¹⁵⁶ Allardyce Nicoll, *The World of Harlequin, A Critical Study of the Commedia Dell’Arte*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1963, 70.

¹⁵⁷ John Rudlin, *Commedia Dell’Arte: An Actor’s Handbook*, London, Routledge, 2014, 79.

¹⁵⁸ Ron Jones, *Doctor Who* (1963), ‘Black Orchid’, part 2, BBC DVD, 1982, 11:40-11:50.

Conclusion

The first part of this essay addressed the history of *Doctor Who*, with a more in-depth look at the last decade of the show and the numerous problems it faced during its production. It also discussed the subject of the Doctors's costumes, and highlighted the lack of variation in them – only changing in very slight ways. The second part was concerned with worlds and characters being unknown to the audience at the time they discovered them, and how “familiarity” was built during the specific story these worlds and characters appeared in. Finally, the third part of this essay mainly focused on common categories of characters (namely companions and antagonists) to be found in *Doctor Who*; how familiarity was not only built, but also carried over throughout the stories.

In *Seeing Through Clothes*, Anne Hollander writes: “I have attempted to show that dressing is an act usually undertaken with references to pictures – mental pictures, which are personally edited versions of actual ones”¹⁵⁹. While, in this chapter, Anne Hollander writes about a more general definition of “dress”, it is possible to use this sentence to help define the way *Doctor Who* uses its costumes – mental pictures, edited by costume designers and other influences (such as the producer of the personal vision of the actor playing the part).

As far as the main/recurring protagonists are concerned, there is a characteristic lack of variation common to all of them. The characters whose adventures the audience is following are dressed in distinctive clothing, specific to them and not used by anyone else in any other story (the only exception is the Fifth Doctor's costume, as it is also an outfit associated with cricketers; this was later used in “Black Orchid”). These costumes are barely changed within one season, and when they are, it is only for practical reasons. If they are meant to change, they have to wait for what could be defined as a mild “reset” – such as the gap between two seasons. The non-recurring characters are also influenced by this stability. Examples in the second part show that they are defined, at least partly, by their clothing: the very first element the audience gets to know about them, and a visual element used to easily place them within the story later on. In the case of background characters, the story does not even give them an opportunity to

¹⁵⁹ A. Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, *op.cit.*, 349.

develop beyond that very basic outfit and, using a term present in Hollander's analysis, they remain captive of that reference picture, unable to develop as individuals.

This stability and familiarity behind the reference pictures used by the stories for the benefit of the audience can be, in turn, subverted; thus, familiarity becomes foreign. These subverted references bring the audience into a world that becomes unfamiliar and alien. It can also lure the audience on the wrong track, by disguising the real identity of an antagonist. Yet, as demonstrated, the costumes of the main protagonists the audience relies on is seldom tampered with, unless it is meant to be permanently destroyed; only "Black Orchid" allowed itself to play with this familiarity and momentarily destroy it by stripping not one but two main characters of their distinctive visual identity and making them unrecognisable to both the audience and the other characters, in one of only examples of a story playing outside of the safe visual norms its show had previously set and respected. At the end, *Doctor Who* is not so much about the unknown. Although the universe is meant to be one the audience does not know at all, it is not built from scratch; rather, it is conceived out of mental pictures taken out of the audience's known world and subverted into something disturbing or even unknown to become part of the Doctor's alien (and sometimes dangerous) world.

Doctor Who was not the only science-fiction broadcast in the 1980s. The end of its run coincided with the first seasons of another popular science-fiction television show: *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (1987-1994). Both shows have similarities that cannot be ignored: the *Doctor Who* and the *Star Trek* franchises both originated in the 1960s (*Star Trek* was first broadcast three years after *Doctor Who*, in 1966). Moreover, both franchises are articulated around a team made of characters that can easily be removed from the plot if needed (or come back at a later time), headed by one authoritative figure: the Doctor, or Captain Picard. Most of their adventures happen in space, although in both shows there are ways to ground some stories into a more realistic setting: in *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, "Elementary, Dear Data" (Season 2), a story where Moriarty is the antagonist, is one example. Other contemporary shows that could be used to confirm *Doctor Who*'s model as either something specific to this show or something more general include *Blake's 7*, a BBC science-fiction show that ran from 1978 to 1981; its creator, Terry Nation, also worked on *Doctor Who* previously.

Moreover, the first part of this essay showcased the vast history of the show, and its evolution: much like *Doctor Who* in the 1980s was not the *Doctor Who* it used to be in 1963, *Doctor Who* nowadays is also visually different, for various reasons: different (and improved) technology, increase in budget, etc. The second part of this essay showcased the simplicity of the methods used to build familiarity and recognition; would this aspect be different in 1963 or 2020?

Still, despite the voluntary lack of support from the BBC and the obstacles the show had to cross, it is safe to say that the examples highlighted in this essay display the numerous ways *Doctor Who*, its associated crew and its actors found to express themselves.

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