NEZIH ERDOĞAN AND EBRU KAYAALP (EDS.)

EXPLORING PAST IMAGES IN A DIGITAL AGE

Reinventing the Archive

FRAMING FILM

Eye Filmmuseum

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FOR GUSTAV DEUTSCH
AND THOMAS ELSAESSER,
WHO LED THE WAY

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The Joys of Forgetting, Reinventing and Coping with the Archive Fever

NEZIH ERDOĞAN AND EBRU KAYAALP

In keeping with Henri Bergson and Siegfried Kracauer, the archive for Benjamin is always about memory and the condition of forgetting.
— Catherine Russell[1]

Traditionally, the archive has been physical: physical pages in physical places, curated physically, by hand. For over a century, however, this physicality has been complicated by the introduction of new technological developments that have posed challenges and spurred innovations, both for researchers and archivists and for the broader public. The most recent of these developments is the ongoing digital turn. In the field of film studies, this turn has confronted archivists, researchers, and filmmakers with a host of new challenges, ranging from issues relating to digitisation to questions over artistic appropriation and scholarly reinterpretation of archival material and is forcing them to develop new paradigms, methodologies and alternative ways of thinking to respond to them.

This edited volume brings together scholars, filmmakers and archivists from across the field to discuss these issues and the evolving state of the art in film studies. It is an invitation to rethink film archives as something more than repositories for dead, passive and fixed artefacts; it is a collaborative effort to push film studies forward by reconceptualising film archives theoretically and artistically in today's world; it is a call, in other words, to "forget" the conventional ways of approaching film archives and to embrace new frontiers in film studies, hence "reinventing" in the book's title.

Any account of memory, in order to be able to open further space for the archive, has to take forgetting seriously. As the Nigerian filmmaker and archivist Didi Cheeka proposes, if we are to "reclaim history and unveil memory"[2] and if we are to explore an uncharted territory full of tensions and promises in a time of transition from the analogue to digital, we need to actively and voluntarily forget the archive as we know it. Only then will "counter-archive" as "understanding film's challenge to positivist conceptions of time, memory, and history" be discernible.[3]

As Benjamin argued, the archive is "always about memory" – but we must also take into account the fact that while the archive is supposed to retrieve what we have forgotten, it has a memory which can be best characterised as forgetfulness. As a matter of fact, destruction is in the very nature of cinema. Projecting a film, and (eventually) viewing a film, is itself an act which is damaging to the film strip. A commercial film is released only to be rendered useless when its exhibition period is over, a fact which led film historian and curator Paolo Cherchi Usai to suggest that "cinema is the art of destroying moving images."[4] And the archive always comes with a sense of profound loss.

Stuart Hall suggested that "[i]t is impossible to describe an archive in its totality" because the archive "may be largely about 'the past' but it is always 're-read' in the light of the present and the future."[5] An archive is always incomplete and in the process of being built. It serves as a frame whose content (what gets into the frame) always refers to what is left out. The archivist's life is a series of disappointments. Derrida argues that "archive fever"[6] creates a desire to dig deeper to find a final material which would give an account of the total story that the person is searching for. This produces a kind of Lacanian desire that is always dissatisfied with the material that is found and leads the archivist to search more and more with the hope of finding a final material to complete the picture, which most of the time ends in frustration.

We know that a great majority of early films are lost. *The Demolishing of the Russian Monument* (1914), an actualité film which was widely accepted until recently as the first Turkish film, is nowhere to be found. To the researchers' dismay, the canister which was supposed to contain the film turned out to be empty! Again, many nitrate films in the archives turn out to have been irrecoverably damaged. At least in the US and Turkey, for a long period of time, films were destroyed for silver extraction. In 1959, a municipal depot in Istanbul which accommodated films of historical significance accidentally burned down. In 1982 The Palestinian Film Archive was destroyed during the Israeli siege of Beirut. As we were writing this introduction in the fall of 2021, we received the sad news that a significant part of the Brazilian film archive was lost in a fire.

Yet the archivist's life is also full of surprises. As Ian Christie points out

in this volume, the loss goes hand in hand with serendipity. *Beyond the Rocks* (1922), for example, which featured Rudolph Valentino and Gloria Swanson, was a lost film. In 2004 it was rediscovered at the Eye Filmmuseum (then the Netherlands Filmmuseum). It was restored and put into distribution by the museum. *Too Much Johnson* (1938), a film made by Orson Welles was thought to have been destroyed in a fire at the director's house in Madrid. A surviving copy was found in Italy in 2013, not too far away from Pordenone where it made its debut at the Pordenone Silent Film Festival.

In the context of photograph archives, Allan Sekula warns that "[i]n an archive, the possibility of meaning is 'liberated' from the actual contingencies of use. But this liberation is also a loss, an abstraction from the complexity and richness of use, a loss of context."[7] We would argue that the notion of an "original context" needs to be problematised. Images do not lose context, but they are re-contextualised opening up to unforeseen complexities and richness of use. Even the destruction itself (for example, a blot on the face of a woman in a damaged film strip) offers a plurality of meanings. The damage is perhaps irreparable. The restoration of such a damaged film must be quite a challenge. Or we can see it not as damage but as a "correspondence between past and present."[8] The white circular shape on the woman's face suddenly becomes something else, sometimes giving way to nostalgia, bringing us archival ghosts from the past.

In the trailer of his recent controversial film, *They Shall Not Grow Old* (2018) Peter Jackson promises us the reality of the Western Front in WWI "as the soldiers themselves saw it." According to Ian Christie, the film, which was released both in 2D and 3D, is "a truly phantasmagoric project"; it "is a strange meeting, [...] with archival ghosts in our digital midday."[9] In his insightful review, Christie addresses some of the issues that this book aims to cover: Although Jackson's endeavour is admirable, it should be questioned whether he was able to really fulfil his promise. The archival footage was restored, colourised, dubbed and upgraded to 3D. Yet we know all too well that we cannot see as they have seen since we lost our innocence long ago. So, are we going to praise Jackson for such an impressive accomplishment with images of men who will never grow old? Or are we going to condemn him for making something outrageous out of what is actually a worn-out, black-and-white, silent film? Should Sekula ask him to leave the archives alone since the film fell out of the "actual contingencies of use"?

With the digital turn, the accessibility of archives has radically changed. With their great assembly of materials, they offer a multitude of alternative opportunities for filmmakers and contemporary artists. They have widely enabled the use of pre-existing materials for the construction of new narratives. The artists and filmmakers use and appropriate these historical materials to

create something new through the perspective of the present. In this emerging world of possibilities, the ways in which the archival materials are reassembled to make a new statement are different from attempts to find out what really happened in history. One reason for returning to the archive, again and again, might be that, compared to contemporary sound films, early and silent films offer more possibilities for participation at many levels. First of all, it is argued that they have the potential to enable a richer viewing experience. To quote Kevin Brownlow, "in fact when you see a silent film, you don't miss the dialogue, and you do not miss the effects. You supply all these. [...] You become a creative contributor to it in a way you don't with sound film because everything's done for you. That's why I think people who remember the silent film were so deeply in love with it."[10] We think "becoming a creative contributor" is the keyword here and its implications are not confined to the viewers' experience. Following Brownlow's line of thinking, one might like to add that one is not only capable of "seeing" these films, one can also remake or rewrite them for there is definitely something carnivalesque about them.

Obviously, this does not make the archivist's and curator's or the exhibitor's task any easier. More possibilities also mean more challenges and difficulties. What are the rules of the game? Which rules are meant to be broken? What are the responsibilities of an archivist, curator or exhibitor who takes on the difficult task of decision-making, locating, curating and exhibiting films – some of them restored, some of them decayed and some of them lost? These are the questions this edited volume aims to answer.

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

This book originated from a three-day international event organised by the Department of Cinema and Television at Istanbul Şehir University in November 2018. The gathering enabled the discussion of a diversity of approaches to the study of and operating film archives by bringing together archivists, film scholars and filmmakers from European as well as non-European countries, who employ unconventional and non-mainstream, if not controversial, methodological and theoretical perspectives. It is their work that leads us to question and reconceptualise existing tasks in an area that is itself in the process of transforming. We observe that it is no longer a matter of one providing service for the other (mostly the archivist for the film scholar and filmmaker) but rather of collaboration, which we believe is reflected in this collection. This diversity is also geographically represented in the book: articles examining film archives in Western as well as non-Western countries provide a productive approach for comparison and fill the gaps in historical narratives by

offering alternative explanations for archival absences and silences. The articles included are written by an international community of scholars from the United Kingdom, Austria, India, the Netherlands, and Turkey, and there is no geographical restriction in terms of its intended readership.

The edited volume aims to introduce its readers to the new frontiers of film archives under three separate but related sections: The first section, "New Frontiers? Between Absence and Presence of Archives," revolves around the paradigmatic shift that has gone in parallel with the transition from the analogue to the digital which has made access possible in the absence of film archives. However, while the vast possibilities that online access offers in the era of YouTube and the Cloud are happily embraced, its shortcomings and challenges are also addressed.

In the opening chapter, departing from the characterisation of archives with serendipity and incompleteness, Ian Christie first provides a historical context for a discussion of the transition from the analogue to the digital. Against the widespread tendency that the digital would replace the analogue, Christie expresses his concern that the digital may not be as secure a preservation medium as generally expected.

In the second chapter, Peyami Çelikcan provides a context by giving an account of several international early film events and then sets out to show the possibilities that the digitalisation of the archives has brought particularly to "re-imagining" the Ottoman territory. Drawing on Edward Said's notion of "travelling theory" and post-colonial feminist theory, Çelikcan discusses how the Oriental woman was constructed both as the "exotic" and "esoteric" object of desire in this "imaginary geography."

In the third chapter Serkan Şavk gives a critical account of "official" film archives in Turkey and points to their restricted access. Then he draws our attention to a primary streaming channel, YouTube, as a possible source of research. YouTube has at its disposal thousands of Turkish films, many of them digitally restored and made available free of charge. Problematising the original-copy dichotomy, Şavk briefly discusses the possibilities that YouTube and other streaming sources offer and provides an outline of exemplary research he conducted on the visual style of these films.

The last article in this section analyses two private collections, a family archive and a personal collection, located at the Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center in Istanbul. In this chapter, Nurçin İleri elaborates on how these personal possessions that have been accumulated, stored and recovered could now be used to create new and alternative forms of academic and artistic endeavours. İleri 's chapter is an effort to reveal the promise of these collections that speak many languages with their audience, as long as the researcher, archivist, artist or filmmaker wants to hear their voices.

Archives are not merely sites for historical knowledge anymore. They are no longer just concrete institutions of excavation of historical facts but sites for new ways of production and sites of new artistic creations. The past couple of decades witnessed the rise of artistic practices, found footage being the prominent one, using the film archive as its main source. Besides, new types of archival sources, home movies found in the trash, are also added to the inventory. The second section, "The God of Small Films or What You Have Found Is Not What You Have Lost," aims to point to these possibilities that this continuously expanding area offers and dwells on its implications not only in artistic practices but also in scholarship.

Chapter 5, the first chapter in this section, is by Thomas Elsaesser and discusses how the archival materials from the past are appropriated and presented in the contemporary present in this highly digitised world. The very creative use of archives, as Elsaesser discusses, brings in new ethical questions about the appropriation of found footage. While analogue filmmaking "seeks to *capture* reality in order to *harness* it into a *representation*, digital filmmaking, conceived from post-production, proceeds by way of *extracting* reality, in order to *harvest* it." This shift from production to post-production changes "the cinema's inner logic and ontology" and requires a different perspective on the ethics of appropriation.

In chapter 6, Ege Berensel eloquently demonstrates how archival power cannot be contained within the walls of the archives, and archive fever creates numerous individual initiatives of creating new collections. Berensel, a poet and film archivist, describes his personal experience of collecting home movies that he found in rubbish cans. Tracing the history of Super 8 mm films in Turkey, Berensel provides a culturally specific context and points to the possible use of home movies as research material as well as artistic practices.

Even before the digital turn, the archives were open to the use of pre-existing footage, but with digital technology has radically transformed the film archival practice as well as artistic productions through making the historical materials easily accessible. However, these new archives bring in new concerns as well. Chapter 7 is Claudy Op den Kamp's interview with Gustav Deutsch, which she conducted in 2010. It vigorously illustrates these emerging concerns on the legal aspects as well as other issues regarding the restrictions to the use of other people's footage. In this interview, we not only learn about Deutsch's artistic journey but also his concerns about the digitised future.

In chapter 8, Sibley Labandeira discusses how certain found footage films offer keen insights into the complex relationship between historical events and their recorded traces, as well as the workings of cultural hierarchies that determine certain audiovisual materials as valuable and others as waste, and how these categories are highly unstable. In particular, she offers an in-depth

analysis of *The Atomic Cafe*, directed by The Archives Collective and released in 1982, an audacious approach to the audiovisual remains of nuclear fear and paranoia.

Finally, the third section, "What the Prints (Don't) Tell," concentrates on individual films as archival objects. Problems in provenance, restoration and curatorial processes are addressed. The contributions to this section suggest an area where the archivist, the scholar and the filmmaker become inseparable thus forcing us to adopt a wider and deeper understanding of the archive.

Because of the changes in technology, the archive today is not what it was in the past, and won't be the same in the future, as we are witnessing right now with the rise of digital archives. As Derrida asserts, "the technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future. The archivisation produces as much as it records the event."[11] In a similar vein, Fumiko Tsuneishi argues in chapter 9 that while the question for the archivist working in conventional film archives is how to keep the remaining film elements alive without causing further deterioration or destruction, whether technical or ethical, for the archivist working in digital film archives, it is a question of "what" is to be kept alive. In other words, the archivist must tackle the question of what has to be preserved and what we must be resigned to losing.

In chapter 10, Nico de Klerk, on the other hand, centres on an early silent film from the Netherlands' colonial past tracing its "career" before and after it entered an archive. Questioning the concept of provenance and the function of epi-textual material within the context of the archive's responsibilities, he addresses the problem of heritage. He warns that if the archive fails to "adequately present their artefacts, [...] heritage will become a defunct, meaningless term, history a foreign country without a travel guide."

The last chapter by Rashmi Devi Sawhney suggests that the archive is an "uncontained" one: "unpredictable, dispersed, unreliable, and evasive archive that doesn't already exist, but has to be brought into existence, and will always be incomplete." Dividing her chapter into two sections, Sawhney first gives an account of the conceptualisations of the film archive and then, in order to exemplify her discussion of the archive, she moves on to the careers of two Indian film directors from the early film era, Fatma Begum (1892–1983) and D. G. Phalke (1870–1944). In conclusion, she opts for "a recalibration of our understanding of history and its archives."

This book was submitted to the publisher during the toughest days of the Covid-19 pandemic. The pandemic came with a series of severe crises and restrictions but also with new possibilities enabling new ways of forgetting and reinventing the archive. In parallel to the developments in the online

realm, almost all the major film archives have been seeking innovative ways to operate, redefining their functions and offering users new practices. *Exploring Past Images in a Digital Age: Reinventing the Archive*, as its title suggests, is an attempt at charting at least partially the newly emerging landscape of the archive and offering a glimpse of the shape of things to come.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

NEZIH ERDOĞAN has published articles and book chapters on colonial discourse and sound and body in Turkish popular cinema, the reception of Hollywood in Turkey, censorship and the distribution and exhibition of American films in Turkey. He co-edited with Miyase Christensen *Shifting Landscapes: Film and Media in European Context* (2009). In 2010 he made a found footage video with composer Çiğdem Borucu, İstanbul Do/Redo/Undo: Sular, Sokaklar, Suratlar/Waters, Streets, Faces, compiled from archival materials of Istanbul in the late 1890s and early 1900s. In recent years, he has published and given talks at national and international conferences on the problems of Turkish film history and historiography, how the introduction of cinema was received in the Istanbul press, and on the spectatorial experiences of Istanbulites in the late 1890s and early 1900s. He is currently working at İstinye University in Istanbul.

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NOTES

1   Catherine Russell, *Archiveology: Walter Benjamin and Archival Film Practices* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2018), 13.

2   The quote refers to film critic Didi Cheeka's project "Reclaiming History, Unveiling Memory" in Nigeria, as discussed in "Changing the Map," *Zeitgeister: International Perspectives from Culture and Society* (n.d.), https://www.goethe.de/prj/zei/en/pos/21879035.html. It is also the title of a conference held at the Nigerian Film Corporation in Ikoyi, Nigeria, in April, 2016. Cheeka gave an introductory speech at the conference. See Schmachtel, "'Reclaiming History, Unveiling Memory' – A Two Day Conference on Film Archives," Lagos Film Society website, April 25, 2016, http://www.lagosfilmsociety.org/2016/04/25/reclaiming-history-unveiling-memory-a-two-day-conference-on-film-archives/.

3   Paula Amad, *Counter-Archive: Film, the Everyday, and Albert Kahn's Archives de la Planéte* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 27.

4   Paolo C. Usai, *The Death of Cinema: History, Cultural Memory and the Digital Dark Age* (London: British Film Institute, 2001), 7.

5   Stuart Hall, "Constituting an Archive," Third Text (Spring 2001), 91–92.

6   Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, translated by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

7   Allan Sekula, "Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital" [1983], in *The Photography Reader*, edited by Liz Wells (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 444–45.

8   Russell, *Archiveology*, 12.

9   Ian Christie, "*They Shall Not Grow Old* Review: Peter Jackson Brings Controversial Colour to WWI Footage," Sight & Sound, November 11, 2018, https://www2.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/sight-sound-magazine/reviews-recommendations/they-shall-not-grow-old-peter-jackson-imperial-war-museum-world-war-one-archive-footage-revived.

10 Brownlow's speech on BBC Radio 4 is cited by Keith Withall in *Studying Early and Silent Cinema* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 14.

11 Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 17.

I

NEW FRONTIERS? BETWEEN ABSENCE AND PRESENCE OF ARCHIVES

What Are Film Archives For? (and Why We Need Them to Change), or: Adventures in the Archive World

IAN CHRISTIE

ABSTRACT

This chapter argues that archives need respect and support for the unremarkable work they routinely do, while at the same time they need to re-think their practices and attitudes toward digital access – as some national archives are notably doing. One crucial obstacle is the complex state of film ownership, differently defined in various jurisdictions. Film archives would benefit greatly from recognition of their status as outside the commercial field, both in terms of ownership and the market for footage sales. Above all, most archives need to demonstrate their continuing value to their hosts and paymasters. Exactly what they do and why it matters needs greater articulated clarity.

KEYWORDS
archive, access, value, digital, online, copyright

A day will come when the invention of the cinema will seem to have changed the face of the world more than the invention of gunpowder, electricity or the discovery of new continents. The cinema will make it possible for people living in the most remote comers of the earth to get to know and love one another. The cinema will remove differences of thought and outlook, and will be of great assistance in realising the ideals of humanity. It is essential that we treat the cinema with the importance it deserves.
— Atatürk (1937)

Film archives are widely misunderstood institutions. On the one hand, there are often unrealistic expectations of what they contain and can deliver; and on the other, they can seem inward-looking, legalistic and even obstructive. Having dealt with a range of them in different countries for over forty years, I should be well placed to try to explain why they can often be frustrating – as well as invaluable. And why I believe they need to change to meet the challenges of the present and foreseeable future.

The first essential point to establish is that what are called "film archives" are very diverse, even if they are grouped in an international network which tries to define common standards.[1] Each has its own history, which has usually determined how it operates today. Some depend entirely on state-level funding and recognition, as part of a national archives structure, such as the US Library of Congress Motion Picture Division, the Russian Gosfilmofond, or the BFI National Archive. In fact, the Francophone term "cinematheque" is a better term, adapted from "bibliothèque," or library. For no film collection can realistically aspire to be more than a library collection, while use of the term "archive" runs the risk of inviting assumptions about completeness or authority, as those discussed by Jacques Derrida in his much-cited essay *Archive Fever*.[2] For Derrida, reaching back to the Greek etymology of the word, the archive is intrinsically linked to law, government and ultimately power.[3] Manifestly, however, no film archive would claim any such aspirations, since all are characterised by serendipity and incompleteness.

A majority of film archives or cinematheques (often without accents when imported into English) depend on what can be relatively precarious regional or institutional support.[4] Lacking the historical traditions of book and manuscript libraries, or picture collections, they have had to invent and argue for

their status. And a major problem is the expectation of what they "should" contain. If we have in mind the model of a national library of documents and books, then you might expect a British national film archive to hold the history of British cinema. In fact, no such central collection exists, with the history of film production in Britain scattered across many collections, only some of which would call themselves "archives," while others are in fact the historic holdings of commercial companies. Many "national" film archives in smaller countries do attempt to assemble a version of their country's production, but they face many obstacles in doing so.

There are three medium-specific facts to bear in mind that have shaped the history of film archiving. First, the film industry *is* an industry and has always been strongly international in scope, with films circulating far from their point of origin. Second, from the outset film was a problematic physical material to store and has continued to be so into our current digital era. And third, almost no one thought films were worth preserving until nearly forty years after the first films were made – by which time it was too late to retrieve most of the early work. The combined result of these is that a substantial proportion of films made before 1930 is almost certainly lost forever. Unexpected discoveries continue to be made – in attics, cupboards and even milk churns – but these are exceptional and have done little to repair the known gaps. For it is a curiosity of film history that almost the complete record of what was made is knowable from printed sources, even if up to 80% of it is lost as film.[5]

There were some early attempts to collect film for the benefit of posterity. By tradition, it was a Polish cameraman Bolesław Matuszewski, who first argued for film as "a new source of history," with his 1898 booklet published in Paris.[6] But he was not alone, or even first. It was in fact the English pioneer Robert Paul who proposed to the British Museum in 1896 that they should collect "animated photographs" for their likely historical interest, wisely suggesting that they could be stored in glass jars.[7] It appears that the museum could not decide how to respond, and so said nothing. Paul gave a newspaper interview, headlined "For the Benefit of Posterity," and may even have presented a sample film, although this is now lost.

For better or worse, film followed a ruthlessly commercial pattern of development, with cut-throat international competition shaping its destiny in the early years. And the logic of this competition as well as the material basis of film – using combustible cellulose nitrate stock until 1950 – militated against keeping old stock. Indeed, from an early date, the film industry was preoccupied with limiting unauthorised use of its products, so systematically destroying prints, and often negatives as well, was comparatively common. One notorious case in Britain was the announcement by Will Barker, a contemporary of Robert Paul's, that he would film one of the most famous Shake-

spearean actors of the Edwardian era, Herbert Beerbohm Tree, playing *Henry VIII* in 1911.[8] To promote the success of his film, Barker announced that after six weeks, all twenty copies of it would be recalled from exhibition and burnt. Apparently, this incentive succeeded in generating considerable business around Britain, but when Barker duly kept his promise, it also resulted in the total disappearance of the film.

In Paul's case, when he decided to quit the business in 1910, he too burned his stock, claiming that this was to enable him to concentrate on his instrument-making business. So, what we have today, amounting to less than one-tenth of his total output of around 800 titles, remains widely scattered in a variety of imperfect copies. Nor was what might seem today such strange behaviour confined to the early period. For many decades, when the term of a license period finished, to ensure no further commercial exhibition took place, distributors were instructed either to return all prints to the producers, or to destroy them. So, what has survived in collections and archives has usually resulted from someone deciding to keep a copy without authorisation by the rights holder – leading to early archiving as a cross between piracy and "rescue archaeology." Very few commercial producers saw any point in preserving their past productions, with the notable exception of Disney, which developed a long-term strategy of periodic re-issues in the 1940s.[9]

It was not until television emerged as a new secondary market for old films in the 1950s that Hollywood studios and old-established companies began to investigate what they still had, make inventories, and take the first steps toward preservation. But because of this new tier of exploitation, rights holders remained suspicious of archives, which led – or forced – archivists continuing to adopt a policy of secrecy. I remember when I started to deal directly with archives in the 1970s, there were no printed, or even card index catalogues. To discover what an archive actually held usually meant engaging in elaborate games of guesswork.[10] And programming a retrospective involved relying on secretive, under-the-counter deals: "Don't ask where the print came from...." When one of the first retrospectives of Hollywood maverick Samuel Fuller was presented by the Edinburgh Film Festival in 1969, many of the prints shown bore witness to strange preservation routes.[11] A 16 mm print of Fuller's 1950 western *The Baron of Arizona* had vertical Arabic subtitles and was believed to come from the collection of the Cinémathèque française, where Henri Langlois had assembled, often by unorthodox means, a legendary collection of films that would be validated by future generations of critics and filmmakers.

The Cinémathèque française collection, like those of almost all archives, was never confined to French-produced films. Indeed, it achieved fame in the early years of archiving because of Langlois' eclecticism, enabling him to screen what was then still widely despised work from Hollywood genre pro-

duction to Paris cinephile audiences that would launch a major revaluation of popular genres in *Cahiers du cinéma*'s "politique des auteurs." These audiences included such future filmmakers as Francois Truffaut and Jean-Luc Godard – and the dedication of Godard's debut feature. *À bout de souffle* (1960) to the "poverty row" studio Monogram Pictures bore witness to the schooling he had received from Langlois' screening programmes.[12] Screening, however, was not the goal of many in the early archive community, who considered preservation a higher priority. By tradition, these divergent aims were represented by Langlois in Paris and his counterpart at the BFI archive, Ernest Lindgren. Lindgren maintained a strict policy of refusing to screen any material which had not been adequately copied for preservation, which in practice led to rare films being withheld if, as was often the case, there was no funding to preserve them.

Meanwhile, many large producers, including the major Hollywood studios, maintained their own archival collections, from which they supplied copies to television and eventually for home video release. The arrival of video has further complicated an already complex state of co-existence between archives and rights holders. Many archives find themselves effectively providing free storage for materials which they are not allowed to make available for screening without permission from the commercial owner. Yet video release has provided a trigger to awaken interest in films that were long dormant in the archives and has also introduced new standards of restoration. A prime example of this has been the revaluation of films made by Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger in the 1940s and 1950s. Launched by a series of retrospectives held at cinematheques and festivals in 1978–1982, many of which had to borrow television prints, the next phase of Powell-Pressburger appreciation benefited from the developing home video market of the late 1980s. But when the DVD format superseded VHS cassettes, the US Criterion company became critical of restoration work done by the BFI archive and sought outside expertise to work on primary elements of titles such as *The Red Shoes* (1948) and *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (1943).[13]

"Restoration" has in fact become a key, if controversial, issue for film archives: both an opportunity to demonstrate their value and skills, but also, as many archivists would confirm, something of a shibboleth. Just as curators in museums and galleries often feel that special temporary exhibitions, involving loans from other institutions, amount to a distraction from their core collection, so many film archivists would prefer to focus on their less favoured holdings. For the underlying truth about film archives, in common with all museums, is that the vast bulk of their collections remains unviewed, unvalued and, indeed, unknown. Clearly, restorations of previously damaged or unknown films can focus wider attention on these and can ideally also help

revive interest in a dormant area of cinema. Given that the bulk of holdings in all archives are non-fiction, the BFI archive has worked in recent years to create awareness of the feature documentary genre through mounting restorations of such films as the polar exploration film *South* and *The Epic of Everest*, both showcased at festivals.[14] Whether these have succeeded is raising wider interest in non-fiction is, however, debatable.

Restoration can also be controversial, especially when digital techniques are applied to early photochemical material. The recent case of producing a feature film, *They Shall Not Grow Old*, based on World War I footage held by the Imperial War Museum in London illustrates the dilemmas involved. When Peter Jackson was invited by the museum to produce a film commemorating the end of the Great War, he brought to the project a degree of imaginative energy which disconcerted many in the archival community. Jackson not only applied digital colourisation to the black-and-white footage but converted it into 3D and recreated the voices of many of those filmed in 1916. For some archivists, this amounted to "disrespecting" the original footage, or indeed "falsifying" its record value. The film, however, was widely shown in cinemas and on television, bringing the "Western Front" experience, previously seen only in black and white with live musical accompaniment, to many new audiences.

At the time of its release, I wrote in defence of Jackson's film, pointing to a wide spectrum of filmmaking that has made use of archival film in different ways.[15] This ranges from the Russian pioneers Esfir Shub and Dziga Vertov, to artist filmmakers such as Joseph Cornell and, in more recent times, the archival collagists Angela Ricci Lucchi and Yervant Gianikian (with their *Dal Polo all'Equatore/From the Pole to the Equator* [1987]), Chris Marker, Morgan Fisher, Harun Farocki and Gustav Deutsch. None of these has considered archival film as a "sacred text." Instead, in their different ways, they have treated it as "second nature," in the sense discussed by Georg Lukacs and Walter Benjamin, a source of material traces of the past that are available for contemporary renegotiation.[16] In a wider sense, the work of these filmmakers could be described as exploiting varieties of "the archive effect," explored by Jaimie Baron in her book of this title, together with fiction films such as *Zelig* (Woody Allen, 1983), *Forrest Gump* (Robert Zemeckis, 1994) and *JFK* (Oliver Stone, 1991) which have traded on "pseudo-archival" representation.[17]

ALONG CAME DIGITAL

A consequence of the digital revolution has undoubtedly been that many must wonder what role film archives play in making film available today. Very little of what we see online, either in terms of historic film or contemporary image-making, seems to relate to archives. So, do we still need them – or can the proliferation of variant copies, many uploaded by amateurs, together with the commercial interests of rights holders and publishers, effectively substitute for old-fashioned archiving? There are complex issues buried in this assumption, but perhaps the first to dispel is the assumption that digital is a secure preservation medium. *It is not!* Traditional archives have been coping with the fragility of the photochemical base of film for many decades, after discovering that even transferring nitrate to safety stock did not guarantee long-term preservation, when the "vinegar syndrome" began to decompose the contents of film cans.[18] Archival quality film stock is now available, and if stored at very low temperatures, this can offer secure long-term preservation, which is what the Fédération internationale des archives du film (International Federation of Film Archives, FIAF) archives now aim to do. By comparison, the digital storage of film and sound, even on powered hard drives, does not offer comparable security. Horror stories have been whispered among professionals recounting the unexplained collapse of digital intermediate masters, even of relatively recent feature films. The only known solution for long-term digital preservation is proliferation – making as many copies as possible, so that at least some survive intact.

But if digital media are not ultra-secure, they are cheap and flexible, and widely available to users outside the world of professional archiving. And one of the most important shifts that has taken place within film archives in recent decades has been to widen the pool of what is collected, and ultimately circulated. In Britain, this shift was led by the creation of a network of regional film archives from the 1970s onwards, joining the long-established BFI archive and the even older Imperial War Museum archive.[19] Seeking to document their regions, the new archives set out to collect material which fell outside the traditional categories of fictional feature films and documentaries.[20] In addition to 16 mm material, they started to preserve other amateur gauges, as well as local television material, eventually amateur video and even historic photographic materials. Although underfunded and precarious by the standards of the "national" archives, this has meant that they offer a rich resource for new forms of documentary and television focused on "the everyday."

As television in particular has moved away from institutional priorities and "big history," towards the social and the personal, so regional film archives have become important sources for revealing material. And the fact

that amateur filmmakers began to use colour stock, especially Kodachrome, much earlier than newsreels and other commercial media, has meant that only amateur film can portray the minutiae of social life between the 1930s and 1950s. In Britain and more generally, academic film studies was slower than regional archives to recognise the importance of "the local," which has long been demonstrated by the popular appear of "local shows," as toured by many regional screen archives. This pattern, pioneered in England by archives such as the East Anglian Film Archive and Screen Archive South East, helped create new audiences for archive film and also stimulated the donation and collecting of material that had not previously been archived. With the launch of video-sharing platforms such as YouTube, a new means to reach audiences and promote interaction around audiovisual documents emerged.

From my own experience, helping launch the London's Screen Archives network in 2007, and working with British local film shows over some fifteen years, I can testify that the forms of connection between audience and film on a shared local basis have distinctive qualities.[21] Rather than regard film as a remote, impersonal record in which the viewer is rarely implicated, we can create associative and affective links between viewers who are, in many ways, "expert" in what they are viewing and form active participant audiences.[22] As a specific example, the London Film Studies Collection, which Angela English and I created at Birkbeck College, published two DVD anthologies of London film, which have formed the basis of a continuing programme of screenings and events, amplified by their wide sharing online. Similar anthologies have been created in many other locations, such as Nezih Erdoğan's DVD of films of old Istanbul, and a growing number of similar "local" anthologies.[23]

AUDIOVISUAL STATUS AND ARCHIVAL VICISSITUDES

For better and for worse – at least in terms of "archival purism" – the "archive effect" identified by Jaimie Baron has created a wide spectrum of new and alternative histories, as well as new forms of relation between the audiovisual "document" and its modern users, who are rarely passive consumers. We can recognise that many of the historic film archives have generally responded to these new currents by becoming more actively engaged with audiences and users. Many now offer increasing amounts of their holdings online, with some – like the Danish archive – actively encouraging public participation in the identification of holdings. Undoubtedly, existing archives could do more to shape and promote their audiences' perception of the history of film if they had sufficient resources. The example of the well-resourced US Library of Congress, which archives film and video alongside many other kinds of

material, is probably exemplary in offering its extensive thematic collections online.[24]

But apart from levels of funding, another major issue that urgently needs to be tackled is giving archives more rights over the materials they hold. Copyright regimes differ widely across the world, despite moves towards harmonisation, with distinct national attitudes still embedded in contemporary practice. At one extreme, the multi-layered French conception of copyright "protects" material as old as the Lumière films, made over a hundred years ago, with the result that these foundational works remain less known today than many other early films. And teachers of film history in France still face extreme restrictions in their use of illustrative material in education. Elsewhere, different copyright regimes – many of which still fail to deal with the complex of "rights" involved in a film – restrain archives, and others, from providing access to works which lack clear status. What is urgently needed is a guaranteed sphere of freedom of access to, and use of, audiovisual documents in nonprofit contexts, which will create more users for archives, and make a better case for funding them in the future.

Finally, there is the issue of archival "authority," implicit in Derrida's characterisation of the concept of archives. No film scholar would wish to envisage a situation in which film archives became sole arbiters of matters of film history, in view of the expertise that manifestly exists within academia, and more widely among collectors and dedicated amateur cinephiles. Yet some might wish that more of this expertise was gathered within or close to existing archives. The era of "scholar-archivists" may be long gone in most disciplines, with more narrowly curatorial concerns the priority of most archives. Yet film archives, as curators of the physical elements of film history, should surely support in-house expertise in the material history of this technology-dependent medium?

Regrettably, this has not been the path followed by film archives in recent years; just as technological and process-oriented expertise has been increasingly outsourced, so too has high-level film historical knowledge. Although there remain some exceptions among senior archive personnel, the field has increasingly become one of "collection management," with expertise remote from the actual interpretation of collections. Here I draw on my own experience of researching the career and legacy of the English pioneer Robert Paul during the last quarter century.[25] Although Paul was already identified in the 1970s as the key figure in developing Britain's lead in film and equipment production by the historian John Barnes, the BFI National Archive has done little until recent times to explore and consolidate this achievement.[26]

Over a fifteen-year career, from 1895 to 1909, Paul produced at least 800 films. Sometime during that last year, he made a shrewd, yet strangely emo-

tive, decision to leave the industry he had helped create, and claimed to have destroyed his whole stock of negatives. The result is that we have less than eighty of his films today, and few of these are in good condition. Until very recently, we had none in their original-coloured versions, which is how Paul supplied many of them from the earliest times. However, amid a series of events and publications that I organised to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Paul's birth in 2019, the BFI National Archive took a closer look at its holdings – and discovered a dozen films that had lain unidentified for many years, one of which, *The Dancer's Dream* (1906) has survived in its original colour-tinted form.

This muted response could be contrasted with that of the state-supported French archive, the Service des archives du film of the Centre national du ciné- ma et de l'image animée (CNC), which undertook the restoration of all surviv- ing elements of the Lumière catalogue in 1995, to celebrate the "centenary of cinema."[27] Promoting the Lumière brothers as pioneers of world cinema has long been a cornerstone of official French cultural policy, despite the claims of other pioneers – including Edison, the common inspiration for both Lumière and Paul. Objectively, neither French triumphalism nor British reticence meets any objective historical standards in clarifying the origins of moving pictures, or what became cinema. Yet the contrast in attitudes and available resources is striking. So too is the scale of film archiving in the United States, which has the best claim as originator of moving pictures, having at least five major archival organisations, plus more than a dozen collections housing documents as well as film elements – all of which, apart from the Library of Congress, depend on institutional or private funding.

Film archives do not conform to any single pattern, as noted at the begin- ning of this chapter; and all reflect the status of cinema in their home coun- try. In the century since American studios gained control of the world film business,[28] many countries have responded by championing the history and legacy of their own cultural industries – largely through websites and events, but also occasionally through restorations of key early films. Just as fine art continues to serve the diplomatic role it has had for over 500 years, so film has come to provide a proxy for modern cultural influence. Yet film archives have low status almost everywhere within national cultures which follow the traditional hierarchy of "the arts." The digital circulation of film has amount- ed to a pyrrhic victory for film within the structure of *beaux arts*: in becom- ing pervasive and more accessible than it ever was during the photochemical era, it has lost an "archival aura" – to adapt Walter Benjamin's conception of art in the era before "mechanical reproduction" – and gained ubiquity and familiarity.[29] The challenge that scholars, archivists and the vast number of cinephile enthusiasts face is how to regain that "aura" in the digital era. Or, in

simpler terms, how to regain value amid digital superabundance and excess. Just as digitisation has given archivists new techniques and affordances, it has seemingly robbed them of the scarcity that was a founding feature of early cinephilia.

When Atatürk wrote about the importance of cinema just a year before his death in 1938, he could not have envisaged the extended life that film would acquire, through the foundation of archives, the emergence of television and, finally, the digital revolution. Yet his vision of treating cinema with the importance it deserves is still relevant – perhaps more than ever, as its ubiquity threatens to downgrade that importance. The vision that Matuszewski and Paul first articulated in the 1890s has become a reality. Yet the protocols and ethics that underpin it remain little discussed. These will be the challenges that face the now-maturing first generation of "digital natives.

FILMOGRAPHY

À bout de souffle (Jean-Luc Godard, 1960)
The Baron of Arizona (Samuel Fuller, 1950)
Dal Polo all'Equatore/From the Pole to the Equator (Angela Ricci Lucchi and
    Yervant Gianikian, 1987)
The Dancer's Dream (Robert Paul, 1906)
The Epic of Everest (J. B. L. Noel, 1924)
Forrest Gump (Robert Zemeckis, 1994)
Istanbul Do/Redo/Undo: Sular, Sokaklar, Suratlar/Waters, Streets, Faces
    (Nezih Erdoğan, 2010)
JFK (Oliver Stone, 1991)
The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger,
    1943)
The Red Shoes (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, 1948)
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (Walt Disney, 1937)
South (Frank Hurley [uncredited], 1919)
They Shall Not Grow Old (Peter Jackson, 2018)
Zelig (Woody Allen, 1983)

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

IAN CHRISTIE became involved with early film by developing a BBC television series and associated book, *The Last Machine: Early Cinema and the Birth of the Modern World*, in 1994. As part of the discovery of pre-revolutionary Russian cinema in the late 1980s, he published a ten-volume anthology for the British Film Institute. His work on Robert Paul appeared in 2019 as a graphic novel (with the comics artist ILYA), a monograph *Robert Paul and the Origins of British Cinema* (University of Chicago Press, 2019), and in a touring exhibition. Currently Professor of Film and Media History at both Birkbeck College and Gresham College, he is a Fellow of the British Academy and a vice-president of Domitor.

NOTES

1 The Fédération internationale des archives du film (International Federation of Film Archives, FIAF) dates its foundation to 1938, and its membership now comprises some 171 organisations in 79 countries.

2 Jacques Derrida, *Mal d'Archive: Une Impression Freudienne* (Paris: Editions Galilee, 1995). An English translation by Eric Prenowitz, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,* appeared in 1996.

3 For a provocative discussion of Derrida's *Archive Fever*, see Nasrullah Mambrol, "Analysis of Derrida's Archive Fever," *Literary Theory and Criticism* [blog], February 19, 2018, https://literariness.org/2018/02/19/analysis-of-derridas-archive-fever/.

4 The case of Germany offers a range of terminologies, including *museum* and *kinematek*, while Hispanic countries generally use *filmoteca*, following the French model, as does Italy with *cineteca*.

5 Perhaps the most spectacular of such cases are the complete version of Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1927), discovered in Argentina in a cupboard in 2008, and the hoard of Mitchell and Kenyon early British films found by Peter Worden in 1994.

6 Bolesław Matuszewski, *Une nouvelle source de l'histoire du cinema* (Paris, 1898).

7 Ian Christie, *Robert Paul and the Origins of British Cinema* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 93.

8 The most colourful account of this episode appears in Robert Hamilton Ball, *Shakespeare on Silent Film: A Strange Eventful History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), viii–xii.

9 In 1944, Disney reissued its pioneering feature-length animation, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), launching what would become its standard policy of periodic reissues. During the 1980s and 1990s, when the home video market was dominated by VHS systems, Disney films would be reissued every ten years (a time gap equal to that of their theatrical reissues). This moratorium period has continued with the evolution of home media delivery mechanisms, including DVD, Blu-ray and now digital streaming.

10 This was my own experience of negotiating with Jacques Ledoux at the Cinematheque Royale de Belgique for access to Soviet films in the early 1980s.

11 See Peter Stanfield, "Notes Toward a History of the Edinburgh International Film Festival, 1969–77," *Film International* 34 (2008), 62–71.

12 A small studio that lasted from 1931 to 1953, when it became Allied Artists. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monogram_Pictures. See also interview with Godard on the rational of this dedication: https://ardfilmjournal.wordpress.com/2008/09/06/interview-with-jean-luc-godard/.

13 To date, there has been no detailed or scholarly account of the complex history of Powell-Pressburger restoration, although a partial summary of *The Red Shoes* appears at https://www.cinema.ucla.edu/restoration/red-shoes-restoration.

14 *South*, also known as *Endurance*, was Frank Hurley's film of Ernest Shackleton's 1914–1916 Antarctic expedition, released on video by Milestone. *The Epic of Everest* was a record of the unsuccessful 1924 Everest expedition by J. B. L. Noel, restored by the BFI archive in 2013.

15 Ian Christie, "*They Shall Not Grow Old* Review: Peter Jackson Brings Controversial Colour to WWI Footage" *Sight & Sound,* November 11, 2018, https://www2.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/sight-sound-magazine/reviews-recommendations/they-shall-not-grow-old-peter-jackson-imperial-war-museum-world-war-one-archive-footage-revived.

16 Walter Benjamin's "A Short History of Photography" ("Kleine Geschichte der Photographie") first appeared in 1931 issues of the periodical *Literarische Welt*, and is now available in a number of Benjamin anthologies. On "second nature," see Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, edited by Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann, translated by Robert Hullot-Kentor (New York: Continuum, 2001), 93.

17 Jaimie Baron, *The Archive Effect: Found Footage and the Audiovisual Experience of History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).

18 For an explanation of the "vinegar syndrome," see https://www.nfsa.gov.au/preservation/preservation-glossary/vinegar-syndrome.

19 The Imperial War Museum in London was in fact the earliest archival collector of film in the world, gathering material produced during World War One from 1920 onwards, and continuing to migrate this to new formats throughout subsequent decades.

20 For a history of the Britain's regional archives, now grouped in Film Archives UK, see http://www.filmarchives.org.uk/about/history/.

21 On London's Screen Archives in its present phase, see https://www.londonsscreenarchives.org.uk/about/.

22 See Ian Christie, "'Merely Local': Film and the Depiction of Place, Especially in Local Documentaries," in *Cinematic Urban Geographies*, edited by François Penz and Richard Koeck. New York: Springer, 2017, 81–94.

23 İstanbul Do/Redo/Undo: Sular, Sokaklar, Suratlar/Waters, Streets, Faces (Nezih Erdoğan, 2010), https://vimeo.com/105012221.

24 For details of the American Memory online collections, see https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html also https://www.loc.gov/collections/?fa=original-format:film,+video.

25 See Christie, *Robert Paul and the Origins of British Cinema*. See also the blog at https://paulsanimatographworks.wordpress.com/ and the graphic novel online at https://simplebooklet.com/YqicBlR7tUKyUpguZBJS9S#page=0.

26 In 2007, the BFI published a DVD of Paul's extant films, *R. W. Paul: The Collected Films*, which I curated, using the generally poor copies of Paul's films in the BFI archive – a shortcoming criticised by Barnes, who was alive to see the result.

27 Of the original Lumière catalogue of some 1,420 short subjects, only a handful have been lost, while 1,405 have been restored and digitised. This exceptional survival is due to three interlocking factors. One is that Lumière had an early system for collecting the films taken by their roving operators, and storing these at their headquarters in Lyon. Another is that they effectively left the emerging film business before it turned to longer theatrical entertainment, so their output consists almost entirely of short "views."

28 On America's domination of the world film industry after 1916, see Kristin Thompson, *Exporting Entertainment: America in the World Film Market, 1907–34* (London: British Film Institute, 1985).

29 Benjamin's 1935 essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," which was originally published in three different versions, started to become widely influential in modern media theory after appearing in a 1968 collection of his writings, *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt.

Viewing the Ottoman Lands in Early Travel Films

PEYAMI ÇELIKCAN

ABSTRACT

Starting from the late nineteenth century, European cinematographers travelled around the Ottoman territories shooting films that featured cityscapes, landscapes as well as the social, religious and entertainment life of that period. European cinematographers filmed in the entire Ottoman territory, namely the Balkans, Istanbul, Anatolia, the Arab peninsula and, finally, North Africa. Some of those short non-fiction films were screened for locals but most of them were screened for audiences in European movie theatres. Pointing to the camera's Oriental gaze and the woman as its object of desire, this chapter analyses how these forgotten films documented the cultural heritage of the Ottoman period.

KEYWORDS
early cinema, film archives, Ottoman films, non-fiction films, travel films, Orientalism

In his *Reinventing Cinema*, Chuck Tryon examines film culture at the turn of this century, at the precise moment when digital media were altering our historical relationship with the movies. Spanning multiple disciplines, he addresses the interaction between the production, distribution and reception of films, television and other new and emerging media. Through close readings of trade publications, DVD extras, public lectures by new media leaders, movie blogs and YouTube videos, Tryon navigates the shift to digital cinema and examines how it is altering film and popular culture. Tryon's focus is on how digitalisation has changed production, distribution and screening in cinema,[1] however, digitalisation has also affected the life of early films stored in film archives or museums for years.

With digitalisation, archived early films have been restored and distributed widely. By having this chance, not only early fiction films but also non-fiction films have started to be screened at film festivals or special film-screening events. As Jon Wengström states, the switch from analogue to digital technology "creates unprecedented opportunities and possibilities of disseminating film heritage, known and unknown, to a much wider audience than at any previous time in history."[2] Wengström, in his article reviewing the experience of the Swedish Film Institute, points out the digital change: "Instead of having to turn down most requests for giving access to the collections by lending prints, due to the borrower being incapable of handling or projecting the prints in a correct way, digital cinema copies can be made available at almost every cinema."[3] Digitalisation makes access to films easier and wider and also brings new life to films by restoration, colourisation and speed correction.

This new life and circulation of films may be related to Edward Said's notion of "travelling theory," which argues that theories have no fixed political meaning, but take on different implications depending on where, when and how they are deployed. Said questions "whether by virtue of having moved from one place and time to another an idea or a theory gains or loses in strength, and whether a theory in one historical period and national culture becomes altogether different for another period or situation."[4] Said's *Orientalism* itself provides an illustration of this transformative process. In this vein, Michael C. Frank claims that "theories do not usually travel in their entirety; in the context of each 'turn,' they are reduced to those concepts which can best be adapted to the theoretical needs of the moment and which are accordingly

overemphasised, while others remain underemphasised, if not altogether neglected."[5] Either social theories or their concepts keep travelling in time under new conditions of acceptance and resistance. This is also true for the digital copies of early films taken from the shelves of film archives and circulated around the world with a new life. The digital travel of films constructs new meanings which can be analysed referring to the travelling theories like Orientalism.

REINVENTING EARLY FILMS

Starting from the late nineteenth century, European cinematographers travelled within the Ottoman territories with their cameras. They shot many non-fiction films that featured cityscapes, landscapes as well as the social, religious and entertainment life of that period. European cinematographers filmed in the entire Ottoman territory, namely the Balkans, Istanbul, Anatolia, the Arab peninsula and, finally, North Africa. Some of those short non-fiction films were screened for local audience but most of them were screened for European audiences in movie theatres.

The people of the Ottoman Empire made their first contact with the cinematograph and cinematographers through these films shot by European filmmakers within the territory of the empire. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in a world where no one knew anything about cameras, European filmmakers becoming involved in Ottoman society with this new device of theirs allowed the formation of a whole new experience: witnessing the filmmaking process, becoming the "subject" or "object" of films.

How this experience was created, and how it was experienced by the audience, is strikingly apparent in these films made in the early twentieth century. Considering these films, we observe that the relationships people established with the cinematograph and cinematographers at that time were very sincere and receptive. It can even be suggested that this relationship, which can be interpreted as a reflection of social behaviour, which was open to, rather than resistant to, innovation, was also demonstrated on an official level.

By examining each shot, it can be assumed that the European filmmakers who shot these films did so under very favourable conditions and without any interference. At least it appears that none of the shots in these films has been interfered with. Accordingly, it can be argued that cinema was not seen as a frightening device at the time, neither by the public nor the state and, rather, it secured its place as an instrument regarded as interesting and relevant.

Another reason that makes the films shot by European filmmakers relevant is that each of them is a visual document reflecting the conditions exist-

ing in Ottoman lands both during and after World War I. These films provide quite detailed information regarding the social life, physical conditions, culture and people of the times. Nevertheless, we are not even aware of the existence of the majority of these films, which European film museums have and archived. Each of these films is of a quality that allows them to serve as historical documents, not only for filmmakers but also for historians, sociologists, anthropologists, architects and art historians.

Most of those early films were forgotten as examples of Ottoman heritage in the European archives. Only a limited number of researchers secured access to these films and were able to study them. One of these is Mustafa Özen, who analysed the early films and postcards about the Ottomans. His work focuses on the use of early films and postcards in the Ottoman Empire for political and ideological purposes in the period before World War I. By focusing on important political events and happenings such as revolutions, coronations and elections, Özen shows how these two new forms of representation functioned as political propaganda.[6]

Early films include sequences which also inspire filmmakers in order to represent the daily life of people in the past. Nezih Erdoğan is one of those directors who made a film by recreating past images. Erdoğan's film *İstanbul Do/Redo/Undo: Sular, Sokaklar, Suratlar/Waters, Streets, Faces* (2010) is an impressive sample of reimagination and recreation of the early films.[7] As Murat Güvenç states, the film "goes far beyond being a simple experiment in editing and through the re-reading of sequences shot in the past becomes a new and unique film and an invaluable treasure of data in the field of the historiography of everyday life."[8]

Before digitalisation efforts, all these early films about the Ottoman lands were kept in the film archives of European countries, including France, Austria, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Germany. A selection of those films has been circulated mostly after 2014 on the occasion of the centenary of World War I. Elif Rongen Kaynakçı and Mariann Lewinsky organised a screening and discussion programme within the scope of the 28th Bologna Film Festival in 2014 under the title "Views of the Ottoman Empire."

The same year, a selection of early films was screened within the "Cinematic Landscapes of the Ottoman World" programme, which was organised as a part of the "Istanbul Silent Film Days" event (October 9–12, 2014) with the collaboration of Kino Istanbul, the Eye Filmmuseum, the Istanbul Modern Museum of Art and Istanbul Şehir University. For the first time in Turkey, a collection of early films made by European cinematographers was viewed by a local audience. Collections of films about the Ottoman Empire later became a permanent part of "Istanbul Silent Film Days" under the title "Views of the Ottoman Empire" between 2015 and 2019. Within the "Cinematic Landscapes of the Ottoman World" programme, eighteen films, accompanied by live music

with Turkish traditional instruments, were screened. The screenings of films were followed by panel discussions held by Elif Rongen Kaynakçı and Mariann Lewinsky, the curators of the programme, who provided detailed information regarding the films. Their expertise in archiving and particularly Ottoman-era films made an important contribution in terms of guiding the audience and researchers to find answers to questions that had been raised after film screenings. The access to these early films throughout these years has opened up an academic discussion on past images in the "Forgetting the Archive – Exploring Past Images in the Digital Age" event (November 21–23, 2018) organised by Istanbul Şehir University in cooperation with the Film Department of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. In this event, a selection of digitised early films obtained from the archive of the Ministry of Culture was screened as a first step in sharing the newly digitalised National Film Archive with film scholars, directors and artists from the United Kingdom, Austria, Germany, India, Netherlands and Turkey. The event aimed to provide an academic platform for the discussion of philosophical and theoretical issues pertaining to the archives, such as the traditional function of film archives being limited to preservation and conservation. The investigation of the ways in which archiving creates new forms of academic and artistic studies is increasingly being recognized as an important function of archives. In this symposium, the functions and meanings of archives were discussed, and a dialogue developed among prominent scholars, archivists and artists, including Ian Christie, Gustav Deutsch, Thomas Elsaesser, Claudy Op den Kamp, Nico de Klerk, Nurçin İleri, Serkan Şavk, Rashmi Devi Sawhney and Fumiko Tsuneishi.

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While the circulation of early films has been increasing rapidly, and more and more people have had access to them with the help of digital film prints, the circulation of digitised early films provoked conversation and debate among the audiences and academics.[9] As a part of this exchange, I examined the early films screened at the "Istanbul Silent Days" event in 2014.

In this chapter, I intend to define the genres of non-fiction films and then analyse the representation of the Ottoman world, specifically in early travel films. I will pick some of those forgotten films as a part of the cultural heritage of the Ottoman period. How those cinematographers viewed the Ottoman lands and how they represented the Ottomans in their films will be my central questions.

VIEWING "IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHY"

European perceptions of the Orient and the Ottomans were mostly shaped by travel books and paintings. The stereotypical representation of the Orient has been analysed by Edward Said in his influential *Orientalism* (1978). Said argues that the world was divided into the West and the East (the Occident and the Orient) by Europeans. For him, this is an "artificial boundary" based on the concept of us and them. Said termed this division "Orientalism." To put it very briefly, in order to define themselves as the superior race, the Europeans represent the Orient as irrational and different. Said stated that, by essentialising the East as static and undeveloped, the West fabricated Oriental discourse.[10]

For Said, Orientalism is a colonialist and imperialistic way of perceiving the Orient and is the result of cultural hegemony. Beyond Said's "artificial boundary," there is an "imaginative geography"[11] constructed through certain imagery, texts and discourses. With symbolic territories, this imaginative geography is described as a non-European space conceived by Europeans as the reverse of their culture and identity. Said's imaginative geography consists of power, knowledge and geography. This triangulation creates discourse about different places which are in continuous circulation for the creation of a sense of authority. It is, Said says, "[d]iscourse relying on political and socio-economic tradition which establishes domination of the constructed West over the constructed Orient, in which case civilised Westerns impose on the other, the identity of barbaric Oriental. Our East, our Orient becomes Ours to possess and direct."[12]

Orientalism is the recognition and understanding of imaginary geography by the Orientalists, who, according to Said, consist of three interrelated components. The first component is academics, whose thoughts are based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the West and the Orient. The second component includes poets, novelists, economists, political theorists and philosophers who have accepted the "artificial boundary" as the starting point for their works. The third component comprises institutions that deal with the Orient by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it and ruling over it.[13]

The early cinematographers who visited the Ottoman lands to shoot films represented the Orient in these films as a part of a textual discourse that perpetuated the "imaginative geography" of the Orient and also the West itself. As Mahmut Mutman argues, "if several different places are homogenised under the sign of the Orient, such homogenisation does not inscribe the Orient only; its inscription centres the West as the privileged or dominant pole of epistemological and ontological opposition."[14] It is also true for the homogenisation

of Orientals and Europeans living on both sides of the artificial boundary that Said conceptualised.

TRAVEL FILMS: VISUAL AWARENESS

The most common non-fiction film genre is travel, which has been accepted as the oldest and most popular form of non-fiction film. The first cinematographers visited the Ottoman world and pointed their cameras at sites in Algeria, Istanbul, the Balkan cities, İzmir, Kars-Ani, Cairo, Alexandria, and so on in order to show Western audiences what the East looks like. According to Richard Meran Barsam, travel films "demonstrated the power of the camera to bring people together through visual awareness of one another" and focused on "the most ordinary customs in an attempt to record the lifestyle of a particular people."[15]

Barsam's point of view can be adapted to the travel films screened (Table 2.1) at the "Cinematic Landscapes of the Ottoman World." There is no doubt that all travel films were providing "visual awareness of one another." In this visual awareness, other than narrativity, "attraction takes an important place," as Tom Gunning stated for early films.[16] Early travel films viewed the attractions of different worlds. Gunning refers to "foreign views" to explain this viewing process. For Gunning, foreign views "portray not only a distant site but also a particular point of view, one from outside the land viewed."[17] Early cinematographers, as "one from outside the land viewed," provided travel imagery through fictional and non-fictional films to be viewed by audiences around the globe.[18]

The references to the terms East/West and Ottoman/European constitute another context for the travel films. If the films are about the Orient/Ottoman world, some questions arise as to how European cinematographers viewed the region. What type of awareness did travel films create of the Orient/Ottoman world for Europeans and others in the West? Do those films refer to the Oriental stereotypes developed earlier by travellers, painters and photographers? The answers are given below under two sections: "Viewing Exotic and Esoteric Women" and "Viewing the Pre-Modern Cityscape."

VIEWING EXOTIC AND ESOTERIC WOMEN

Belly dancing has been one of the most common stereotypes representing the exotic sexuality of the woman of the East/Orient/Ottoman world. The interest of the first cinematographers in belly dancing goes back to the 1890s. According to Michael Talbot, an Egyptian dancer, whose name has been recorded as

Table 2.1

Travel Films Screened at the "Cinematic Landscapes of the Ottoman World" Event, Istanbul, 10 October 2014

Algerian Dances (Segundo de Chomón, 1902), Eye Filmmuseum, Netherlands
Turkey-Istanbul (1910), Filmarchiv Austria
Izmir (1911), Eye Filmmuseum, Netherlands
Macedonian Types (1912), Cinematek, Belgium
Cairo/The Arabian Streets of Cairo (1913), Eye Filmmuseum, Netherlands
Egypt, Alexandria, Cairo (1915), Cineteca di Bologna, Italy
Sarajevo: The Capital of Bosnia (1915), Eye Filmmuseum, Netherlands
Turkey (1915), Eye Filmmuseum, Netherlands
Montenegro (1922), Eye Filmmuseum, Netherlands

Fatima Djemille (i.e. Beautiful Fatima), performed a dance that was to spark a performative and cinematic craze at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair.[19] According to Joanna Mansbridge, American musician and entrepreneur Sol Bloom coined the term "belly dancing" after seeing Fatima Djemille's dance performance at the fair. Bloom states that "[a]s a Western term, belly dancing offers a rich example of the way affects and fantasies get translated into history." Mansbridge correlates Bloom's statement with Edward Said's question: "How does Orientalism transmit or reproduce itself from one epoch to another?" Mansbridge's answer is that "[o]ne way is through the bodies, affects, fantasies that keep history alive."[20]

"The translation of fantasies into history" is also true for the recorded versions of belly dancing. The Edison film studios recorded Fatima Djemille's performance under the title *Fatima's Coochee-Coochee Dance* (James H. White, 1896). The information given in the Edison catalogue about this film is as follows: "This is the lady whose graceful interpretation of the poetry of motion has made this dance so popular of recent years."[21] Since this "graceful interpretation of the poetry of motion" had become so popular, Fatima's belly dancing performance was filmed by the Edison Studios three more times, in *Fatima* (1897), *Fatima, Star of the Orient* (1899) and *Fatima, Couchee Dancer* (1903). While Fatima's belly dancing films clearly appealed to the American audience, the Chicago Censorship Committee had some concerns about the sexually provocative dance performance in the films and ordered *Fatima* (1897) to be stained so as to obscure the view of the dancer's body.[22] This action might be the first (or at least one of the earliest) acts of film censorship in the

history of film. As Talbot states, these films show how early the stereotyping of Easterners began and give a clear indication of the kinds of images of the East shown to Western cinemagoers before the start of the twentieth century.[23]

Just six years after Edison's first belly dancing film, Pathé Studios filmed *Algerian Dances* (1902), featuring two women, an Arab and an Algerian, performing belly dancing. A group of musicians and a European man accompany the dancers. The short film continues with a Scottish jig performed by some Scottish highlanders in kilts. (Why and how this final scene was added to the film is not known.) This short film was produced by Pathé Studios and directed by Segundo de Chomón, who also coloured the film by hand in his Barcelona workshop employing dozens of female workers. Chomón's hand-coloured film displayed an even more exotic version of the belly dancing performance. In other words, Chomón's added colour enhanced "the graceful interpretation of the poetry of motion." *Algerian Dances* reflects not only the performance of a belly dancer but also the desire and gaze provoked by the dancer. The European man in the scene deeply experiences the exoticism of this colourful performance.

In the case of Fatima and the Algerian dancers, women of the East represent the exotic sexuality of the Orient. In *Macedonian Types* (1912), dancing becomes part of a wedding ceremony. The wedding scene, in which women perform the *halay* dance with enthusiasm and excitement, shows that the wedding customs of 1912 are not that different from today. The women, who seem quite comfortable and are having a good time in front of a camera being operated by foreigners, do not fit the perception of women associated with the period. However, if the woman is not dancing, then she turns into a mystic, esoteric character with her veil.

While belly dancers provoke the gaze and fantasy about women from the Orient, veiled women represent the uncivilised and backward world in the early films. The women beyond the "artificial boundary," as Mansbridge argues, "have been reduced in the Western imagination to monolithically oppressed victims of a backward culture."[24] In Said's "imaginary geography" of the Orient, two women stereotypes are commonly represented. While the first one represents women from the Orient as an object of the male gaze, the other as the backwardness of the Orient. This contradictory representation of woman from exotic to esoteric in early travel films is a common way of viewing women from the Orient.

Macedonian Types (1912) is another example that features esoteric women in front of a mosque. The shots of three women in white veils on their way to the mosque are emphasised through various angles and scales. *Izmir* (1911) also views these esoteric women. The most interesting scene of the film, which includes footage of the Konak and Kemeraltı districts and the Gulf of İzmir, is

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the part where women watch the reception area behind iron bars. The inter-title explains why: "Women are not allowed to attend official receptions here; nevertheless, it is not possible to restrain their curiosity." However, alongside the women, we also see men who were not allowed in the reception. We can tell from the scene that the reception area was non-public; therefore, people were trying to see the ceremony from behind the bars. That women are oppressed in the Orient is underlined both by shooting them by the camera and reiterating it in the intertitles.

In *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*, Meyda Yeğenoğlu refers to Said's concepts of "manifest and latent Orientalism" in order to discuss the formulation of Orientalist discourse. As a part of Orientalist discourse, "latent Orientalism as the realm where unconscious desires, fantasies, and dreams about the Orient reside"[25] is seen in the belly dancer films. The films focusing on the veiled woman, on the other hand, might be related to manifest Orientalism, which "reflects the various stated views about the Orient." As Yeğenoğlu states, latent and manifest Orientalism "seems to have wider implications than Said himself recognises"[26] and also provides a sufficient conceptual frame in order to analyse the two ways women are represented in these early films. In the construction of "imaginative geography," not only women from the Orient but also the cities and daily life in the Orient play a crucial role.

VIEWING THE PRE-MODERN CITYSCAPE

For early filmmakers in Europe, cities were the symbol of modernisation. As a result of this view, different filmmakers in various countries made films about modern city life, including Dziga Vertov's *Chelovek s kinoapparatom/Man with a Movie Camera* (1929), Alberto Cavalcanti's *Rien que les heures/Nothing but Time* (1926), and Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt/Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* (1927). All these films portray the rapid change and the increased rhythm of modern life in Western cities during the 1920s.

Eastern cities, on the other hand, mostly symbolised the pre-modern period in which the pace of life was slow, everything was old fashioned, production techniques were traditional and so on. The shots focus on the images reflecting these aspects of Eastern life. This is why veiled women, street sellers, cemeteries and bazaars are the most common images seen in films about Eastern cities such as Istanbul.

Turkey-Istanbul (1910) portrays trade centres and bazaars of Istanbul in which people are buying, selling and loitering. In most travel films, fairs, which emphasise pre-modernity, are very familiar topics. Although Istanbul was the

centre of a politics of modernisation starting in the mid-nineteenth century, cinematographers, like the travelogues, focused on the backward characteristics of Istanbul. *Turkey-Istanbul* is approximately 7 minutes long and provides a panorama of Istanbul. In this film, which opens with the images of Galata, Pera and Eminönü, the commercial and economic centres of the Ottoman era, images of Eyüp are given significant weight. We understand from the intertitles that the filmmakers considered Eyüp as the spiritual centre of Istanbul.

European filmmakers considered *sebils* and *sadirvans* to be key symbols of Ottoman culture and they incorporated them as important visual elements in their films. The *sebil* is a fountain where water is freely dispensed to members of the public. In the Ottoman tradition, *sebils* were constructed by sultans (or their family members) as acts of public generosity. These fountains symbolised the power and goodwill of sultans and embodied the architectural style of the periods in which they were built and are important elements of Ottoman Islamic architecture. They are usually located in city squares. The *sadirvan* is a type of fountain that is usually built in the courtyard or near the entrance of a mosque. Members of the public use them for ablution, that is purification, before praying. Both types of fountains are presented frequently in early travel films as symbols of "imaginative geography."

Turkey-Istanbul contains many sequences reflecting this view. Images of people drinking water from *sebils* as they go along their way or performing ablution or drinking water from the *sadirvans* situated in the mosque yards and feeding pigeons are shown a great deal in the film. In some of these scenes, we see women and men moving in a way that suggests they are following directions given by the filmmakers. A young man running to scare birds into flight is assisting the shoot and women feeding the birds are acting according to instructions from the cinematographers. In other words, we see that people were eager to play a given role before the camera. This indicates that shooting a film on the streets of Istanbul was not at all difficult in 1910 and, moreover, that people assisted the foreign filmmakers, even with shooting in the yard of the mosque. Even for those who accidentally pass in front of the camera, curiosity is the main response displayed by the people who establish a relationship with the camera. The way these people dressed also reflects the cultural atmosphere of the late periods of the Ottoman Empire very well. The women's clothes, as well as the men's, are remarkably different, representing the modernisation efforts of the period.

The shots which show the Eyüp Cemetery are very well done and, afterwards, the footage was tinted. The composition of the historical tombstones and the Golden Horn in the background are framed in such an aesthetic manner that we do not often see in early period films. The intertitle reading "A sacred place where every Muslim wants to rest in the afterlife" is eye-catching. The family

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footage shot in the streets of Eyüp is also quite impressive. In these colourised parts, the structure of the family, relations within the family and the style of dress in the Ottoman Empire are all very well depicted. In a shot showing a family in the Eyüp Cemetery, two women in niqabs and a man with a fez and a bow tie walking together draw the viewer's attention as an interesting image. In addition to the Eyüp Cemetery, some attention was also given to Eyüp Mosque.

Cemeteries are one of the most common symbols of pre-modernity and also the Orient. According to Hande Tekdemir, "there is a common trope in Western travelogues on Constantinople to mention the preponderance of the cemeteries, which supposedly function as spaces of socialisation and entertainment."[27] It was a common tradition for families to visit cemeteries on Fridays and religious holidays and even to eat, play and rest next to the graves. This custom completely contrasts with how cemetery visits occur in most Western nations. Tekdemir refers to H. D. Dwight, an American traveller, who visited Istanbul in 1907. Dwight observed: "[T]he manifest accessibility of the graveyards to the living life and both never seem very apart in Constantinople. In other cities, the fact that life has an end and is put out of sight as much as possible."[28] Just four years after Dwight's visit to Constantinople, Lumière brothers' cinematographers filmed Constantinople, focusing on Eyüp Sultan Cemetery. Very well composed shots with the addition of colour provide a gorgeous view of the cemetery in the foreground and the Golden Horn in the background. It is not put out of sight but placed in the centre of the city. There are also cemetery scenes in *Macedonian Types* (1912) and in *Cairo/The Arabian Streets of Cairo* (1913) which even show a funeral ceremony taking place on the street. "Death" and "life" mix with each other on the streets of Cairo. A group of men wearing long skirts over their everyday casual two-piece suits suddenly appear on the Arabian streets, lining up in front of the funeral cortège. Although it is a silent film, one can surmise that the group is praying during the procession.

The film opens with the image of a woman in traditional clothes drinking water from a fountain, following the instructions of the cinematographers, and then the image of a man. The film continues with shots of the streets of Cairo and bazaars. Bazaars are the favourite filming locations for European filmmakers. Because they are places rich with local people, concretely reflecting the traditional culture, they have been important centres of attention. Among the bazaar shots, a carpenter who is performing his craft using traditional methods stands out. The film draws to a close after it passes from the city centre of Cairo to the outskirts of the city. We see children playing in the street in a poorer area in the closing scene.

Another travel film about Istanbul was made in 1915 and was titled *Turkey*. It has almost the same characteristics as *Turkey-Istanbul* and portrays the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus and bazaars. The most interesting scene of this

film is about the street barbers who shave their customers on a chair out in the street. As an instance of representation of pre-modernity, this scene probably reminded European viewers of the remote past.

Streets in the Ottoman world provided lots of visual material to Western cinematographers. In Istanbul (as well as in cities such as Cairo, Alexandria or Sarajevo) we view streets filled with street sellers and craftsmen. In *Cairo/ The Arabian Streets of Cairo* (1913) we see a carpenter and in *Egypt, Alexandria, Cairo* (1915) a group of women cooking bread in a traditional, unhygienic and pre-modern way. In *Sarajevo: The Capital of Bosnia* (1915), the fantastic bargaining between street sellers and their customers take a prominent place. The film opens with bazaar footage from Sarajevo, which had been under the rule of the Ottoman Empire for almost 400 years. The image of people in the bazaar reflects a typical Ottoman city. At the time of the shooting, Sarajevo was under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, however, we see that the identity of the city had remained unchanged and the long period of Ottoman rule had left many lasting marks.

Every once in a while, some women and men in Western-style clothes catch our attention. The camera makes a specific effort to frame these seldom appearing Europeans. Curiosity colours the relationship between the camera and the people in the bazaar. Everyone gives the camera a long stare when they become aware of its presence. One of the shots focusing on hawkers turns into a situation comedy when a child requests a discount for the food he bought and is harshly scolded by the hawker and leaves the stall reluctantly.

Traces of the zoning activities of the Ottoman era are apparent within the texture of the city. The frequent use of mules for transportation purposes also seems to attract the interest of the filmmakers. There are several shots related to this. In the final scene of one film, there is a shot of troops marching in the centre of Sarajevo. Beyond the contradiction between the Muslim identity of Sarajevo and the identity of the troops, the scene finds its place in the film as a visual proof representing the end of Ottoman rule in the Balkans. Sarajevo is not presented as a place beyond the "imaginary boundary" but as a borderland between the West and the Orient.

CONCLUSION

As stated at the beginning, digitisation brings new life to early films by restoration, colourisation and speed-correction as well as distribution. Said's "travelling theory" might be adapted to the new life of early films which move from one place and time to another. In this transformative process, films gain new meanings, open up new discussions and evoke new debates.

The travels of early films through festivals and across digital platforms introduce, in Gunning's terms, the view of "the ones outside the land" and provide a view to them inside their own land in the past. In other words, with the travelling of films, a new visual tool for knowing and understanding the past and other lands has been introduced. As a part of this transformation process, "foreign views" captured in early travel films about the Ottoman lands can be examined in accordance with Edward Said's Orientalism theory which analyses the production of the Orient by Western narratives.

The early travel films discussed in this chapter represent the Ottoman lands mostly by referring to the stereotypes constructed by the Orientalists before the arrival of the filmmakers and their movie cameras. Compared to news and propaganda films of the time, travel films may look more "innocent" within the "knowing each other" approach, but that view can be challenged. As the travel of early films carries on, the conversation involving the past and early films will also continue.

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Cairo/The Arabian Streets of Cairo (1913)

Chelovek s kinoapparatom/Man with a Movie Camera (Dziga Vertov, 1929)

Egypt, Alexandria, Cairo (1915)

Fatima (1897)

Fatima, Couchee Dancer (1903)

Fatima's Coochee-Coochee Dance (James H. White, 1896)

Fatima, Star of the Orient (1899)

İzstanbul Do/Redo/Undo: Sular, Sokaklar, Suratlar/Waters, Streets, Faces (Nezih Erdoğan, 2010)

Izmir (1911)

Macedonian Types (1912)

Montenegro (1922)

Rien que les heures/Nothing but Time (Alberto Cavalcanti, 1926)

Sarajevo: The Capital of Bosnia (1915)

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Turkey-Istanbul (1910)

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How Social Media Platforms Replace Film Archives When There Are No Archives

SERKAN ŞAVK

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ABSTRACT

In the first part of the chapter, I will share some notes regarding the history, narrative structure and production mode of the Yeşilçam industry, which prevailed between the late 1940s and the 1980s, for the sake of providing some background information. Then, I will focus on the online release of Yeşilçam films on YouTube to reveal the dynamics of this recent development which radically changed the access conditions to these films. Finally, I will explore the problematic aspects of accessing Yeşilçam films through YouTube, demonstrating the legal and commercial uncertainty surrounding the online presence of these films. I will conclude by discussing how the films on YouTube can sustain the life and legacy of Yeşilçam in different ways.

KEYWORDS
Turkish cinema, Yeşilçam, video sharing, social media, film archives

Sitting on an uncomfortable chair and watching extremely low quality copies of classical Turkish films from a video cassette player, on a 14-inch CRT monitor and with cheap headphones, is a fairly recent memory for many Turkish film scholars. The venue in this memory is the Sami Şekeroğlu Cinema-TV Centre at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, a member of the Fédération internationale des archives du film (International Federation of Film Archives, FIAF) and a pioneering institution that houses supposedly the largest film archive in Turkey.[1] Even though this centre has been subject to many controversies, including a very recent one as the current rector of the university took over the administration of the centre against the institutional custom, I don't aim at delving into these which are already available in other resources.[2] It is rather the opening of old Turkish films to remote access on YouTube that evokes my film-viewing experiences at this venue. Now film historians and enthusiasts have the luxury of watching hundreds of Turkish films online, from the comfort of their workspace or home, without being frustrated by the arbitrary procedures of the archives.

In this chapter, I will deal with the online presence of Turkish films at commercial video-sharing, streaming and video-on-demand platforms with a particular emphasis on YouTube, where hundreds of Turkish films are shared. I titled this chapter in my best provocative manner. However, I now spoil it by directly answering one of the main questions it implies: No, YouTube is not a film archive, and it will never become one. That being said, it provides access to a huge bulk of films which were almost inaccessible until recently.

The films that I deal with are the products of Yeşilçam, Turkey's domestic film industry roughly between the late 1940s and the late 1980s. My aim is to offer a new perspective regarding the importance of these Yeşilçam films on YouTube. In the first part of this chapter, I will share some notes regarding the history, narrative structure and production mode of the Yeşilçam industry in order to provide some background information. It wouldn't be possible to discuss issues of preservation, archives and originality without such background information. In the second part, I will focus on the online release of Yeşilçam films on YouTube to reveal the dynamics of this recent development which radically changed the access conditions to these films. In the third part, I will explore the problematic aspects of accessing Yeşilçam films through YouTube. In this part, my aim is to demonstrate the legal and commercial uncertainty

surrounding the online presence of these films. Following that, I will reflect on the distinctive importance of Yeşilçam on YouTube in the continuing absence of a proper and accessible film archive for Turkish cinema. Finally, in the "In Lieu of a Conclusion" part, I will briefly talk about how the films on YouTube can sustain the life and legacy of Yeşilçam in different ways.[3]

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE YEŞILÇAM INDUSTRY

Someone who visited the Beyoğlu district of Istanbul during the 1960s would most probably come across famous directors and producers of Turkish cinema. Yeşilçam Street in Beyoğlu was home to production companies, sound and film labs and coffeehouses frequented by cinema professionals. Later on, the street gave its name to the film industry it housed, the films produced by this industry and the narrative features of these films.

Even though cinema, as a technology and a medium, was introduced into the Ottoman Empire almost simultaneously with Europe, a domestic film industry emerged relatively late. Filmmaking remained as a small business in Turkey, until 1948, when "the reduction of the sales tax from 75% to 25% on tickets for locally produced films made them more affordable."[4] This protectionist programme accelerated domestic cinema and Yeşilçam became its headquarters. The total number of films produced in Turkey increased to nineteen in 1949 which was equal to the total number of films produced during the first half of the 1940s.[5] In 1952 this number increased to sixty-one and by the end of the 1950s it reached eighty-five.

In his study on the rise and fall of Yeşilçam, Savaş Arslan identifies four periods in the history of the industry.[6] Considering the abovementioned acceleration as a breaking point, he defines the time span until the late 1940s as the "Pre-Yeşilçam" period, denoting a preparation stage of a forthcoming industry. From the late 1940s until the end of the 1950s is the "Early Yeşilçam Period," the real founding of the industry. The 1960s and 1970s form the "High Yeşilçam Period" as the industry reaches a highly standardised production mode. During these two decades, the average number of films produced in Turkey annually was 191. In 1972, a record year, Yeşilçam produced 301 films. Finally, Arslan considers 1980s as the "Late Yeşilçam Period," a period when the industry was barely surviving; unavoidably, it vanished by the end of the decade.

During its lifespan, Yeşilçam went through a series of short- and long-term crises. The first deep crisis took place during the second half of the 1970s when most audiences deserted movie theatres due to a variety of sociopolitical factors, such as the spread and popularity of TV broadcasts and the increas-

ing political unrest in the country between socialist and nationalist camps and counter-guerrilla actions. As a survival tactic during this crisis, Yeşilçam concentrated on making erotic B-movies targeting a young male audience.[7] The second deep crisis came right after the September 12, 1980, coup d'état. During the military regime that continued until 1983, Yeşilçam produced only a limited number of films. Even though the industry revived with the end of the military takeover, production targeted the video cassette market rather than cinema releases and so the industry inevitably vanished by the end of the decade.[8]

The vanishing of Yeşilçam is clearly associated with the introduction of neoliberal economic policies in Turkey. The country's introduction to neoliberalism started with an economic programme implemented on January 24, 1980, and accelerated after the September 12 military coup staged in the same year.[9] One of the main transformations of the post-coup period in Turkey was the removal of restrictions regarding foreign capital investment. As a result, Warner Bros. and United International Pictures (UIP) founded their own distribution companies in Turkey starting in 1987.[10] This development resulted in the domination of the domestic film market by US productions and the deepening of Yeşilçam's ongoing crisis. A revival of the film industry in Turkey got off to a start in the mid-1990s with the commercial success of a few domestic films, but the revived industry was not labelled "Yeşilçam" anymore. Instead, it was considered to be a breakaway from Turkey's old cinema industry, even though an important portion of the filmmakers and producers of the new era had Yeşilçam backgrounds.[11]

The increase in the quantitative productivity of Turkish cinema during the 1960s and 1970s was the result of Yeşilçam's narrative customs, technical standards and financial model, which dominated the production mode of the industry. It's important to note that Yeşilçam was genre cinema. The majority of Yeşilçam films fall under popular genres such as melodrama, comedy, historical adventure, detective films and village films.[12] Even though the prevalence of these genres changed from time to time based on Turkey's shifting political and cultural tensions, they remained central to the production mode of the industry. Yet, an important portion of these genre films was based on adaptations, remakes, mash-ups and plagiarised plot lines (but not original screenplays).[13]

The demand for new films was growing, as the popularity of domestic films increased in Turkey. Yeşilçam tried to meet this demand with the help of a couple of technical decisions. Nezih Erdoğan claims that starting from the mid-1960s, Yeşilçam relied on the strategy of "speeding up production instead of increasing capacity."[14] As part of this strategy, dubbing (automated dialogue replacement/post-synchronisation) became a standard sound pro-

cess instead of on-location sound recording and filmmakers utilised the least number of camera placements, specifically for dialogue scenes. There is no need to say that post-synchronisation was not a unique method developed by Yeşilçam. It was a widely popular post-production technique in other national film industries, such as Italian cinema. In that sense, Yeşilçam's transition to post-synchronisation is not proof of the industry's strategic decision. This transition rather demonstrates the industry's capacity for adaptation with other cinemas. This capacity is worth mentioning because it reveals that Turkish cinema was not in a bubble isolated from other cinemas even though Yeşilçam was a national film industry concentrated on the domestic film market. In fact, Turkish cinema had certain transnational connections at different layers, such as Yeşilçam actors performing in international co-productions or vice versa.[15]

Another fact that helped Yeşilçam to be commercially successful and be able to produce many films was a financial model that Nilgün Abisel defines as "manager hegemony."[16] Turkey was divided into seven distribution regions and each region had changing audience profiles. Since they were in direct contact with the audience, movie theatre managers had good insight regarding their expectations and these managers functioned as an interface between the audience and the producers. Every spring, managers visited Istanbul in order to negotiate with the producers regarding the content and the cast of the films to be made that year. As a result, managers paid the producers in advance for the films that they all agreed were to be made.[17] On the one hand, the advanced payments were the main financial support for many middle- or small-scale producers and enabled them to keep working. On the other hand, the arrangement gave movie theatre managers too much power over the creative process. Ironically, it was not only the theatre managers who had a say about the creative process of making the films. Other authorities had similar powers and impact. For instance, Yeşilçam films were subject to a very strict censorship mechanism where both the screenplays and edited films could be reviewed and censored at multiple stages. Dilek Kaya has demonstrated that the representatives of the state authorities in the censorship committee went beyond the mere process of banning and interfered with the creative process by making suggestions on possible revisions.[18]

FROM INACCESSIBILITY TO ABUNDANCE:
THE ONLINE PRESENCE OF YEŞILÇAM FILMS

As I have summarised above, Yeşilçam was a productive and established film industry and during its lifetime of forty years, ca. 5,500 films were produced in Turkey. It goes without saying that these films and associated viewing experiences had a very important place in Turkey's daily life practices and popular culture. In contrast with this, Yeşilçam films became inaccessible, especially after the dissolution of the industry. The issue of access was the consequence of different factors such the absence of preservation and archiving policies, the view that Yeşilçam films were daily consumption materials lacking in aesthetic and artistic value, the destruction of film negatives to extract silver or the removal of films with certain kinds of political content by the state authorities. The disconnection between the industry, movie theatres and the audience in the 1980s led to the extinction of these films in the viewing practices of Turkish society, even though the video cassette market extended the circulation of the films for a while more. The private TV channels boom of the 1990s created a sense of reconnection when the emergent TV channels revisited Yeşilçam films with the motivation of finding affordable content. This habit continued for around two decades and some Yeşilçam films were broadcast on TV hundreds of times. This sense of reconnection was more like an illusion because the films that were broadcast on the TV were only a small portion of the Yeşilçam films, especially the most popular melodramas, comedies and historical adventures. These films featured stars of the Yeşilçam era and almost all of them were colour films produced by the big companies of the industry. In other words, TV executives preferred films that would fit the expectations and the customs of the contemporary audience. The rest of the Yeşilçam films, including the black-and-white corpus and the B-movies (crime, science fiction and erotic films), were accessible neither in the archives nor in commercial formats such as VCDs and DVDs. The only possible way to view some films was to visit the Sami Şekeroğlu Cinema-TV Centre at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University (which I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter) or to obtain a low-quality VHS copy through networks of cinephiles, scholars and collectors. This was the case even for some masterpieces of the industry, low budget mass-production films put aside.[19]

The problem of accessing to Yeşilçam films has since been substantially solved as production and distribution companies started to share their film holdings on YouTube. Hundreds of Turkish films from the pre-1990s period are now accessible online on YouTube thanks to this radical shift.[20] Initially, companies were sharing the films that were already transferred from film to an available format (such as SD quality MPEG-1 or VHS transfers). Gradually,

they started to share HD copies of the films to meet the technical standards of YouTube audiences. Even though companies claim that these high-quality videos are "restored" versions of the films, it's not clear what they mean by "restoration." It's ambiguous whether the restoration involves the physical preservation and renovation of film stock, or it's simply digitally re-scanning and colour-correcting the films.[21]

The release of Yeşilçam films on YouTube by production and distribution companies is a relatively logical development based on commercial reasons. The majority of these films were considered old-fashioned and having little income potential, so it was not worth investing money in them in order to distribute them through the normal venues. This is why most companies were reluctant to release home theatre copies of their Yeşilçam holdings, except for a few very popular or cult films. However, releasing the bulk of the films via a video-sharing platform such as YouTube would be a low-budget endeavour. Of course, the structure of the income to be obtained through video-sharing platforms is still a mystery for many people. Compared to signing an agreement with a TV channel for the broadcasting rights of a film, releasing the same piece on YouTube entails a very complex income mechanism shaped by YouTube policies, subscriptions, likes, viewing times and, of course, algorithms. Nevertheless, it's possible to inquire into the commercial potential of Yeşilçam-related channels on YouTube owing to some online services such as Social Blade that tracks social media statistics. For instance, Social Blade lists "Fanatik Klasik Film," a channel of the Fanatik Film Group with almost 3,000 video uploads (not films!) and 1.45 million subscribers, as a B+ grade channel with a potential annual income between US$58,100 and US$929,200.[22] The comparatively more modest channel Erman Film with 434 videos and 68,200 subscribers is listed as grade B with a potential annual income of US$6,000 to US$96,500.[23] These broadly estimated numbers give us an idea about how the distribution of Yeşilçam films has adapted to the revenue mechanisms of YouTube. Yet, there are other potential income sources, as I will demonstrate below.

POTENTIAL LIMITATIONS

The online afterlife of Yeşilçam films on YouTube is something to ponder over rather than merely to celebrate, because the presence of these films on You-Tube entails complicated questions to deal with. It wouldn't be prophetic to claim that this digital turn is irreversible, but I foresee three levels of uncertainties and/or vulnerabilities specifically associated with the "Yeşilçam on YouTube" case. First of all, these Yeşilçam films are in the middle of entangled

copyright issues and there is a high possibility of conflict. Obviously, most of these films are released by their "owners," namely by the producers or their inheritors, but that doesn't guarantee the consent of other rights holders such as screenwriters or actors. Since old Turkish films became popular on TV during the 1990s, actors and other rights holders had been complaining about violation of their rights. Even though some court verdicts provided progress regarding TV broadcasting, many copyright issues remain unresolved.

The legal fight over the rights of Kemal Sunal films is a helpful case for elaborating on these entangled issues. Kemal Sunal (1944–2000) was a very popular comedy actor of the late Yeşilçam period and he performed in eighty-two films during his entire career. Following the private channels boom of the 1990s, his films have been broadcast on the TV countless times. Even today, his films compete with popular TV series and reality shows in the prime-time ratings. Since the early 2000s, Sunal's inheritors had been pursuing cases that ended with contradictory verdicts. In 2010, the Civil Court for Intellectual and Industrial Property Rights acknowledged that the agreement between producer Şerafettin Gür and actor Kemal Sunal regarding two films covered only theatre releases. Broadcasting these films on TV fell under the principle of unjust enrichment, therefore the producer should pay copyright compensation to Sunal's inheritors for the TV broadcasts of these films. Almost four years later, the Supreme Court confirmed the Civil Court's verdict and now the decision is celebrated as reclaiming creator copyright entitlements in regard to Yeşilçam films.[24] However, in 2019, the Supreme Court decided against Sunal's inheritors in a later case they pursued against another company, Gülşah Film, owned by the family of the famous actor Hülya Koçyiğit, people known to have close relations with the government.[25]

The key regulation behind these court verdicts is Law no. 5846 on Intellectual and Artistic Works, passed in 1951 and amended multiple times in subsequent years.[26] The current version of this law recognises "other rights holders" and "related rights holders," thanks to an amendment in 1995. However, "the provisions of this Law pertaining to the ownership of cinematographic works shall apply to cinematographic works the production of which has been commenced after 12.06.1995," when the amendment entered into force.[27] The dilemma of recognising related rights holders of the films only for newly made films is the source of the conflicting court verdicts. Apparently, professionals and state authorities are aware of this dilemma and other shortcomings of the current regulation because every two or three years, a new draft law comes onto the agenda either to amend or replace the current law.[28]

In the abovementioned legal ambiguity, copyright demands about Yeşilçam films continue. Safa Önal, who wrote the screenplays for more than 350 Yeşilçam films, very recently filed a court case against Fanatik Film, a compa-

ny that released the largest group of Yeşilçam films on YouTube. Önal claims that Fanatik Film violated his financial and moral rights by broadcasting his films on YouTube without his permission. He asked for the termination of the unauthorised use of the films, reserving his entitlement to all kinds of compensation.[29] This recent legal case – which may continue for a while more – may directly affect the release of Yeşilçam films on digital platforms.

The second uncertainty and/or vulnerability that I observe regarding the Yeşilçam films is about YouTube's constantly changing policies and regulations regarding copyrights, content sharing and monetisation. These updates directly affect the ways users can earn money with the content they share. The revision YouTube made in 2018 regarding its advertising policy constitutes a concrete example of this "shake-up," as Louise Matsakis names it.[30] According to this revised policy, users were required to have a minimum of 1,000 subscribers and 4,000 hours of viewing time during the previous twelve months in order to earn money from advertisements. Additionally, YouTube introduced the Google Preferred programme, which prioritised the creators of the most popular content for placing advertisements on their videos. "Taken together, the two new policies represent a shift toward larger creators. YouTube is now excluding extremely small channels from advertising altogether, and instead focusing both its monetisation and its moderation efforts on larger, more valuable channels."[31] I don't refer to this shake-up because it affected Turkish production and distribution companies which share Yeşilçam films on YouTube. On the contrary, these companies possess comparatively "wealthier" channels with significant viewing hours and subscriber numbers, as I have described above. What is more important is YouTube's instability, which makes the platform unreliable and decreases its popularity among some content sharers.

Similar to its parent company, Google, YouTube is ubiquitous. It's accessible from almost every device and, in principle, it's free to use, as long as users are connected to the internet. (If you have a premium account, you can even watch some of the content offline, by downloading it from the official app.) There is no need to say that YouTube's claim of being a free video-sharing platform does not make a huge difference regarding open access to Yeşilçam films. The core issue is that all video-sharing and video-on-demand services are commercial platforms whether they require paid subscription or not. In fact, being a free service gives more possibilities to YouTube in terms of its governance and the freehold of the videos. According to the current YouTube terms of service, although users retain ownership of their videos, they also "grant to YouTube a worldwide, non-exclusive, royalty-free, transferable, sublicensable licence to use that Content (including to reproduce, distribute, modify, display and perform it) for the purpose of operating, promoting, and

improving the Service."³² Yet, according to the same terms of service, users grant licence to other users as enabled by a feature of YouTube. Ironically, some aspects of the licences remain with YouTube even after removal of the videos by the users. Additionally, there is a growing convergence between free video-sharing platforms and paid video-on-demand services. YouTube continues rebranding and improving its premium service, which requires a monthly subscription payment similar to most video-on-demand services, such as Netflix, Amazon Prime or Mubi.

The third uncertainty that I observe regarding the future of Yeşilçam films on YouTube is related to the growing interest of other video-on-demand or video-streaming services in Turkish films. Netflix, a dominant actor in the field, is focused on providing domestic content to its subscribers in Turkey. In this sense, the platform offers many contemporary Turkish films in addition to its globally famous films and series. BluTV, a domestic competitor of Netflix, has a similar strategy with a concentration on Turkish art house cinema. PuhuTV, an unpaid service for the moment, offers more than a hundred Yeşilçam films in addition to a smaller number of contemporary films from Turkey. The online service of beIN Media Group's cable TV in Turkey, beIN CONNECT, offers many Yeşilçam films similar to PuhuTV. Most of these Yeşilçam films offered by these video-on-demand services are also available on YouTube. Obviously, none of these commercial platforms could resist the charm of expanding their content to the Yeşilçam period, where they met a large pool of films that are cheap to access and culturally welcomed by the audience. In addition to the growing interest of these video-on-demand and video-streaming companies in Yeşilçam films, independent users increasingly prefer non-YouTube video-sharing platforms to releasing their mid- or small-scale Yeşilçam collections. The video-sharing service of Odnoklassniki (https://ok.ru/video) owned by the Mail.ru Group is one of these new addresses. Odnoklassniki (meaning "classmates") is a very popular social media platform in Russia and the former Soviet countries, and its video-sharing site features many popular films that are not available on YouTube due to copyright regulations.

A SPONTANEOUS AND FRAGMENTED REPOSITORY

Besides the abovementioned complications peculiar to YouTube, we also need to consider to what degree this video-sharing platform may function as an archive or at least as a film repository. For this purpose, I will focus on three key aspects of archival bodies: involvement of the archivist(s), availability of metadata and issues of originality.

A prominent actor often neglected in the discussions related to film

archives is the archivist. The Universal Declaration on Archives defines the role of archivists as "serving their societies by supporting the creation of records and by selecting, maintaining and making these records available for use."[33] In a similar manner, the Principles of Access to Archives issued by the International Council on Archives attributes a very central and active role to the archivists. Yet, two of the council's ten principles that are specifically about archivists state that "archivists have access to all closed archives and perform necessary archival work on them" and "archivists participate in the decision-making process on access."[34] In other words, we cannot imagine any archival body in the absence of an archivist and archivists function as mediators between the archived materials and their users. Obviously, archivists are not very much involved in the process of releasing Yeşilçam films on YouTube. That being said, particular companies may have archivists or at least technical specialists for managing their collections but the connection between the Yeşilçam films on YouTube and their original copies in private collections of the companies is a mystery like the connection between the released copies and the archivists. Nevertheless, we have strong evidence supporting limited involvement of archivists – missing credits, cataloguing information and digital metadata to be the first.

Digitised films are associated with at least three different levels of descriptive information: credits information similar to what we see in the opening or closing titles of a film or on its IMDb page, archival cataloguing information such as the "core elements of description" defined in FIAF's *Cataloguing Manual* and digital metadata specifications such as the Dublin Core Elements.[35] Unfortunately, companies shared Yeşilçam films on YouTube with very limited descriptive information. In most cases, they are content with the names of the actors and, in rare cases, they provide basic credits information, such as the names of the director, screenwriter and director of photography. Other than these bits of information, they don't provide any cataloguing information or comply with metadata standards. Yet, they don't link the films to outside information such as already available databases. Instead, through a social media management logic, they create cross-connections among the videos of the same company. The absence of descriptive information and metadata limits the archival use of these films in a robust way.

Another important aspect of the discussions regarding YouTube's archival role is about originality issues. In its official manifesto FIAF attributes a cross-checking function to archival materials:

> The film elements held in archive vaults are the original materials from which all copies are derived. One can determine from them whether a copy is complete or not. The more digital technology is developed, the easier it

will be to change or even arbitrarily alter content. Unjustified alteration or unfair distortion, however, can always be detected by comparison with the original film, provided it has been properly stored.[36]

Taking this statement into account, one can easily assume that the Yeşilçam films on YouTube don't count as archived films since they don't represent the original versions of the films. They are rather considered as digital copies of the original with visible and invisible alterations. These alterations include but are not limited to reconstructed opening credits and final sequences which are highly damaged on the film stock, removal of some scenes from the film in order to meet the maximum length constraints of previous media formats such as VDCs, or censoring some content according to the regulations of the Turkish Radio and Television Supreme Council (Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu, RTÜK).[37] The question of whether original 35 mm copies of Yeşilçam films are archived and properly preserved (hoping that they exist) remains unresolved.

Based on the fact that the online bulk of Yeşilçam films on YouTube is lacking the abovementioned key aspects of archival bodies, we can easily state that YouTube may not replace an archive. However, we need to go beyond such fixed notions about archives and grasp the distinctive features of digital versions of films in order to comprehend the value and importance of YouTube not as an archive but (maybe) as a repository. As Trond Lundemo suggests, "digital files do not eradicate films, but are a means of access that in various ways coexist with the analogue material." According to him, analogue materials in the archives and their digital copies "receive a split identity and a double temporality in digitisation" and he defines them as "doubles" and "ghosts of ghosts."[38] Lundemo's approach to archived analogue materials and their digital copies as "doubles" evokes Jean Baudrillard's and Gilles Deleuze's notions of a simulacrum. In his analysis of different forms of simulacra, Baudrillard claims that the distinction between the real and the image disappears as we shift from one order of simulacra to the next one. He defines four successive phases of the image. In this set of phases, simulacrum is the form of the image which "has no relation to any reality whatsoever."[39] "For Baudrillard, the simulacrum is essentially the copy of a copy, that is to say, the copy of something that is not itself an original, and is hence an utterly degraded form."[40] Differing from Baudrillard, Deleuze writes that "simulacra are those systems in which different relates to different by means of difference itself. [...] It is all a matter of difference in the series, and of differences of difference in the communication between series."[41] According to Deleuze, "the copy of simulation is an image with resemblance [...] whereas the simulacrum is an image without resemblance."[42] As seen in these short descriptions, the two philosophers

use the concept of simulacrum in different meanings. However, neither of them attributes a superiority or privilege to the real/original. While Deleuze focuses on the difference itself, Baudrillard claims that the representation (or the image) of the real precedes the real to a degree that we are content with the simulacrum only.

Lundemo's approach to archived analogue materials and their digital copies as "doubles" or "ghosts of ghosts" would be applicable to Yeşilçam films, in case their analogue "originals" had been accessible in archives. For Yeşilçam films one of the doubles (the analogue) remain reticent while the other double (the digital) is resilient in multiple ways due to access conditions. In spite of this, we should question the necessity of accessing the original copies of these films for which the issue of originality had been barely a concern when they were produced. Instead of searching for the blessed originals, we should consider the Yeşilçam films on YouTube not as handicapped and incompetent copies of the "original" films but as a fragmented repository made up of simulacrum(s) as suggested both by Deleuze and Baudrillard. Even though this repository neither bears an archival logic nor guarantees continuation of access, it has its own temporality and value. This repository can still be helpful for sustaining the legacy of this industry. In the next section, I will deal with this issue of sustainment.

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION: PRESERVATION VS. SUSTAINMENT

The main purpose of a film archive is to sustain the lives and legacy of films by protecting them against the destructive effects of time. In that sense, archiving a film is like giving it the elixir of life. However, we must not forget that there is a difference between the elixir of life and mummification. Films that are preserved in archival vaults without any means of access are more like mummies, isolated and frozen in time. Mummification is a proven way of preservation but it does not sustain real life. A film remains alive as long as it's circulated, viewed, even recreated or manipulated. The opportunities provided by the digital culture are more like the elixir of life for a film. It's still a utopian method but very much connected to sustaining the life and legacy of the film. On the one hand, digital yet online copies of Yeşilçam films are vulnerable as I have discussed above. On the other hand, they provide alternative ways of sustainment. In this final section of the chapter, instead of providing a summary as a typical conclusion, I will rather express some ideas regarding how online copies may contribute to the sustainment of Yeşilçam films beyond the superficial discussions about archives. For this purpose, I will refer to the findings of a previous study in a very brief way.

In 2017 and 2018, students enrolled in my Turkish cinema course at İzmir University of Economics carried out metric measurements of some Yeşilçam films from the 1960s and the 1970s. Each student took over the measurement of a particular film's online copy from YouTube by using the Cinemetrics tool developed as part of the Cinemetrics Project, led by Yuri Tsivian at the University of Chicago. Thanks to this crowdsourcing model, I ended up with a sample of a hundred films. The sample mainly includes films directed by three mainstream directors of the industry: Osman Seden (1924–1998), Orhan Elmas (1927–2002) and Orhan Aksoy (1930–2008). This data set is shaped around the logic of finding the average shot length (ASL) of each film. Since the 1970s ASL has been an established criterion for studying the stylistic features of films. It's highly adaptable between non-digital and digital formats, and among different programming languages. Creating a data set about the ASL of Yeşilçam films enabled me to put these films into conversation with other films and the results were stunning. In the early 1960s, the ASL of Yeşilçam films was almost double that of Hollywood studio productions of the same years. However, by the end of the 1970s, the ASL of Yeşilçam films was dramatically decreasing and it was almost the same as that of Hollywood studio films.[43]

For this study, my students used the YouTube versions of the films, the only accessible copies of most films in our sample. Yet, they uploaded all the statistical results to the Cinemetrics database, which is an open platform that includes statistical data for thousands of films from all around the world.[44] Even if these Yeşilçam films disappear from YouTube, this data set may continue to exist as a datafied projection of the films. If preserving and sustaining Yeşilçam films is a concern, then creating data sets on different dimensions of these films is definitely one way of doing that. A data-oriented approach transcends the archival solitude of a film and puts that film into connection with other data sets, and ultimately other films and film industries. We need to keep in mind that digitisation does not merely refer to the transfer of an analogue or a print piece to a digital format. Beyond the core transfer process, digitisation finds its real meaning in the creation of a network of data sets connected to the digitised piece. In this regard, the prospective data sets should be sustainable for creating links between various data sets.

It is clear that films or cultural heritage in general cannot be trusted to the day-to-day policies of a global company. In this sense, we still need archives probably more than ever. The potential benefits of the online presence of films should not overshadow the urgent need for archival policies. As Rick Prelinger states, YouTube is now "the world's default media archive" for most members of the public. "This puts established media archives into a paradoxical situation: as they insist on the importance of classical archival missions, they will appear to be less useful, less accommodating, less relevant, and ultimately less

important than YouTube, the pretender."[45] It's not YouTube that will determine the future of the archives, it's rather the archives themselves.

Will the archives and their administrators respond to the changes caused by online video culture? Film archives in Turkey offer both promising and discouraging answers to this question. For instance, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture digitised the majority of its film archive but, ironically, it did not open these digitised copies to remote access, even though all preparations were made to do so in 2018.[46] Despite the current situation, I hope issues blocking access to these archives will be resolved very soon so that archival copies, digitised versions and all the data sets related to these films will become elements of the same ecosystem. For the moment, creation of such an ecosystem may sound utopian but this is the inevitable destination for films in the digital world.

FILMOGRAPHY

Eşkıya/The Bandit (Yavuz Turgul, 1996)
Hasip ile Nasip/Hasip and Nasip (Atıf Yılmaz, 1976)

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SERKAN ŞAVK received his PhD from Hacettepe University, Ankara. Between 2016 and 2017 he pursued postdoctoral study at Princeton University. He's the co-editor of the book *Imaginaries Out of Place: Cinema, Transnationalism and Turkey* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013). His research areas include Turkish cinema, the history of media and digital humanities. He is currently an assistant professor at the İzmir University of Economics, Department of Cinema and Digital Media, where he teaches Turkish cinema and senior project courses.

NOTES

1 Both the names of the university and the centre went through a series of revisions since the mid-1970s. In the chapter, I mention the current names of these institutions for the sake of avoiding confusion. Ironically, FIAF lists the centre among its active members with its name from the 1970s as the Turkish Film & TV Institute (Sinema-TV Enstitüsü). FIAF, "FIAF Members," Fédération internationale des archives du film (International Federation of Film Archives), November 2020, https://www.fiafnet.org/pages/Community/Members.html.

2 Ali Ercivan, "Türk Film Arşivi Emin Ellerde mi?," *Altyazı Fasikül: Özgür Sinema*, October 29, 2019, http://fasikul.altyazi.net/2019/10/29/turk-film-arsivi-emin-ellerde-mi/; Gazete Duvar, "Mimar Sinan'da Sinema-TV Merkezi Tartışması," June 10, 2019, https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/kultur-sanat/2019/10/06/mimar-sinanda-sinema-tv-merkezi-tartismasi/.

3 I wrote much of this chapter during the Covid-19 pandemic in between teaching, parenting, housework and service tasks. We spent these difficult days in a small apartment with my spouse, Bahar Emgin, and my son, Yunus Şavk, sometimes getting bored of each other but always in solidarity. This book wouldn't be possible without the devotion and enthusiasm of Nezih Erdoğan and Ebru Kayaalp. Peter Krämer, Ian Christie and Gustav Deutsch gave invaluable feedback to me during the "Forgetting the Archive" event. I'm grateful to all of these individuals. It was very sad to lose Gustav Deutsch and Thomas Elsaesser not long after the "Forgetting the Archive" event. I had followed their research with enthusiasm but got to know them personally only at the symposium. I will always remember them with respect.

4 Savaş Arslan, *Cinema in Turkey: A New Critical History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24.

5 I refer to the database of the Centre for Turkish Cinema (Türk Sinema Araştırmaları, TSA) for much useful data about Turkish cinema: https://tsa.org.tr/tr/.

6 Arslan, *Cinema in Turkey*.

7 Giovanni Scognamillo and Metin Demirhan argue that the erotic film period (*seks furyası*) was not the result of a survival tactic only, but it also shook some of the established notions of Yeşilçam. See their *Erotik Türk Sineması* (İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi, 2002), 12.

8 The growth of the video cassette market was not a national phenomenon. There was a huge demand for Turkish films among the Turkish diaspora who had originally migrated to Germany and other European countries as guest workers since the early 1960s.

9 For an overview of Turkey's introduction to neoliberalism during the 1980s, see Galip L. Yalman, *Transition to Neoliberalism: The Case of Turkey in the 1980s* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2009).

10 Zeynep Çetin Erus, "Film Endüstrisi ve Dağıtım: 1990 Sonrası Türk Sinemasında Dağıtım Sektörü," *Selçuk İletişim* 4, no. 4 (2007), 9.

11 The milestone that marked the revival of Turkish cinema was *The Bandit/Eşkıya* (1996), a film written and directed by Yavuz Turgul, who was already an acclaimed screenwriter and director in the last decade of Yeşilçam.

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14 Nezih Erdoğan, "Yeşilçam'da Beden ve Mekânın Eklemlenmesi Üzerine Notlar," *Doğu Batı* 2 (1998), 174.

15 For a transnational perspective on the history of Turkish cinema, see Nejat Ulusay, *Melez İmgeler: Sinema ve Ulusötesi Oluşumlar* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2008).

16 Nilgün Abisel, "Türk Sinemasında Film Yapımı Üzerine Notlar," in *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar*, edited by Nilgün Abisel (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2005), 105.

17 Ibid., 106.

18 Dilek Kaya, "Yeşilçam Döneminde Film Sansürü: Bir Müzakere ve Mücadele Alanı Olarak Film Sesi," *Kültür ve İletişim* 20, no. 39 (2017), 12–34.

19 The highly standardised mass-production films of Yeşilçam were labelled as "*konfeksiyon*" films, a word meaning ready-made/industrial garment.

20 YouTube channels that feature the highest number of Yeşilçam films (in alphabetical order): Arzu Film, Atadeniz Film, Burç Film Yeşilçam Renkli Filmler, Erler Film Türker İnanoğlu, Efes Film, Erman Film, Fanatik Film-Yerli, Fanatik Klasik Film, Gülşah Film, İrfan Film, Lale Film, Melek Film, Murat Film, Sistem Film, Şeref Film and Uzman Filmcilik.

21 Apparently, some of the Yeşilçam films are restored by specialised outside companies such as VİPSAŞ and Akın Telesine, whereas other films are restored by the related departments of the companies themselves which release the films on YouTube, such as Erler Film Stüdyoları and Fanatik Dijital Görüntü Sistemleri.

22 https://socialblade.com/youtube/user/turkwebtvklasikfilm.

23 https://socialblade.com/youtube/channel/UCgcwys292hCdcN6uyH-UkoA.

24 Milliyet, "Sunal'ın Hayali Gerçek Oldu," September 21, 2014, https://www.milliyet.com.tr/cadde/sunal-in-hayali-gercek-oldu-1943363.

25 Sputnik Türkiye, "Kemal Sunal'ın Filmleri Için Açılan Telif Davasında Mahkeme, Koçyiğit-Soydan Çiftini Haklı Buldu," September 4, 2018, https://tr.sputniknews. com/turkiye/201809041035036199-kemal-sunal-hulya-kocyigit-selim-soydan/.

26 "Fikir ve Sanat Eserleri Kanunu," December 5, 1951, https://www.telifhaklari. gov.tr/resources/uploads/2014/11/19/2014_11_19_741448.pdf; for an English translation of this law, see Gül Okutan Nilsson and Feyzan Hayal Şehirali Çelik, trans., "Law on Intellectual and Artistic Works," https://www.telifhaklari.gov.tr/ resources/uploads/2015/10/26/Law%20on%20Intellectual%20and%20Artistic%20 Works%20No.5846.pdf.

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33 UNESCO, "Universal Declaration on Archives," November 10, 2011, https://www. ica.org/sites/default/files/20190510_ica_declarationuniverselle_en-print_0.pdf.

34 Committee on Best Practices and Standards Working Group on Access, "Principles of Access to Archives Adopted by the AGM on August 24, 2012," International Council on Archives, 11, https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/ICA_Access-principles_EN.pdf.

35 Natasha Fairbairn, Maria Assunta Pimpinelli and Thelma Ross, *The FIAF Moving Image Cataloguing Manual* (Fédération internationale des archives du film [International Federation of Film Archives], 2016); Dublin Core Metadata Initiative, "DCMI Metadata Terms," 2020, https://dublincore.org/specifications/dublin-core/dcmi-terms/.

36 FIAF, "FIAF Manifesto Don't Throw Film Away: The 70th Anniversary FIAF Manifesto," (Fédération internationale des archives du film [International Federation of Film Archives], 2008), https://www.fiafnet.org/pages/Community/FIAF-Manifesto.html.

37 In 2019, RTÜK issued a new bylaw, "Radyo, Televizyon ve İsteğe Bağlı Yayınlar," that regulates internet broadcasting. According to this bylaw, which has been the outcome of a series of ongoing discussions since 2018, RTÜK has the authority to authorise, regulate and censor video-on-demand services. However, it's unclear in the bylaw

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to what degree RTÜK may apply censorship to YouTube. Fundanur Öztürk, "Netflix: RTÜK'ün Internet Yönetmeliği Ne Getiriyor, Kurul Üyeleri Ne Diyor?," *BBC Türkçe* [blog], August 2, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-49193378. Some companies proactively uploaded censored versions of their films to YouTube in response to this ambiguity. For instance, in the comments section of the film *Hasip ile Nasip/Hasip and Nasip* (Atıf Yılmaz, 1976), many viewers complain about the removal of some parts as an act of censorship. The censored parts include "morally inconvenient" scenes, such as two rival characters rushing to enter the nuptial chamber (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nbyHAjDgtr8).

38 Trond Lundemo, "In the Kingdom of Shadows: Cinematic Movement and Its Digital Ghost," in *The YouTube Reader*, edited by Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau (Stockholm: National Library of Sweden, n.d.), 326.

39 Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, translated by Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 6.

40 Ian Buchanan, "Simulacrum," in *A Dictionary of Critical Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 434.

41 Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, translated by Paul Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 299.

42 Buchanan, "Simulacrum," 434.

43 For making a comparison with Hollywood films, I used the ASL data set available as part of Barry Salt's Database on the Cinemetrics website: http://www.cinemetrics.lv/satltdb.php#asl. The results of this ASL study was previously published in Turkish: Serkan Şavk, "Eski Görüntüler, Yeni Görüngüler: Yeşilçam Filmlerinin Üslup Özellikleri İçin Uzak Okuma Denemesi," *Erciyes İletişim Dergisi* 7, no. 2 (2020), 1–22.

44 I collected all the statistical results under a virtual lab titled "Yesilcam (1960s and 70s)," http://www.cinemetrics.lv/lab.php?ID=202. Students submitted their measurements with their own names. In rare cases where I had to do the submission due to technical issues, the name of the student is mentioned in the comments. For a complete list of the films in the sample, see the Notes section of the lab.

45 Rick Prelinger, "The Appearance of Archives," in *The YouTube Reader*, edited by Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau (Stockholm: National Library of Sweden, n.d.), 272.

46 Mustafa Selçuk Yavuzkanat, "The History of the Film Archive of Ministry of Culture and Tourism," paper delivered at "Forgetting the Archive: Exploring Past Images in the Digital Age," Istanbul, 2018.

The Intersecting Paths of Eveline T. Scott and Traugott Fuchs: How Do Private Collections Speak to Us?

NURÇIN İLERI

ABSTRACT

This chapter focuses on two collections, both of which are stored at the Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center. The collections centre around the stories of two individuals: Eveline Thomson Scott (1889–1976), an Istanbul-born English woman who lived in Istanbul for more than seventy years, and Traugott Fuchs (1906–1997), who left Nazi Germany in 1934 and came to Istanbul, where he spent the rest of his life. By expanding on the potential of these two collections, I argue that a transdisciplinary collaboration between historians, archivists, filmmakers or artists could produce more critical and creative narratives that connect the mundane with the political, the home with the nation, and the personal with the collective.

KEYWORDS
private collections, cultural heritage, Eveline T. Scott, Traugott Fuchs, Anglo-American community, *Heimatlos* intellectuals

In memory of Süheyla Artemel[1]

Over the past two decades, Turkey has witnessed a mounting interest in building different kinds of archives. Many public and private universities, cultural and art institutions, white-shoe firms, as well as individual collectors have been in search of the remnants of the past. The motivation and purpose vary from fostering new research agendas and creating more artistic and aesthetic accounts, to generating institutional memory and building financial and social prestige. The irresistible lure of undergoing digitisation projects – supported by state, local or foreign funds or volunteer work of the archive enthusiasts – has contributed to this increased interest.[2]

As a public institution, Boğaziçi University also participated in the archival activity. As 2013 marked its sesquicentennial anniversary, the university administration decided to build institutional memory by bringing any kind of materials together in relation to the university and its predecessor institutions, Robert College and the American College for Girls, that could be traced back to the second half of the nineteenth century.[3]

The intention was to find financial support, assemble the scattered archives under the same roof, build an archival database and eventually make the database available to researchers and the wider public through cataloguing and digitisation. Cengiz Kırlı and I were historians who had done archival work previously for our own academic projects so we were chosen to spearhead this project.[4] As we delved into the history of the university, we became more archivists than historians, oblivious to the difficult journey that lay ahead of us where we would get lost in the sea of artefacts.

As we browsed through the materials, we discovered many private collections, spread throughout various rooms of the university and stored independently of each other. Some of these collections, which are now housed at the Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center, comprise valuable written and visual documents in the fields of history, architecture, archaeology, art history, literature, politics, foreign policy and the hard sciences. They shed light on more than a hundred years of the political, social and cultural history of the late Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. The common ground for these collections is that they all somehow ended up in the domain of the same university through inheritance or donation.

We were fascinated to discover these materials in the process of building a heritage. As Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook underline, archives have the power

to remind us of the forgotten past and contribute to the formation of collective memory. They further suggest,

> Without archives, memory falters, knowledge of accomplishments fades, pride in a shared past dissipates. Archives counter these losses. Archives contain the evidence of what went before. This is particularly germane in the modern world. With the disappearance of traditional village life and the extended family, memory based on personal, shared storytelling is no longer possible; the archive remains as one foundation of historical understanding. Archives validate our experiences, our perceptions, our narratives, and our stories. Archives are our memories. Yet what goes on in the archives remains remarkably unknown.[5]

So, we knew that using these collections could be a vantage point to create a new form of knowledge that would otherwise have remained shrouded in mystery. And we knew that these collections were treasure troves where one single truth could not be dug up, but these were sources of inspiration and material reflection for a large group of people with multiple identities.

This vocational joy of discovery was soon coupled with the realisation of our hard task as archivists to save these collections, which hitherto remained uncatalogued and unused, and in some cases facing extinction. The vital questions about their time of origin, collectors and purpose, which demanded exploration, soon appeared before us. And how should we preserve these collections whose nature reflect their peculiar genealogy? Which collection should we start with and which part of the chosen collection should we prioritise? What kind of information (the collection's provenance, contextual information, including its material identity, production, circulation and consumption) should we include in our arbitrary database?

Even though these collections are private ones, they enact a network of meanings that bring together the personal with the familial, the social, the cultural and the political. For this reason, they offer a far more profound understanding of history. As both historians and archivists, we tend to be mediators not only between past and present but also between documents and users. We were aware that any single decision we made would be a political one. It was about people, things and voices that would be remembered or forgotten by posterity. We were not entirely impartial, neutral or objective while using or forming the archive and while certain stories were privileged and some were marginalised, we had become – tacitly, subtly and sometimes unconsciously, yet profoundly – an integral part of this storytelling.[6]

However, why should we limit ourselves to the craftsmanship of a historian or an archivist? For instance, think about Gustav Deutsch's films, which

utilise various types of art and archival works, Thomas Elsaesser's essay film *Sun Island* (2017), where Elsaesser benefited from discovered footage, family film and archival materials, or Alan Berliner's films *The Family Album* (1986), *Nobody's Business* (1996) and *First Cousin Once Removed* (2013), where he used family archives to produce experimental documentaries and films.[7] It is possible to cite multiple examples. By expanding on the potential of two collections, I argue that a transdisciplinary collaboration between historians, archivists, filmmakers or artists could produce more critical and creative narratives that connect the mundane with the political, the home with the nation and the personal with the collective.

It would suffice it to say that this debate had an impact on my preference to elaborate on two collections; a family collection and a personal collection, which were among twelve collections stored at the university's Archives and Documentation Center. I focused on the stories of two individuals, Eveline Thomson Scott (1889–1976), an Istanbul-born English woman who lived in Istanbul for more than seventy years, and Traugott Fuchs (1906–1997), who left Nazi Germany in 1934 due to his political opposition to the Nazi regime and came to Istanbul, where he spent the rest of his life. These two collections, hidden in university repositories and little known, became significant for researchers as a result of the humanities' turn to the archive; growing interest in primary documents and subsequent institutional commitments to open-access collections. Both collections have been catalogued and digitised, and while the former is digitally accessible through the archives database, the latter is planned to be available soon.[8]

Why these two collections? The life of Eveline T. Scott physically intersected with that of Traugott Fuchs. They worked at sister institutions, Robert College and the American College for Girls, and lived in the same neighbourhood, Rumelihisarı. Both collections even contained a small amount of correspondence between Scott and Fuchs, including New Year's greetings and letters of condolence. Scott kept botanical drawings by Fuchs in an album, which might also be a sign of their friendship. However, my intention in writing this chapter goes beyond their personal relationship.

At first, I was impressed by the abundance and variety of the artefacts stored in both collections. But then, I realised that three main characteristics of Scott and Fuchs encouraged me to think about these collections together. First, compared to other collections stored in the archives and produced by well-known public figures (authors, archaeologists, politicians, etc.), these two collections were the product of non-public figures, and they reflected a particular aesthetic and preferences, typically more diverse and idiosyncratic. Second, both Scott and Fuchs had multiple identities deriving from their origins. Eveline T. Scott was an Anglo-American woman, whereas Traugott Fuchs was a German man, but they both considered Istanbul as their "home" and

lived in the city all their lives. Third, even though Eveline was a prolific writer and Fuchs was both a writer and a painter, they remained invisible during their lifetimes. This could be a matter of self-choice but could be also related to the lack of historiographical, anthropological or artistic interest toward the texture of everyday life or the narratives produced by non-public figures.

In relation to these three aspects, these two collections composed of mundane memoranda of everyday life could help us enact a trajectory from a personal history to a collective one by exploring connections between structures of feeling, family life, gender, relations of class, national identity, belonging, migration or memory. More important than anything, compared to the public (state) archives which depend on the selective appropriation of documents and sometimes even exclusions for the sake of ideological legitimacy by a certain power regime, private collections – be it a family archive or a personal archive – have the only authority as the collector herself/himself.[9] For this reason, private collections have content-wise and material-wise more freedom and variety compared to the state ones. In Scott's and Fuchs' collections home and nation, personal and collective, physical and historical coalesce. The web of interconnections that binds them together must be made visible.

The objective of this study is not to make an in-depth analysis of Scott or Fuchs, but to uncover their collections and elaborate on how these personal possessions that have been accumulated, stored and recovered could create new and alternative forms of academic and artistic endeavours. These could contribute to historical studies and visual and cultural studies or documentary and filmmaking projects. In other words, this study is not about visiting the film history or film archives, but about the ingredient, the very essence, that makes a visual artwork, a documentary or a film possible. It is an effort to reveal the promise of these collections that speak many languages with their audience, as long as the researcher, archivist, artist or filmmaker wants to hear their voices. I would like to take this study as an opportunity to appreciate Eveline T. Scott and Traugott Fuchs for their efforts to knowingly or unknowingly preserve the remnants of the past and bridge the gap between different cultures, providing a window to the collective memory.

EVELINE THOMSON SCOTT: A LIFETIME RECORD KEEPER

The Scott Family Collection contains material and records from Eveline Thomson Scott and Harold Lorain Scott, a couple who devoted most of their lives to important educational institutions, such as Robert College and the American College for Girls, in Istanbul, and to their son, David Alexander Scott. This collection informs us of the everyday practices of an Anglo-American family that

lived in Istanbul for more than a hundred years. At the same time, it also provides us with important documents that offer valuable insights into American educational institutions in the Near East.

Moreover, it paints a colourful picture of the late Ottoman period and early modern Turkey, which helps us understand the crucial events, such as the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, the Balkan Wars, the First and Second World Wars, the political and cultural revolution of the Kemalist regime, etc. We encounter these events from the perspective of an Anglo-American family, and more specifically from the perspective of an Istanbul-born American woman. This is because even though the Scott Papers is a family collection, it pertains largely to Eveline T. Scott, the most prolific family member and the one who lived the longest. We were fortunate enough to come across private papers, diaries and letters, scrapbooks, travel notes, lecture notes, family albums, vernacular photographs, postcards, etc., in a little room full of boxes, located in the house where the Scott family had once lived.[10]

Born in Rumelihisarı in 1889, which was then a suburb of Istanbul on the Bosporus, Eveline A. Thomson grew up in a very small community whose members came to the city just before or after the Crimean War and started to get involved in trade or business while living in Istanbul. Since Eveline's mother, Olivia A. Seager, and father, Alexander Thomson, moved from the Ottoman Empire to Portland, Oregon, in 1892, Eveline started her education in the United States. Upon her father's death at a young age, she returned with her mother to Istanbul, where they still had several relatives. Her mother started teaching at the American College for Girls in Üsküdar, while Eveline resumed her education there, graduating in 1909. She then went to Cambridge University in the United Kingdom for training in teaching. After receiving a university certificate in teaching, she returned to Istanbul. She first taught at a small British community school for children, then at the American College for Girls in Üsküdar (1912–1914), and finally in the British Literature programme at Robert College, where she met Harold Lorain Scott. Then, to get a master's degree in teaching, she went to Columbia University in New York City in 1914, unaware of the fatal years of the First World War that would descend upon Europe. From 1915 to 1919, Eveline worked at the New York office of the American College for Girls. After the war ended, she returned to Istanbul in 1919. She and Scott married in 1920, and their only child, David Alexander, was born in 1924. After a few happy years surrounded by family members and friends, in 1944 Eveline felt great sorrow because her son was killed in the Second World War. She again mourned the loss of her husband in 1958. Despite her connections in the United States and England, she insisted on teaching at the American College for Girls while living in Istanbul until her death in 1976. "I have remained in the Huntington House apartment at R.C. [Robert College] surrounded by kind friends, but alone. I

looked back on a life of great happiness and great sorrow," wrote Eveline Scott
in her autobiographical notes.[11] Her life, which started in Rumelihisarı, ended
in the same spot, leaving us a priceless treasure, which provides an historical
account covering more than a hundred years.

Eveline T. Scott's correspondence with her mother, husband and friends
constitute an important part of this collection. Her insistence on correspond-
ing with her mother, despite living on the same campus, points at her devo-
tion to writing. An entry that she wrote in her diary at a young age indicates her
desire and passion for writing. One of the most exciting moments for Eveline
was when she became familiar with the works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.[12]
On February 23, 1908, she wrote:

> I took out E. B. Browning's letters from the library, I am so engaged in it,
> and her poems, [...] that I can think of nothing else and do nothing else
> but read about her without ceasing. What a wonderful, blessed thing it is
> to be a poet! To see, to hear, to feel with greater power than the common
> has to seek truth and find it – oh! It is a noble, inspiring mission to have.[13]

Fig. 4. 2
A sample page from the travel notes of Eveline T. Scott from 1949. Courtesy of the Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center.
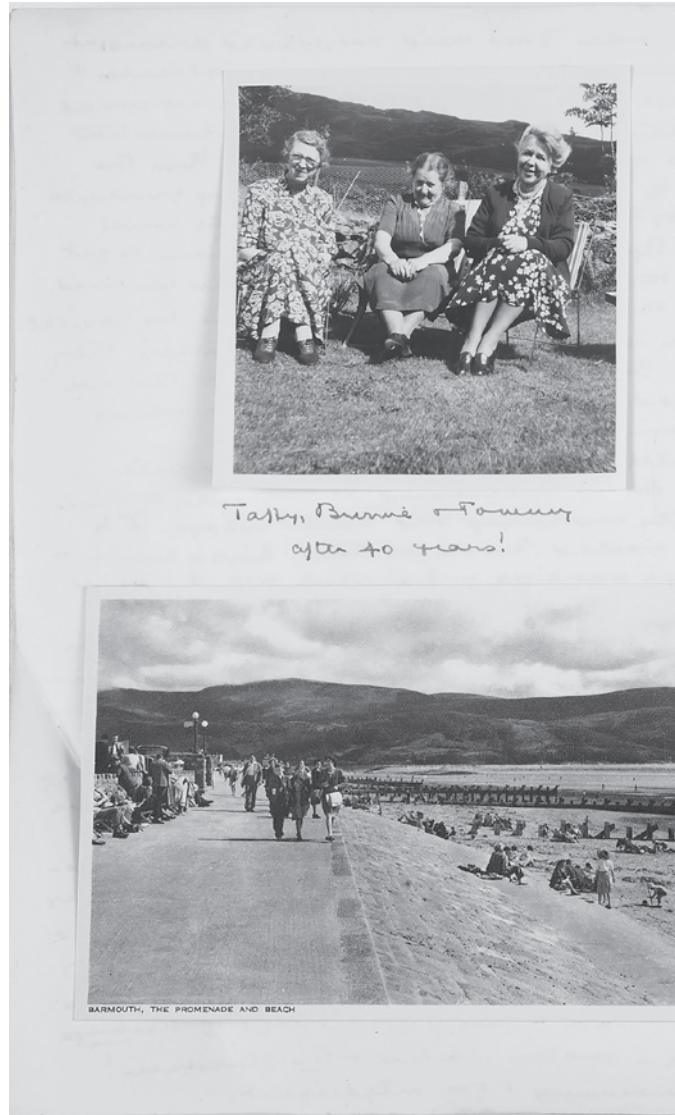
She was not merely inspired by what she had read; she tried to write poems herself. More than fifty poems she wrote are spread throughout the papers, consisting of letters, diaries and poetry notebooks. Diaries that she kept for sixty years starting when she was sixteen years old contain her personal observations and remarks concerning late Ottoman and early republican political life in Turkey and the texture of everyday life in Istanbul. Her diaries include details about her daily activities, and her moments of contentment, frustra-

Aug. 12. Sunday

Breakfast at 9 – scrumptious – with rather tea beforehand. We were delighted to see sunshine – we could inspect the sweeping view from the garden, see the rushing stream – I took several pictures at 11:30 we had an hour's walk – Brownie, HHS + I down a nearby glen. The wilds of Wales – The Shaws say friends think them mad to be so far away but they love it. However, they say they can't live there too long, as they are 1½ from a telephone + six miles from a doctor! They have cottage.

At 2:30 [ ] drove Harold + ... in his small [car] to Barmouth, where we were to meet Taffy, who was coming by bus all the way from Pwllheli, to enjoy a Cambridge reunion with Brownie + me. Taffy is the same very plain, heavy, thin Welsh woman, with a sing-song voice, the same mannerisms I remember so well. She has retired from teaching at Pontefract after 25 years there + is living now in Harrogate, but had come for a fortnight to visit her brother in her old home. We had our Sunday meal at 4 P.M. but this was because of bus schedules. HHS remarked that Taffy talked all about herself which I suppose was true, but I was interested + amused. She couldn't stay very long – so ... I took her back to her bus at 6:30 – but not till several photographs were taken to commemorate the historic meeting. Barmouth, where Taffy got her bus is a beach resort – with fine sand and a swelling ocean – but, like so many English seaside places – cold – bleak + windy. I was glad of coat and sweater.

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tion and fear. Her thoughts on literary works and human nature, written in an essay-like form, are also a part of these diaries. Even a few pictures and drawings accompany and enliven some entries. As Heather Beattie claims in her study of women diary writers, for Eveline as well, writing functioned as an outlet where she could express her emotion without judgement. This also helped foster her creativity in developing her ideas.[14]

Her most stimulating and lively work is composed of travel notes and dia-

ries. Her travel notes, written as individual papers or diaries scripted in notebooks, are cherished for the pictures, postcards and ephemera that she picked and collected from her itineraries as if she wanted to create more than a plain narrative of her travels by providing a vivid visual atmosphere. Throughout her life, she made trips to cities in Europe, such as Paris, Strasbourg, Genoa, Basel, Naples, Athens and Cambridge, and places in the United States, including New York, Ohio and Washington. She also travelled extensively to many locations in Anatolia, including Konya, Mersin, Adana, Eskişehir, İzmir and Bursa, and in the North Africa and Arabian Peninsula, including Cairo, Beirut and Aleppo. Some of her writings from these travels are composed in a journalistic vein with an organised writing style as if they are intended to address an audience not familiar with the places she wrote about. However, other writings just describe daily memories, individuals and itineraries as quick notes.

Eveline not only wrote but also collected ephemera and postcards and took or had pictures taken and sorted them. The vernacular photographs and thematic family albums with her recorded identification also constitute an important part of this collection. They portray the social and intellectual lives of Anglo-American families who lived in Rumelihisarı and Istanbul in general and played a decisive role in the development of economy and trade in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century.

In brief, it was Eveline T. Scott who kept all the materials together in an organised and meticulous way, as a prolific author and passionate gleaner. Indeed, her work is the backbone of this family collection. Studies of family collections prove that Eveline T. Scott's passion for forming and keeping the family archive was not peculiar to her. The studies claim that compared to men, women have a greater tendency to be the record keeper of the family or the guardian of the family archives.[15] Moreover, they argue that documents or collections produced by women, compared to those by men, include intimate or sensitive information about many aspects of family and everyday life, such as birth and death, sickness, love and divorces, financial troubles, housekeeping, shortages of goods, etc. Thus, documents produced by women bring the wealth of knowledge and information about everyday life that was not preserved in official documents or in men's documents.[16] For this reason, not surprisingly, particularly in recent decades, women's diaries or collections with their rich source of information have been used by many historians and scholars from various social disciplines.

If we take into account the absence of the tradition of forming women's archives in Turkey, the Scott family collection, which mainly includes mundane materials collected and sorted by Eveline, becomes more and more significant to suggest an alternative narrative of any kind.[17] This collection, with the authority of the female gaze, depicts the details of the texture of everyday

life from community life to city streets, from household to barbershop, from a small Anatolian town to a metropolitan city of Europe. Along with the richness of the content, the physical variety of the collection, from diaries to poems, from vernacular photographs to family albums, from letters to travel notes, might enrich the narrative that a researcher, a director or an artist would develop. Most importantly, in relation to migration, trade, war and nation-state formation, this collection uncovers the story of the Anglo-American community not only in its local but also its global milieu. So, what this collection reveals is not simply a family's or woman's story, but rather the connections that bind the mundane with the political, the home with the nation, the personal with the collective.

TRAUGOTT FUCHS: INFINITE RICHES IN A LITTLE ROOM

"Infinite riches in a little room" – this was how Traugott Fuchs' friend and colleague Süheyla Artemel and her former research assistant Natasa Masanoviç described what they saw when they were moving his belongings to a new lodging and discovered the materials he had collected.[18]

> Our first reaction on opening the boxes containing the documents and objects amassed by Traugott Fuchs over the years was to remember this line by Marlowe: "Infinite riches in a little room." It was as if we had entered a new and fascinating world at the turn of a magic key: letters, photographs, and postcards dating back to the period before the First World War; a recording of Auerbach lecturing on Dante, students' notes expressing their admiration and deep affection for their tutor; countless notebooks and files with pictures and captions cut from Turkish newspapers pasted next to handwritten verses and humorous rhymes comprising ample material for several volumes of social history and popular culture, as well as diaries, strange natural objects, pebbles of bizarre shapes and striking colours, dried leaves and curious twigs and seashells. Gifts, even blank greeting cards or a carefully preserved cassette player, had lost their original function and become transformed into precious keepsakes and souvenirs, all cherished together with the letters, photographs, and other objects associated with the sender. It is as if the line separating emotional values from documentary reality, everyday material objects from abstract historical phenomena had been obliterated.[19]

There could not be a better expression than this description of the first encounter that depicts the wealth and zest of Fuchs' collection. Anna Vakali, a

historian and colleague who worked on the collection material and prepared a marvellous online exhibition on Fuchs, features his versatility. She notes, "Coming from a background of the Prussian '*Bildungsbürgertum*' (educated middle-class), Fuchs cherished humanistic education, science, and literature. Characteristically, he has been called the 'last Renaissance man.' Fuchs literally dedicated his life to teaching, painting, writing, and playing music."[20] So it's not surprising that his collection carries the traces of his multifaceted character.

Born in 1906 in the Alsace-Lorraine region, Traugott Fuchs was a German philologist, painter, poet, teacher and musician. He pursued his higher education in Berlin, Heidelberg, Marburg and Cologne, studying Romance languages and literature, art history, philosophy and pedagogy. His meeting with Leo Spitzer, a professor of Romance languages and literature, in Marburg was a milestone in his life. In the early 1930s, Spitzer was among a group of Jewish scholars who were banned from teaching. As his promising assistant, Fuchs protested against the racist act, which led to his investigation by the Nazi regime in Germany. In 1934, Fuchs received an invitation from Spitzer, who had escaped from Germany and taken refuge in Turkey. He accepted this offer without hesitation:

> I accepted and followed this call with great enthusiasm, feeling this was a real chance for liberation – no compromises with the Nazis anymore. I intended never to come back as long as Hitler was victorious. I would rather have gone to the end of the world, perhaps to South Africa. Here was a door to the future; at home, a door to death, this was certain.[21]

Subsequently, he began to work at the School of Foreign Languages, which was established at Istanbul University under the chairmanship of Spitzer. After 1943, Fuchs also gave lectures on German and French languages and literature at Robert College, where he was appointed on the advice of Erich Auerbach. In 1944, he completed his doctoral dissertation entitled "The *Je ne sais quoi* in the Romance Languages" and received his supervisor Spitzer's approval, but before his official defence, a fire broke out in Fuchs' apartment and his work was destroyed.

Fuchs' passion for teaching is evident in his archive, which includes thousands of pages of lecture materials that he used to prepare for his classes at Robert College or Boğaziçi University on German literature spanning the Middle Ages to the present. According to accounts of his students, Fuchs avoided a conventional didactic approach, stereotyped clichés and mathematical solutions. Instead, his seminars were literary adventures that the students were willing to participate in without caring about the consequences.[22] In a letter

Fig. 4.3
Traugott Fuchs with his cat, Traugotta (ca. 1960s). Courtesy of the Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center.

to his friend, Fuchs avers, "Being a teacher is not necessarily being a teacher per se, but being a humble and honest human, and being able to stand up for one's ideals and convictions."[23]

A remarkable part of the writings of Traugott Fuchs is contained within the "*Günaydın* Collection." This is a collection of more than seventy notebooks into which Fuchs pasted clippings from the Turkish newspaper *Günaydın* starting in 1971. The clippings relate to all aspects of political, social and cultural life in Turkey. Furthermore, Fuchs added his own commentary on the events covered by the clippings in words and sketches, often in a satirical way. *Günaydın*, which was established in 1968, presented a blend of daily and sensational news with visual and colourful content and style, becoming one of the most popular newspapers in Turkey. In this manner, Fuchs' "*Günaydın* Collection" continued up to 1990, providing its readers with invaluable insights into Turkish social life, accompanied by the sharp comments of Fuchs himself.

Besides teaching, writing and collecting ephemera, Traugott Fuchs was a passionate painter. His archive contains more than 6,000 black-and-white and colour sketches, many of them depicting Istanbul or other cities of Anatolia that he visited. It also contains around 200 oil paintings, thirty of which

were the products of the time he spent in Çorum. Fuchs was amongst the German immigrants with papers who were interned by the İnönü government at Çorum during World War II, and he lived for a period of thirteen months in this city, which inspired him in his studies and works. Towards the end of World War II, when Turkey terminated its diplomatic relationships with Germany, in August 1944, German citizens residing in Turkey had two choices. They should either go back to Germany or, as a way of avoiding recruitment into the German army, they could be interned in small Anatolian cities such as Kırşehir, Yozgat and Çorum. Fuchs spent his internment in Çorum, explored the countryside and painted. He not only painted the countryside but also Istanbul. Fuchs' painting and sketching motifs were the people, the landscape and the plants of the Turkish countryside. He depicted villages and townships, locals, different professions, herbs, flowers, buildings, houses, historic structures and antique ruins, having thus both a cultural and artistic value.

Art historian Lale Babaoğlu-Balkış, in her work on Fuchs' sketches of Istanbul, claims that alluring and captivating parts of Istanbul, such as glorified mosques, Ottoman tombs, Byzantine churches, Rumeli and Anadolu Hisar, the Maiden Tower, city walls and aqueducts, works of art and architecture of the past, the Bosporus with its shores and hills, and trees and birds all became alive in Fuchs' depiction.[24]

Fuchs' notes on his Anatolian and international trips are also included in the collection. His travel notes are adorned with drawings of natural landscapes and architectural works and enriched with postcards from various countries. The photographs taken by him from the 1930s to the 1980s, including the images of local people, craftsmen and travelling salesmen, bear historical and ethnographic importance. From World War II to his death, Fuchs carried out an immense amount of correspondence with his family, friends and students, as well as with important thinkers, writers and artists, such as Leo Spitzer, Erich Auerbach, Hellmut Ritter, Hans Marchand and Hermann Hesse.

Fuchs' character as a philologist always stands out. He published translations of French and German, but he also made translations from contemporary and classical Turkish literature into German that were not published. Fuchs envisions the act of translation not only as a language transfer but as a culture transfer as well. Therefore, he preferred to translate very significant names in Turkish literary history, such as Orhan Veli, Nazım Hikmet, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Sait Faik Abasıyanık and Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel, whose works were about folk life and were popular with the public. In addition to contemporary Turkish literature translations, he made prose and prosody translations into German of *Mevlit*, which captured the daily life of the people in the fifteenth century. He put great effort in to generating literary exchange between

Fig. 4.4
Traugott Fuchs, *Counting Money after the Market*, drawing,
28.7 x 20.9 cm. Courtesy of the Boğaziçi University Archives
and Documentation Center.

Germany and Turkey and in fostering cultural toleration among between the two peoples.[25]

Fuchs was not only an émigré scholar who had chosen Turkey as his *Heimat* (home or homeland), but a humanist and a romantic admirer of art and beauty. In Vakali's words, he was the "last Renaissance man." He managed to reveal his inner self by creating a world of his own, inspired by the natural and man-made wonders. His choice of internment in Çorum, his love of Istanbul and his desire to engage with literature left us colourful beauties, which would all have been forgotten if he had not captured them by painting, writing and collecting. Fuchs' life not only consisted of beautiful objects, though. As someone who was anti-war and anti-Nazi and as someone who preferred to live outside the norms of gender roles, he suffered under the complexities of modern life. Compared to some well-known *Heimatlos* (stateless) intellectuals, such as Leo Spitzer or Eric Auerbach, Fuchs led a modest life. Yet his pre-

cious heritage makes a great contribution to the history of *Heimatlos* diaspora intellectuals, which played a remarkable role in shaping the history of German immigration and the history of international thought during and after the Second World War.

CONCLUSION

Neither Eveline T. Scott nor Traugott Fuchs spent much effort to publicise the treasures they had produced during their lifetimes. This begs a vital question: Why did they write or paint? Did they ever dream about their personal possessions or artefacts would become available to people unknown to them? One can never be sure about the answer. Writing in a diary, painting on a canvas or collecting ephemera perhaps helped them fight feelings of isolation by expressing their thoughts and emotions. They perhaps allowed them to preserve their mental equilibrium by imposing a sense of order and control over their lives in a rapidly changing political-social-cultural environment.[26] In their lives full of achievements and losses, the act of producing artefacts was perhaps a simultaneous demonstration of their own continuities and discontinuities. But today, in a period far from the time they were produced, these possessions and artefacts transformed into collections as shared places that enable one to access the incomplete past and the meaning of the present.

Eveline always considered writing a noble and inspiring mission and loved the act of writing itself. For Traugott Fuchs, painting was a way of liberation of the spirit. He describes painting in one of his poems, "Paint, slave, paint, the body is but a shell, you must peel this shell away, and from the fragile sheath release, the radiant flower of the spirit." In his article, "The Mysterious Outside Reader," Adrian Cunningham argues that "records are rarely so unselfconsciously pure [...] and that many records are consciously created for audiences, which may not be immediately apparent."[27] Might this also be the case for Scott and Fuchs? Their donation of their belongings to a public university, just before they died, is perhaps telling in itself.

Eveline T. Scott was quite a prolific writer, but whether she generally intended to publish her writings is unknown. Some of her essays appeared in college publications or in newspapers, such as *Asia and America* and *The Times* of London, especially during wartime. However, what she wrote in general remained private during her life. Does the limited quantity of her published works diminish the value of her writings? No, on the contrary, Eveline was a middle-class American woman, a teacher who spent most of her life in Istanbul between 1889 and 1976. She had always been interested in writing. At times, for her, the lines blurred between the autobiographical, the anec-

dotal and the ethnographic, and her narrative has the plurality of voices and idioms, manifesting the shifts and changes in her sensibilities. These shifts and changes result from her multiple identities as a female and as an Istanbul-born, wealthy and educated American woman. Her cross-genre narratives are conditioned and determined by her gender, race and class in a land that became both the Orient and her home and reveals the hidden potential to write an alternative history of women or alternative history of everyday life from the perspective of a non-public woman.

Traugott Fuchs remains an unexplored intellectual; a less-known infamous figure in the wave of intellectuals who fled from Nazi Germany to settle in Turkey, as Vakali points out in her exhibition essay. His published works remained limited to a few translations and Çorum and Anatolian Pictures (1986), the catalogue of an exhibition of his paintings. Yet, his rich and still untapped archive reveals a multifaceted, unexamined intellectual who remained productive until the end of his life. By elaborating on Traugott Fuchs' life, writing and painting, and in short, his artefacts, it is possible to detect the history of *Heimatlos* intellectuals and produce a new cultural history of Istanbul or Anatolia or a history of everyday life through the lens of Fuchs.

However, let us go back to our previous question: Why should we limit ourselves to the craftsmanship of a historian or an archivist? Both Scott and Fuchs lived in Istanbul for a long time, travelled to many countries, witnessed the upheavals in the history of modernising Turkey and put all these experiences on paper through various means. Some of these include letters, diaries, scrapbooks, vernacular photographs, family albums, paintings, sketches, etc., providing a glimpse of private histories, perceptions and sensibilities of people and the landscape surrounding them. No doubt, this colourful content allows a productive collaboration between various disciplines such as history, archive studies, visual studies or creative art. My concern in writing this chapter is not to prove a point, but rather to explore the possibilities of interpreting Scott's and Fuchs' collections – which remained behind closed doors for years within their lifetime – and their constraints in terms of the social context. In this way, like Gustav Deutsch, Thomas Elsaesser or Alan Berliner, one can create new forms of academic and artistic studies, in a world where the importance given to the archive – where various forms of remembrance and knowledge are accumulated, stored and recovered – has been increasing. Through adopting diverse perspectives and techniques, one could bring a series of past fragments forward that will hint at a history that could not be fully recovered if Scott did not write or Fuchs did not paint.

I would like to end the paper with a quotation from historian Arlette Farge's *Allure of the Archives*:

We cannot bring back to life those whom we find cast ashore in the archives. But this is not a reason to make them suffer a second death. There is only a narrow space in which to develop a story that will neither cancel out nor dissolve these lives, but leave them available so that another day, and elsewhere, another narrative can be built from their enigmatic presence.[28]

Farge, who works on the judicial and police records of the eighteenth century, put an emphasis on the importance of rescuing from oblivion the lives that were never made note of even when they were alive. She mainly addresses the women, criminals, thieves, etc. whose voices have been long stilled in the archives. I suggest her rescue operation should also work for people, such as Eveline T. Scott and Traugott Fuchs, whose artefacts sunk into oblivion in some dark rooms, drawers or boxes, passively awaiting our generous attention.

FILMOGRAPHY

The Family Album (Alan Berliner, 1986)
First Cousin Once Removed (Alan Berliner, 2013)
Nobody's Business (Alan Berliner, 1996)
Sun Island (Thomas Elsaesser, 2017)

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

NURÇIN İLERI completed her doctoral dissertation on the night, streets and crime in late Ottoman Istanbul at the History Department of Binghamton University. She continues to work on urban history, the history of technology and science, and archives and cultural heritage studies in the late Ottoman Empire and Turkey. She worked on private collections as the assistant coordinator at the Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center for three years. She is currently a postdoctoral scholar at the Laboratoire de Recherche Historique Rhône-Alpes (LARHRA).

NOTES

1   Süheyla Artemel was a professor of English literature at Boğaziçi University and Yeditepe University and the custodian of both collections who played a decisive role in making the collections of Scott and Fuchs available to us today. For further information, especially about the protection of the Fuchs collection, see "Süheyla Artemel Traugott Fuchs'un kişisel arşivini anlatıyor," Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e6Qr1Gi-Kxw.

2   For scholarly debates on the growing interests in the archives and digitisation projects, see Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory," *Archival Science* 2 (2002), 1–19, and Lucie Ryzova, "Mourning the Archive: Middle Eastern Photographic Heritage between Neoliberalism and Digital Reproduction," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56, no. 4 (2014), 1027–61.

3   Robert College was an American school established in 1863 in Istanbul, thanks to the efforts of philanthropist Christopher Robert and Cyrus Hamlin, a missionary devoted to education. American College for Girls was known as The Home School when first established in 1871 in Istanbul. The name of the school changed many times, and it was known for a period as the Constantinople Women's College. In the spring of 1914, the school was moved from Üsküdar to Arnavutköy, and in the 1920s it was renamed the Istanbul American College for Girls. See John Freely, *A Bridge of Culture: Robert College – Boğaziçi University: How an American College in Istanbul Became a Turkish University* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2012).

4   I would like to thank Prof. Cengiz Kırlı, who offered me the opportunity to collaborate on this archive project.

5   Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 18.

6   Schwartz and Cook categorise archives as active sites where social power is negotiated, contested, confirmed. For a scholarly analysis on how power mechanisms work in the archives. Ibid., 4.

7   For more information, see "Alan Berliner Films," http://www.alanberliner.com/index.php; *The Sun Island* (2017), directed by Thomas Elsaesser, https://sunisland-film.com/ and "Gustav Deutsch, Films and Videos," https://www.gustavdeutsch.net/en/films-videos.

8   See http://digitalarchive.boun.edu.tr/handle/123456789/8036?locale-attribute=en.

9   Meltem Ahıska, "Occidentalism and Registers: The Politics of Archives in Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 34 (2006), 9–29. See also Ariella Azoulay, "Archive," in *Dissonant Archives: Contemporary Visual Culture and Contested Narratives in the Middle East*, edited by Anthony Downey (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 194–214.

10 For further information about the Scott Family Papers, see the online exhibition entitled "An Anglo-American Family Living from Empire to Republic in Istanbul: The Scott's Papers" (http://bogaziciarsivleri.boun.edu.tr/en/exhibition/scott.php).

Part of the Scott Family Collection was catalogued, digitised and made available to the public as part of a project titled "Histories of Science, Culture and Education in Istanbul through Personal Archives," sponsored by Istanbul Development Agency.

11   Scott Family Collection, SCT.ETS.03.022.04.DC, 11, Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center.

12   Elizabeth Barrett Browning is an English poet of the Victorian Era who lived between 1806 and 1861. Her works influenced the prominent writers of the day, such as Edgar Allan Poe and Emily Dickinson.

13   "Diary Belonging to Eveline Thomson," 1907–1908, February 23, 1908, Scott Family Collection, SCT.ETS.03.003.01.NB, Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center.

14   Heather Beattie, "Where Narratives Meet: Archival Description, Provenance, and Women's Diaries," *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 44, no. 1 (2009), 89–90. For further discussions on the importance of diaries as sources, see Thomas Mallon, *A Book of One's Own: People and Their Diaries* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1984); Irina Paperno, "What Can Be Done with Diaries?" *Russian Review* 63 (2004), 561–73.

15   Svanhildur Bogadóttir, "Searching for Women in the Archives: Collecting Private Archives of Women," in *Teaching Gender with Libraries and Archives*, edited by Sara de Jong and Sanne Koevoets (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), 65–75; Susan Tucker and Svanhildur Bogadóttir, "Gender, Memory, and History: In One Culture and Across Others," *Journal of Archival Organization* 6, no 4 (2008), 288–310.

16   Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 16.

17   For further discussion on this issue, see Fatma Türe and Birsen Talay Keşoğlu, eds., *Women's Memory: The Problem of Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011).

18   After leaving İstanbul University in 1978, Traugott Fuchs continued working at Boğaziçi University, where he gave lectures until 1983. His friendship with the late Süheyla Artemel became stronger over time. Artemel successfully protected Fuchs' collection in various locations and made it accessible today.

19   Süheyla Artemel, Nedret Kuran Burçoğlu and Suat Karantay, eds., *Traugott Fuchs*, exhibition catalogue (Istanbul: CECA Yayınları, 1995), 3.

20   Anna Vakali, in collaboration with the staff of the Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center, meticulously prepared an online exhibition entitled "Traugott Fuchs (1906–1997): A German Exile in İstanbul" (http://bogaziciarsivleri.boun.edu.tr/en/exhibition/fuchs.php). The project was financed by the Istanbul Development Agency in 2016–2017. I would also like to thank Dr. Anna Vakali, who read this chapter and made valuable suggestions.

21   Traugott Fuchs, "A Short Story of My Life," in Çorum and Anatolian Pictures, exh. cat. (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Cultural Heritage Museum Publications, 1986), 13.

22 Şara Sayın, "Hoca ve Meslektaş Olarak Traugott Fuchs," in *Traugott Fuchs: A Life in Turkey*, edited by Süheyla Artemel, Nedret Kuran Burçoğlu and Suat Karantay (Istanbul: CECA Yayınları, 1995), 17.

23 Suzan Rosita Meryem Kalaycı, "Haymatlos Exile: Turkey, Traugott Fuchs' Landscape of Reconciliation," MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2009, 83.

24 Lale Balkış, "Traugott Fuchs: A Romantic in the Orient: Istanbul as Portrayed through the Eyes of a German Emigré Scholar," in *14th International Congress of Turkish Art*, edited by Frederic Hitzel (Paris: College de France, 2013), 135.

25 Fuchs, "A Short Story of My Life," 9.

26 Ibid.

27 Adrian Cunningham, "The Mysterious Outside Reader," *Archives and Manuscripts* 24 (1996), 133–34.

28 Arlette Farge, *Allure of the Archives*, translated by Thomas Scott-Railton (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 121–22.

II

THE GOD OF SMALL FILMS, OR WHAT YOU HAVE FOUND IS NOT WHAT YOU HAVE LOST

The Ethics of Appropriation: Found Footage between Archive and Internet[1]

THOMAS ELSAESSER

ABSTRACT

The chapter examines different kinds of cinematic appropriation, i.e. the use of footage taken from other works, and contexts, notably "found footage" from archives, but also compilations of scenes and fragments from well-known films. The very creative use of archives brings in new ethical questions about the appropriation of found footage. While analogue filmmaking seeks to capture reality in order to harness it into a representation, digital filmmaking, conceived from post-production, proceeds by way of extracting reality, in order to harvest it. This shift from production to post-production changes "the cinema's inner logic and ontology" and requires a different perspective on the ethics of appropriation.

KEYWORDS
found footage, appropriation, compilation, archive, video essay

APPROPRIATION AS SPECTATORSHIP

Appropriation is a varied concept, and it can carry very different meanings. For instance, applied to the engagement of the film viewer, appropriation can be a more vivid term for spectatorship and reception studies, especially if we think of the active and interactive role we now tend to assign to the spectator – as viewer, as user, as player – given the different screen activities that are involved in the consumption and apperception of moving images. These include going to the cinema, watching television, using the monitor screens of our laptops and tablets, or acquiring the skills needed to play video games. In short, spectatorship as appropriation acknowledges the active participation of the viewer in the process of reception of films and the consumption of visual displays and spectacles.

APPROPRIATION AND CINEPHILIA

However, in the more specific case of the cinema, appropriation can also signify a more intimate gesture of love and an act of devotion. Thus, *cinephilia* – the particularly intense manner of living the film experience, by wanting to repeat it and to prolong it – should also be seen as a form of appropriation. But cinephilia, as a way of watching films, of speaking about them, of accumulating expertise and then writing about films, is both appropriation (in the sense of holding on to, and not letting go) and its opposite: a desire to share, to diffuse this knowledge and create, through this sharing, a likeminded community. Cinephilia of the internet age has produced its own form of active and productive appropriation, in the form of the *video essay*: a genre that combines the history of compilation films, of found footage films and the essay film: all genres that try to make films reflect about their own conditions of possibility, and that enrich our experience of cinema by creating forms of para-cinema, post-cinema and meta-cinema.

In the cases of cinephilia – as a *gesture of love*, and as *an act of acquiring expertise*, appropriation implicitly includes a claim to ownership, and this in turn can be either legitimate or illegitimate ownership, which is one way in which the question of ethics arises. Ownership may be understood in legal

terms, as copyright or intellectual property right. But ownership extends to other modalities as well: ownership as the physical possession of the object *film* – something only possible in relatively recent times, in the form of a DVD or an mp4 file – or it may involve assuming the right to do with the object as one pleases: interfere with it, re-edit its scenes and images, or alter it via commentary or soundtrack. But ownership can also manifest itself, in the sense of trying to *own* a film's meaning and interpretation and thus claim a particular kind of power over it. Several of these forms of ownership just named would seem to shift the question of appropriation from the realm of *reception* to becoming an *act of production*, but this may be the crux of the matter: when it comes to appropriation, reception can become productive (as in the video essay), and production can be a form of reception (as in found footage films) – and both come together in the idea that digital cinema quite generally is best understood as post-production.

COMPILATION, FOUND FOOTAGE, POST-PRODUCTION

This raises the question of when and how such a combination of appropriation and post-production came into existence, and it is clear that it is connected with the montage developed in the Soviet Union. Around the mid-1920s, we see the first compilation films – for instance, Esfir Shub's *Padenie dinastii Romanovykh/Fall of the Romanov Dynasty* (1927), which arose in close proximity, and perhaps even in rivalry with perhaps the most famous example of a compilation film that also functions as an essay film, Dziga Vertov's *Chelovek s kinoapparatom/Man with a Movie Camera* (1929). In an essay that reconsiders these beginnings, the filmmaker Hito Steyerl makes two important points: one is that Vertov's film should have been called *Woman at the Editing Table* rather than *Man with a Movie Camera*, and, second, that already around 1929, the problem was: Where to locate creativity and authorship? Was it in production or post-production? As mentioned, this has become crucial with the advent of new media and non-linear editing, and it suggests that perhaps a better name also for *found footage films* is *post-production films*.

However, the origins of found footage films, as opposed to compilation films, are usually located within the Marcel Duchamp tradition of dada and conceptual art, of surrealism and the *objet trouvé*, the found object. The point of such a stranded object, left behind by the tide of time, is that it is made beautiful and special by the combination of a recent loss of practical use and its perishable or fragile materiality. This may not directly apply to Joseph Cornell's *Rose Hobart* (1936), an extraction of scenes featuring the actress Rose Hobart, taken from the colonial melodrama *East of Borneo* (George Melford,

1931), where cinephiliac appropriation took on a distinctly erotic-fetishist, even necrophilic dimension. In a similar surrealist vein, Bruce Conner's *A MOVIE* (1958) is best remembered for a montage of the Bikini Atoll atomic tests with shots of women with and without bikinis targeted by phallic missiles. Similarly, Dara Birnbaum's feminist empowerment sampler *Technology/ Transformation: Wonder Woman* (1978–1979) from the television series *Wonder Woman* (1975–1979) makes a comment on popular television, the way Cornell and Conner used eroticism as a way of revealing the *political unconscious* of Hollywood cinema and of Cold War America.

Appropriation, as the ambiguous name of a certain kind of love that raises issues of ownership, is perhaps most tersely expressed in the title of Eric Lott's study of how immigrant – mainly Jewish and Italian – entertainers from Europe appropriated African-American folk music, comedy routines and blackface minstrelsy: Lott called his book *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (1993) and this is indeed the terrain of affective-emotional ambivalence, within which appropriation becomes so seductive, also in the cinema. Lott's title, incidentally, was itself appropriated a few years later by Bob Dylan for an album of cover versions of other artists' songs, *Love and Theft* (2001), cover versions being the music industry's legally sanctioned appropriations. *Appropriation as love and theft* might yield criteria that can usefully be invoked in certain limited cases of found footage films and video essays, where ethical issues may well arise that affect one's aesthetic judgement of a given film. To cite two examples I will not discuss, because they do not concern found footage, but where the question of appropriation of a particular point of view became highly controversial: Errol Morris' *Standard Operating Procedure* (2008) and Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing* (2012).

WHAT IS FOUND FOOTAGE? LOVE AND THEFT

When we move to found footage films, the first question to ask is, of course, *What is a found footage film*, and how can we identify the different variants, genres and sub-genres? Found footage films not only need to be distinguished from compilation films, but also from so-called stock footage, used in television reportage for historical narratives, to illustrate the voice-over commentary, or to accompany the narrative of talking heads, simulating the impression that a camera had been the silent witness to what the person is narrating or commenting on. Stock footage usually comes from a commercial archive, where it is catalogued and classified according to theme, location, date and setting. But under pressure to find fresh and previously unused images, television has begun to aggressively plunder national and regional film archives, as well as raid private

collections, including home movies, to feed its seemingly insatiable appetite for visual material that makes history *come alive*. Television thus also tries to *find* footage, and thereby becomes a competitor for artists working with *found footage*, making access to the material potentially more difficult and expensive, as the archives' holding of previously overlooked material becomes more valuable commercially, as well as aesthetically more prestigious. As a result of these competing claims on archival film material, definitions of found footage films have become narrower and more precise. In contrast to the compilation film that strings together scenes from pre-existing material, in order to illustrate an argument, found footage films do not *combine* material but *compose* material into a new coherent totality or unity, and thus tend to create new contexts for the images, which in turn allows for new associations. To refer to a well-known essay on found footage films by Catherine Russell,[2] we understand found footage as an open category of avant-garde or experimental cinema that presents film fragments either animated by nostalgia – from Joseph Cornell's already mentioned *Rose Hobart* (1936), to Peter Delpeut's *Lyrical Nitrate*, 1991 – or driven by apocalyptic themes – from Bruce Conner's already mentioned *A MOVIE* (1958), to Craig Baldwin's *Tribulations 99* (1991), via the better known *The Atomic Cafe* from 1982 by Jayne Loader, Kevin Rafferty and Pierce Rafferty. Found footage films resonate through their style, which is based on fragmentation, elliptic narration, temporal collisions and visual disorientation and they usually follow an aesthetic, formal, conceptual, critical or polemic purpose. This description emphasises an important aspect of found footage films, namely their critical stance vis-à-vis mass media and popular culture:

> The found footage trend [first] blossomed in the late 1950s and 1960s, with the rise of television and the culture of mass consumption. It is not by chance that it is often televisual artifacts [ads, infomercials, talk shows, educational programmes) that these filmmakers re-use and subvert. Found footage, in this respect, appears as a form of cultural recycling [that is] informed by a social critique, by discourses concerned with the end of history, and subverting [the material's original message of optimism and progress] through ironic and violent montage.[3]

THE FEMALE FACE: RETURNING THE LOOK

Among the best-known and most successful filmmakers to revive old home movies and putting them into revealingly new contexts are Péter Forgács (*The Maelstrom – A Family Chronic* [1997]; *The Danube Exodus* [1998]), followed by Vincent Monnikendam (*Moeder Dao, de schildpadgelijkende/Mother Dao, the*

Turtlelike [1995]) and Fiona Tan (*Facing Forward* [1999]). About her found footage video installation, Tan has said:

> The images in *Facing Forward* stem entirely from early silent archival film footage categorised as colonial documentary footage shot in foreign and exotic countries for a Western audience. I have selected one particular sort of scene from a myriad of films. I call these scenes photographic moments. Quite simply, they consist of the countless times that – as if for a photograph – people pose in front of the film camera. I find these moments poignant and endearing: a filmed photograph stretches time and in those often uncomfortable moments a lot happens: The viewer can see the embarrassment, the bewilderment and anger, or the curiosity and shyness due to the confrontation with the camera. A viewer also has time to reflect upon all these anonymous people arranged before him. It also highlights the transition between two media: photography and film. They are particularly revealing moments. Moments of meeting, not just a meeting of individuals but of cultures, ideas and times. Moments, which I think are important to review now.[4]

Here, the ethnographic film is turned inside out, brushed against the grain where the objects of a particular gaze are allowed to look back and become subjects, not objects: making us the viewer into the problematic figure, thereby raising key ethical questions about ethnographical films as acts of appropriation. Tan's installation repeats a gesture that one also finds in Harun Farocki's film *Bilder der Welt und Inschrift des Krieges/Images of the World and the Inscription of War* (1989), where Farocki uses a series of photographs of Algerian women who were forced to unveil for the French colonial authorities to problematise the look of these women and where the director's hand covers them again, as if to protect them from prying eyes. Even more notorious, from the same film, is the look of a woman into camera on her way to the gas chambers at the arrival ramp of Auschwitz, where Farocki ruminates on how to read such a shot, across the distance of time and proximity of the crime that the image documents, once more using his own hands to frame and reframe the look.

Found footage, both from known and unknown sources, often finds itself combined in the so-called essay film, a genre where Chris Marker has been a towering figure, influencing many other essay films, among them not only those of Harun Farocki, but also Jean-Luc Godard's magnum opus *Histoire(s) du Cinéma* (1988–1999), who edits across and between images, as well as over and within images. Marker's found footage/essay film masterpieces are *Le fond de l'air est rouge/Grin without a Cat* (1977) and *Sans Soleil* (1983). *Le fond de l'air est rouge/Grin without a Cat* is three hours long and takes:

the appropriation art form to the next level, culling countless hours of newsreel and documentary footage that he himself did not shoot, into a seamless, haunting global cross-section of war, social upheaval and political revolution. Yet, what's miraculous about Marker's work is that his cine-essays never fell victim to a dependency on the persuasive argument.[5]

In other words, Marker never appropriated other people's images to prop up his own *political* thesis, unlike traditional documentaries, which is why the label *essay film* almost had to be invented for his work, to give due credit to Marker's reflexive stance and his ability to let images comment on each other. He, too, featured in *Sans Soleil* a mini-essay on a woman in Guinea-Bissau *returning the look*, highlighting the complicity as well as the vulnerability of a female subject in front of the camera, and the special responsibility this entails for the filmmaker to show respect and reticence, instead of appropriating or claiming ownership. Marker was more interested in how the reflexive nature of the moving image implicated himself as man, author and director. At the start of Marker's *Sans Soleil* (1983), the female narrator says:

> The first image he told me about was of three children on a road in Iceland, in 1965. He said that for him it was the image of happiness and also that he had tried several times to link it to other images, but it never worked. He wrote me: "One day I'll have to put it all alone at the beginning of a film with a long piece of black leader; if they don't see happiness in the picture, at least they'll see the black."

HISTORICALLY TOXIC MATERIAL

"At least they'll see the black": if in the case of Chris Marker, it is *happiness* that is unrepresentable, often found footage poses the opposite challenge: How to account for the point of view of him or her who originally took those images? Filmmakers have been very aware of this pitfall, especially when dealing with what one might call historically toxic material, such as, for instance, found footage from the colonial archive; found footage about the Holocaust; and found footage that touches on personal trauma and the discovery of family secrets. One could cite several examples, each of which seems to fully face the risks, and at the same time, develop strategies that not only acknowledge the risks, but aggravate them, by implicating the filmmaker in a reflexive turn that rather than distancing the material and its problematic aspects of appropriation, puts the filmmaker personally on the line, as it were, either by trying to give a special voice to those, who in the original images never had a voice,

and never had a chance to become who they were meant to be, or by daring to imagine through re-enactment bordering on the fake, to fill a traumatic loss with a different semblance of life. I shall focus on one example, Harun Farocki's compilation film *Aufschub* (2007), utilising film material shot at the Westerbork transit camp for Dutch and German Jews, destined to end up in Auschwitz. There, the filmmaker, out of respect for the unique circumstances to which we owe this material, resisted the temptation to either edit or editorialise the material, but found a way to show it more or less as it was shot, with a minimum of commentary, except for some intertitles.

Farocki is justly known for his pioneering use of found footage from often anonymous and usually very diverse sources. He had an uncanny and extraordinary gift for establishing links and for building connections that no one had thought of, or dared to draw before. By these criteria, the Westerbork footage is not *found footage* and its makers are not anonymous. Nor does Farocki claim this to be the case: a prefatory intertitle establishes the basic facts about the material's provenance and putative author(s). And yet: the issue of appropriation, of recycling and the migration of iconic images – together with the reasons for the increasing use of found footage by artists, its ethics and aesthetics – is raised in *Aufschub* in complex and perplexing ways.

First of all, Farocki was aware that part of the Westerbork film material had already been used in Alain Resnais' *Nuit et brouillard/Night and Fog* (1955) and he knew that there had recently been much discussion over how Resnais had re-edited the footage, which further problematised a debate that Farocki was already familiar with from his own film *Bilder der Welt und Inschrift des Krieges/Images of the World and the Inscription of War* (1989): namely the ethics of using (often unattributed) visual material relating to the Holocaust, especially when these are film sequences and photographs taken by the (German) occupiers and perpetrators or even when recorded by the (American, British or Russian) liberators of the camps. In *Bilder der Welt und Inschrift des Krieges/ Images of the World and the Inscription of War*, Farocki explicitly *thematises* the dilemma of sharing an alien – and alienating – point of view: that of the aerial photographers of the US Army, on reconnaissance mission, contrasted with the look through the camera of an SS guard, on his post at the Auschwitz-Birkenau ramp.

The second reason why appropriation is a sensitive issue in this case, are the diametrically opposed and yet paradoxically convergent motives of the man who ordered the footage to be shot (camp commandant Konrad Alfred Gemmeker), and the man who shot the footage (the inmate Rudolf Breslauer): in the very uneven power structure that bound these two men together – each trying to prove something, though not necessarily to each other – the loaded terms *collaboration*, *collusion* and *cooperation* take on the full tragic force

which they acquired during World War II in ghettos or such transit camps, when Jews had to police and supervise their fellow Jews. Through whose eyes are we seeing the film footage? The victim or the perpetrator? And can we even tell the difference, if each had a similar aim – namely, to stay in the camp as long as possible? And to whom, therefore, do these images belong? Who is their *author*: commandant, cameraman or the compiler of the found footage film? The third reason to raise the issue of appropriation in the case of *Aufschub*, is that the two-minute sequence which Resnais took from the nearly 80 minutes' worth of footage shot by Breslauer, has in turn been further decontextualised and rendered anonymous. One comes across the sequence of the deportation train almost daily, because it is routinely inserted in television docudramas or even news bulletins, every time a producer needs to evoke Auschwitz and the trains, and has only a few seconds to encapsulate them.

What Farocki was able to do was to give *appropriation* a new meaning: In *Aufschub*, appropriation – understood now as the transfer of knowledge, of cultural memory, of images or symbols from one generation to another, and thus a different way of making one's own what once belonged to another: in the form of *discipleship* rather than *ownership* – appropriation finds itself filtered through a process of reflexive identification and self-implication, where Farocki, both literally and metaphorically, stands behind Breslauer and his camera. Through the restrained editing and the underplayed commentary, he respects the very disorder of the material, and shows his solidarity with Breslauer as fellow filmmaker and one of the many human beings who were *appropriated* by the Nazis.

FOUND FOOTAGE BETWEEN OBSOLESCENCE AND ABUNDANCE

But here is another paradox, with which I shall conclude: given the narratives of loss that I have been presenting around found footage and the ethics of appropriation, given the dialectics of material death and digital redemption, as well as the reversal of perspective and the return of the gaze whereby the filmmaker puts him or herself on the line, when reworking ethnographic films, or when curating rather than creating film material commissioned by a Nazi officer and shot by a man sent to Auschwitz – in what possible relationship does all this stand to the *ubiquity, overabundance and easy availability* of so many films as DVDs, so much audiovisual material, old and new, both archival and from private collections, to be accessed on internet sites such as YouTube, Vimeo, Mubi and many others – accessed so easily that calling it *found footage* would be a misnomer? How to maintain these narratives of loss and trauma, in the face of so much superfluity and even narcissistic self-exposure?

I have no ready answer to this question, except to state the obvious, namely that the technical facility of non-linear editing, and the ready availability of the appropriate software has – depending on one's point of view – either democratised filmmaking tools and put post-production skills within reach of more people than ever before, or it leads to a massive de-professionalisation of editing both sound and image, as well as of writing text and commentary in the field of the essay film, as well as for compilation and found footage films. Example of the latter can easily be found on the web, where found footage films, whether authentic or fake, especially in connection with horror effects and shock-schlock film – have become [since the success of *The Blair Witch Project* (Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sánchez, 1999) and *Paranormal Activity* (Oren Peli, 2007)] the new indie genre Hollywood is trying to appropriate. Not surprising, therefore, that avant-garde filmmakers and other trained artists have been cautious about using the internet as their exhibition platform and distribution channel, preferring to align themselves with museums, galleries and art spaces, in general, still considered to be the guardians and gatekeepers of recognised standards and secure artistic reputations. Christian Marclay's *The Clock* (2010) is perhaps the most illustrious example of an artist creatively using an art space for an exercise of compilation more commonly associated with the internet, thereby pushing both the gallery and the mashup to its limits.

With *The Clock* we encounter another paradox, namely that one of the last public spheres where a cinema of the avant-garde and of the authors can be discussed and debated, and can find a serious public, are the traditionally elite cultural sites of the art world (including) biennials and festivals, rather than the massive reaches of the digital public sphere of the internet and the dedicated sites just mentioned. In other words, narratives of loss are now more likely to be about loss of prestige than about the lost treasures of the archive that have to be revived through found footage. And it may indeed be the case, that the last golden age of found footage films – the 1990s – is indeed just that: a lost golden age, as all golden ages are.

APPROPRIATION AND THE VIDEO ESSAY

Here the video essay tries to break new ground, in order to resolve some of these paradoxes. A practice that has established itself in the refreshingly fluid zone between academic film studies, cinephile essay and fan-based appropriation, the video essay is very much an online phenomenon, even when it is picked up by film journals such as *Sight & Sound* or DVD companies, such as the Criterion collection, who think they need a strong online presence in order

to survive. Taking advantage of precisely the ease of access to films of all genres and periods, and their abundance online, video essay authors can work on the images and sounds themselves and they allow the film fragments not only to *speak for themselves* but to *think cinema* with their own sounds and images, often concentrating on the stylistic patterns and peculiarities of recognised auteurs, such Stanley Kubrick, Wes Anderson, Yasujiro Ozu or Brian de Palma, but also such popular directors as Steven Spielberg and Michael Bay. In a short space of time, a substantial body of work in this new genre has emerged, with its own rules, reflections and reigning champions.

Let me conclude by returning to what I said about the shift from production to post-production, of which I think the issue of appropriation and its increasingly apparent paradoxes are both a symptom and a consequence. The change of emphasis from production to post-production may seem inevitable if simply translated into the speed and convenience of digital (i.e. non-linear) editing, which can now be done on a laptop thanks to some high-performance, off-the-shelf but nonetheless professional-standard editing software. It may also be relatively harmless if we think of digital post-production in terms mainly of the higher degree of plasticity and manipulability of the images: what director George Lucas once called the "sculpture" approach to the digital image. However, the more important point is that a film created around post-production has a different relation to the pro-filmic. Whereas analogue filmmaking, centred on production, and seeks to *capture* reality in order to *harness* it into a *representation*, digital filmmaking, conceived from post-production, proceeds by way of *extracting* reality, in order to *harvest* it. Instead of disclosure and revelation (the ontology of film from Jean Epstein to André Bazin, from Siegfried Kracauer to Stanley Cavell), post-production treats the world as data to be processed or mined, as raw materials and resources to be exploited.

In other words: the move from production to post-production as the centre of gravity of filmmaking is not primarily defined by a different relation to index and trace, to materiality and indexicality (as claimed by those who miss the index in the digital image). Rather, a mode of image-making, for which post-production becomes the default value, changes more than mere procedure: it changes the cinema's inner logic and ontology. Images and image-making is no longer based on perception or a matter of representation: post-production's visuality is of the order of the vegetal, that is, not only is it comparable to the growing, harvesting of crops, or the extraction of natural resources, but it lines up with the manipulation of genetic or molecular material, in the scientific and industrial processes of biogenetics or micro-engineering. If this is indeed the case, the ethics of appropriation will take on a whole other dimension.

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The Blair Witch Project (Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sánchez, 1999)

Chelovek s kinoapparatom/Man with a Movie Camera (Dziga Vertov, 1929)

The Clock (Christian Marclay, 2010)

The Danube Exodus (Péter Forgács, 1998)

East of Borneo (George Melford, 1931)

Facing Forward (Fiona Tan, 1999)

Histoire(s) du Cinéma (Jean-Luc Godard, 1988–1999)

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Rose Hobart (Joseph Cornell, 1936)

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

THOMAS ELSAESSER was Emeritus Professor at the Universiteit van Amsterdam and Permanent Visiting Professor at Columbia University. Early in his career, he co-edited the film journals *Brighton Film Review* and *Monogram*. His 1972 essay on melodrama, "Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on Family Melodrama," earned him international recognition. In 1976, Elsaesser and Charles Barr founded one of the first film studies centres in the UK which also offered MA and PhD programmes. In 1991, Elsaesser moved to the University of Amsterdam to establish the Department of Film and Television Studies. In addition to the international MA and PhD programmes that he initiated, he started the book series "Film Culture in Transition." In 2005, Elsaesser founded the MA Programme in Preservation and Presentation of the Moving Image. Elsaesser also taught as a visiting professor at US universities, including the University of California, New York University and Yale University. He

held chairs at various European universities, such as the University of Bergen, Stockholm University and the University of Cambridge. Amongst his publications are *New German Cinema*, *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood*, *The Mind-Game Film* and *Film History as Media Archaeology.* In 2019 Elsaesser died unexpectedly in Beijing.

NOTES

1   This chapter was previously published in *Found Footage Magazine* 1 (October 2015). It is reprinted here with their kind permission of Cristina Martínez of *Found Footage Magazine*.

2   Catherine Russell, *Experimental Ethnography: The Work of Film in the Age of Video* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1999).

3   André Habib, "Ruin, Archive and the Time of Cinema: Peter Delpeut's *Lyrical Nitrate*," *SubStance* 35, no. 2 (2006), 127–28.

4   Fiona Tan, *<Hers> – Video as a Female Terrain*, edited by Stella Rollig and A. Foitl (Vienna and New York: Springer, 2001), http://www.newmedia-art.org/cgi-bin/show-art. asp?LG=GBR&ID=9000000000081258&na=TAN&pna=FIONA&DOC=bio.

5   Nelson Carvajal. "Reflexive Memories: The Images of the Cine-Essay," *RogerEbert. com*, April 29, 2014, http://www.rogerebert.com/balder-and-dash/reflexive-memories -the-images-of-the-cine-essay.

The Infra-ordinary Archive: On Turkish 8 mm Home Movies

EGE BERENSEL

ABSTRACT

Archival power cannot be contained within the walls of the archives, and archive fever creates numerous individual initiatives for creating new collections. The author describes his personal experience of collecting home movies that were thrown away or abandoned by their owners. Tracing the history of Super 8 mm films in Turkey, he provides a culturally specific context and draws on works by Roger Odin, Pierre Bourdieu and Susan Sontag to discuss the significance of the home movies and points to their potential for artistic practices as well as research material.

What's really going on, what we're experiencing, the rest, all the rest, where is it? How should we take account of, question, describe what happens every day and recurs every day: the banal, the quotidian, the obvious, the common, the ordinary, the infra-ordinary, the background noise, the habitual?[...]How are we to speak of these "common things," how to track them down rather, flush them out, wrest them from the dross in which they remain mired, how to give them a meaning, a tongue, to let them, finally, speak of what is, of what we are."

— Georges Perec, "Approaches to What"[1]

In the early 2000s, Turkish 8 mm home movies and amateur movie archives based on collections of 8 mm films suddenly began to appear in garbage dumps, in flea markets and on the shelves of scrap dealers. When families moved to another city or country, when they emigrated or when the family elders passed away and no relative survived the deceased, their home movies and amateur reels generally lose their importance and value. What these moving images are and how to access them is unknown or forgotten, so they are just discarded.

We can align the widespread use of 8 mm amateur movies to the years between two military coups, in 1960 and 1980. In the 1960s, the 8 mm film was an instrument used by the higher bureaucratic elite, the military or "Kemalist"[2] families to record their daily lives, military ceremonies, reading festivals at primary schools, the growth of their children, New Year's celebrations, weddings, birthdays, holidays and travels. Once Super 8 film became more widely accessible in the 1970s, it turned into an activist instrument to capture the political acts carried out over the decade.

These filmmakers were amateurs. We can trace the roots of the term "amateur" back to nineteenth-century capitalism. When entrepreneurial capitalism gradually evolved into corporate capitalism, the term "professional" was used to define the characteristics of those engaged in creative and intellectual work as well as company managers. As the institutional corporate bureaucracies swallowed creators, artists and other entrepreneurs, the standardised professional who had become part of the operational chain replaced the artisan model of the independent worker.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE AMATEUR FILMMAKER

The professional was expected to be loyal to the institution for which they worked, rather than to themselves, having easy-to-acquire skills, and assuming a substitutable role. On the other hand, the concept of the amateur turned into an antidote and cog of the bureaucratic wheel when the professional lost steam. The word "amateur" comes from the Latin root *amare* (to love), which means to love constantly. Barthes identifies this amateur as having such a persistent act of loving that they are the "counter-bourgeois artist"[3] who creates without aiming at superiority or competition, and who refuses the position of creator, so as not to be the hero of performance and creation, who elegantly displays without expecting something in return, and lives directly in music, painting and art. In the nineteenth century, all kinds of amateurism – riding bikes, painting, acting – with the passion, autonomy, creativity and imagination which were thrown out of the workplace by corporate capitalism reappeared in the private space, at home, within the family's private limited space. Professionalism was associated with rationalised work, the public sphere and commercial relations, and amateurism, on the other hand, with leisure time, the private sphere and hobbies. Corporate capital banished the ragged surplus of bourgeois individualism towards amateurism. The technological specialisation of film resulted in a difference between professional film and amateur film that maintained social demarcation. According to Habermas, "the professional expertise founded on formal (i.e. scientific and technological) knowledge legitimises a power relationship of professionals over the public."[4]

The emergence of technologies produced for amateurs shows a parallelism with the emergence of cinema at the end of the century. From 1895 to 1923 various formats and technologies that were introduced by filmmakers were competing but none of them influenced the market. Though few versions of the amateur film succeeded, 35 mm films made by professionals about the chronological family life of presidents, kings, tsars and senior corporate executives were almost the first home movies. Soon after the Soviet revolution, Esfir Shub made the first revolutionary found footage film, titled *Padenie dinastii Romanovykh/Fall of the Romanov Dynasty* (1927), with footage from the archive of the Romanov family. Subsequently, the 9.5 mm, 16 mm, 8 mm and Super 8 mm film formats came out successively after the 1920s.

About the 8 mm format film which had opened more affordable ways of image production alternatives than in the past, Jean-Luc Godard is believed to have said that "capitalism had to invent amateur cinema for making more money because the professional films were no longer profitable enough." To the horror of capitalism, which initially fancied the idea of marketing toy cam-

eras, the production of even smaller cameras might enable the factory worker to shoot secretly on the production line. Therefore, amateur black-and-white film production was banned, and colour Super 8 mm film was introduced. Black-and-white film was more sensitive to light, giving much better results indoors (such as in a dark factory). Thus, Super 8 mm film having a lower light sensitivity was released for amateur Super 8 mm home movies that captured seashores, beaches, vacations, gardens, sunny weather, etc.

I started collecting archival materials about fifteen years ago, and today the collection includes 10,000 reels of 8 mm film. When I started collecting films in Ankara, I realised that there are different ways of collecting 8 mm home movies. Before the municipal garbage trucks start collecting the city's waste in order to bring it to the dump, paper collectors, scrap dealers and fur-niture scavengers (*dolapçılar*) have already searched the garbage and shared the finds amongst themselves. Paper collectors are Kurds who were forced to migrate from their villages in eastern Turkey in the 1990s; scrap dealers are peasants coming from the landless underclass living in the peripheries of the city, and *dolapçılar* are the ones who collect all the dumped furniture in the streets. These three groups work harmoniously, and nobody seems to be greedy for the others' share. Old 8 mm films are found in envelopes in the gar-bage or stuffed inside the drawers of dumped furniture. On weekends paper collectors take the found films to the market for sale or sell them along with books to second-hand booksellers (*sahaf*). Scrap dealers take the films to the market in the old Jewish Quarter. Furniture scavengers, on the other hand, sell them along with used furniture to antique dealers, who sell these films in the antique market held once a month in the city centre. In addition to all that, there are *evci*s who are in charge of opening up a deceased person's home to buyers and managing the sale of the contents. One can find home movies amongst the deceased's belongings.

Film collection is a totally performative work; suddenly one can find him-self digging through garbage in the streets. As the films are handed over, and the intermediaries change, the price increases. This is why it is best to find the films directly in the garbage – because an archivist, a collector or a hoarder rarely has any money. Rather, they develop personal relationships with the paper collectors, scrap dealers and furniture scavengers who inform them about the films when they are found. Film collectors buy the films on credit and pay whenever they have money. The film collectors compile a list of the districts where the furniture scavengers comb through the garbage and the depots they work with. They note their telephone numbers and draw up maps that follow their routes and prepare calendars to track their schedules. They even travel to other cities and visit the local antique markets.

One reel contains 3 to 3.5 minutes of an unedited moving image, some of

which were kept in reels of 12, 16, 24, and 30 minutes, as all were edited sequentially. In rare instances a small portion of a film has been edited (with modest editing tools), but most of them are unaltered, chronologically ordered, fragmentary films composed of a system of moving images with no ending yet evoking a sense of beginning. The experience of watching home movies is different from watching other films. The most important difference is that home movies have participants rather than audiences. The vast majority are silent, ambiguous and vague. For example, the audience (rather the participant) of the film tries to understand what the person is saying in the film by reading the lips of the speaker. They are not produced by the division of labour as in the case of a professional film, but made by a family elder, usually the father, except when family members take over the camera to shoot each other. In the production process of home movies, family members make the film by handing the camera around, and they participate in finding consistency in the images, making sense of the images while watching the movies. Each member of the family thus recreates the past. Unlike the ordinary act of watching a film, being exposed to an 8 mm family film means being involved in this "performance." The story of an individual should be parallel to the collective story. This is what Boris Eikhenbaum calls "interior language": "The process of interior discourse resides in the mind of the spectator."[5] This interior language can be understood without referring to a context. The reference in a home movie is available in the subject's experience. Dates, cases, places and people are defined, wider contexts are created, some stories are revealed, some stories are covered. A type of image which is not represented is reproduced by the family members. The 8 mm home movies blur the borders between the subject and the object by mapping the private space of the family from the perspectives of participants. Such an idealised family image is at the same time a melodramatic image.

It is safe to repeat what thinkers like Susan Sontag and Pierre Bourdieu said about amateur 8 mm home movies: 8 mm film was a kind of social ritual. The most popular 8 mm filming act was to record the family members' accomplishments, commemorating them. Between 1950 and 1980, 8 mm film was an inseparable part of rituals like weddings and circumcision ceremonies. Although we distinguish some 8 mm filming rituals like keeping records of children growing, creating a family album and witnessing the loyalty of family members, it does not matter what is being recorded as long as it is kept as a souvenir. As Sontag observed:

> Photography becomes a rite of family life just when, in the industrialising countries of Europe and America, the very institution of the family starts undergoing radical surgery. As that claustrophobic unit, the nuclear family, was being carved out of a much larger family aggregate, photography

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came along to memorialise, to restate symbolically, the imperilled continuity and vanishing extendedness of family life. Those ghostly traces, photographs, supply the token presence of the dispersed relatives. A family's photograph album is generally about the extended family – and, often, is all that remains of it.[6]

For photography read Super 8 mm. Everyone who lives in an industrialised society is forced to disconnect from the past. Visualisation and commemoration practices oppose its happening. Films, these imaginary footprints, are the signs of the symbolic markers of family members who had fallen apart and broken off from others and they are the last of the big family. An unreal past and a place in which they can feel safe are constructed in the film through these visualisation practices. One of the reasons that the use of 8 mm film became widespread after the 1950s is that it developed in parallel with tourism as a modern activity. Especially practices of imaging of travelling and tourism, recording the witnessing of places visited and travelling as a strategy of collecting films are very common. Such imaging practices emphasised by Sontag are the clear documents of consumption which is made apart from the viewing of family, friends, partners and neighbours. Shooting a film as a confirmation of the experience, making the image into an experience and even reducing the experience to a souvenir is in fact to reject the experience.

Pierre Bourdieu says for family photography that "nothing *may* be photographed apart from that which *must* be photographed."[7] Likewise, home movies always idealise the family. The shocking, infamous, painful aspects such as sickness and family poverty are never shown. A trace of a kind of image that is always concealed is felt. When we look at a family movie in Turkey, we notice how a series of clichés like reading festivals, holidays, vacations, indoors, growth of a child, fests, first days at school, New Year's celebrations, and weddings repeat. As Bourdieu puts it, in these socially approved photographs "[t]he convergence of looks and the arrangement of individuals objectively testifies to the cohesion of the group," therefore "all […] prefer a pose which is natural but dignified, and photographs in which people stand upright, motionless and dignified are preferred to photographs 'taken from life.'"[8]

AN ARCHIVE FROM DISCARDED MOVIES

Discarded 8 mm films are generally found in protective envelopes; the name of the family, address, date and the name of the studio that developed the film are written on the outside. The price of Kodak Super 8 reversal films included the development process. Since Kodak had no laboratories in Turkey, amateur

filmmakers mailed their films to Vienna, the nearest branch laboratory, in an envelope that Kodak provided. Notes indicating the place the filming took place, the date it occurred or the names of the people in the film were written on the big, sequentially reeled, compiled and edited films. Waste collectors and junk dealers typically discarded the envelopes and sold only the films. By doing so they made the films found in the garbage unidentifiable. I tried to change this practice by telling the finders that the films with writing on their envelopes were more valuable than the films alone.

When buying films I always carried a loop in my pocket so that I could take a closer look at it. Cells of 8 mm films are too small to be seen with the naked eye, so if you buy a reel without checking it with a loop first you are more likely to wind up with a cartoon or an erotic film than a home movie. I had equipment to scan and restore films for years. When home movies came with identifying information I made a digital copy of the film and visited the address on the envelope to give the copy to the family, at least so the filmmakers' children would be able to have it. I tried to persuade them to watch those films and engage in conversation while watching. In this way, these silent images could rejoin their sounds.

When 8 mm films are not kept in the right temperature and climate conditions, their surfaces can be damaged or scratched when they are run through a projector. Films kept in airtight metal containers are subject to damage from moisture, mould, deteriorating boxes, insects and bacteria. Mostly I did not try to repair any damage to films I collected. I kept the traces of damage since I think this is a part of the film's story. There are differences in these traces among the films found in Istanbul and Ankara in terms of the conditions that they were kept in. The dry air in Ankara protects the films better but it makes them more friable, whereas the damp air in Istanbul may give rise to a layer of bacteria on the films. That is to say, by observing the type of damage the film has suffered it is possible to get some information about the film, such as the name of a city in which it was kept, the frequency it was viewed or which type of projector was used to run it.

ARCHIVES AND ARTISTIC PRACTICES: FOUND FOOTAGE FILM

The archive of home movies and amateur films is a visionary-imaginary archive that is always missing, fragmental, wide and endless. The idea of archiving 8 mm family films is not new, in fact; it is a follow-up of the works attempted with a great devotion by creative artists, such as Richard Fung in Canada, Lise Yasui and Rick Prelinger in the United States, Péter Forgács in Hungary, Gustav Deutsch in Austria, Daniel Reeves in Scotland, Yervant Gianikian and

Angela Ricci Lucchi in Italy and Ayisha Abraham in India. All these archive artists and activists aim in a way to open the archives and make them visible by making new films, creating installations or generating database narratives from the films they collected.

For example, by avoiding information or imposing a specific perspective, Forgács puts the 8 mm films that he collected through associational and poetic editing by using interventions to the colour of the image, frozen frames on looks and objects, slow motion, texts, the soundtrack of a found diary which is dubbed and added to the films. In *Free Fall* (1996, he tells the tragedy that happened to the European Jewish people from amateur films shot in the 1930s and 1940s by György Petö, who was a Jewish businessman, musician and photographer. In *The Danube Exodus* (1998), he focuses on the Jews who fled to Palestine through the river Danube and on the stories of the Germans who were sent by the Russians from today's Moldavia to Germany but later settled in Poland during the Second World War. Rather than showing the war, the images reflect the imperviousness of ordinary life to the terrors of the war. Siegfried Kracauer agrees with Paul Rotha that Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922) is a "slight narrative" which "comes out of the life of a people, not from the actions of individuals."[9] What Kracauer suggests for *Nanook of the North* is not only true for Forgács' films but also for amateur films and home movies: their stories come out of that which is casual, ordinary, mediocre, infra-ordinary – in other words, people's lives. These found films are mostly made by subtracted editing of a mass of film data. Forgács afterwards made an interactive database film which is composed of various interviews, written texts, life stories of the people taking part in the films, and the audience chooses the story, theme and the order of the scenes as she/he likes it. So he saved the found film from the linear structure of the documentary and approximated it to an open and plural structure of the archive. As Bill Nichols said about Forgács' films, looking from today, under the dreaming shadow of the war with the images of daily life in the film is in front of us, we know what happened to a Jewish family better than they did.[10] The inequality of knowledge that Forgács created causes tension expanding throughout the whole film. The life of György Petö is destined to decay and fly to pieces. We realise that we cannot change what will happen. Forgács' films provide a kind of encounter and leave us to judge and to try to understand the changes rather than organise the causal relations. In one of his articles, Forgács mentioned the syntactic and semantic difference between the written recording in a diary and 8 mm film. The diary is under the conscious control of syntactical and semantical rules of written language whereas amateur film contains everything that starts by pushing a button, things which are not structured within the formulas of film language and photographic skills in an on-camera objective. This immediate recording

brings home movies to a psychological autobiography, and an unconscious recording of daily events, including filmic mistakes and Freudian slips.

Rick Prelinger attempted to produce archive films and found films by transforming an archive composed of 60,000 films – as he defined it, canonical, daily, personal, institutional, hegemonic and oppositional – into an open data source on the internet. He calls this "Archives of Inconvenience" containing educational, commercial, propaganda and amateur home movies made in the United States that he collected from auctions, garbage dumps and junk yards. *No More Road Trips?* (2013), which he made from 9,000 home movies, follows the journeys made in the United States from the Atlantic coast to California and shows us how the road is visualised through these films based on the records of amateur cameras. *Panorama Ephemera*, which he made in 2004, explores how the idea of American geography and landscape is generated through images presented in sixty-four industrial, educational, commercial and amateur films. He makes city symphonies for places such as New York, San Francisco and Detroit, using amateur 8 mm home movies shot in those cities. Utilising these amateur films, he actually produced a catalogue of images, gestures and imaging practices. According to Prelinger, "the history of the found-footage movement […] that treats artwork in parallel and intersection with commercial and television production is long overdue."[11] The archivists became artists rather than artists becoming archivists. From the city symphonies by Prelinger we realise how the 8 mm shot in different cities and the imaging practices of these films differ. For example, while Istanbul is a more outward-looking city where people produce images outdoors, 8 mm home movies shot in Ankara have recorded more interiors and indoor scenes.

FAMILIES UNITING BEFORE THE CAMERA: THE HOME MOVIE AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS

Roger Rodin's list of narrative attributes in family home movies can be summarised as follows: 1) open ending: the family film has neither a beginning nor an ending; 2) the family film does not tell a story but shows action; these films lack conflict, resolution and character transformation; 3) ambiguity in temporality; they have a linear temporality with jump cuts, but no flashbacks or alternating scenes; 4) inconsistencies in spatial articulation; a spatial image is produced to state "We were here!"; 5) animated photography; it is observed that the habit of posing in front of a photo camera persists; 6) looking at the camera; 7) discontinuities in point of view, shot types, narration; 8) noise in perception; jerky camera, problems of focus, objects getting in the way of the camera and the family members.[12] Making a film is not the primary aim for

home movies – rather, it mostly seems that the aim is to play with the filming devices. Generally, the family members gather before the camera on an occasion. Posing habits passed down from the tradition of photography, for example, stopping and posing still in portrait photography continues in 8 mm film for a while. Looking at the camera together is the proof of family unity. The one behind the camera is usually the father. While filming a home movie doesn't always have such dramatic consequences, filming subjects are always risky, especially the parent may have difficulty in controlling the children.

The parents are unaware of the psychic consequences of a seemingly harmless act. Can this be the reason why the children throw such films away when their parents have passed away? It's not surprising that Odin calls the 8 mm family films an "Oedipal fest." Sometimes, the father can even force the family to enact his small scenarios while he is aligning them through the camera. Watching these movies is a ritual. Sometimes collective remembering makes each family member reconstruct the past by pausing the movie. Most of the narratives are boring for others outside of the family because the audience outside the family cannot establish the framework of these discrete images. This led experimental filmmakers such as Jonas Mekas, Ken Jacobs, Peter Tscherkassky and Johannes Hammel to get caught up in the disconnected image regime and try to reproduce it. Moving frame, overexposure or underexposure, sliding focus, jump cuts, using a hand-held camera, sudden leaps in time and space, inconsistent characters, absence of character development, unconventional camera views, the autobiographical or minimal narrative line which are the typical of the home movie were all imitated in experimental film starting in the American underground cinema of the 1960s. Ken Jacobs, for example, focused on the vanishing Yiddish language and an assimilated and dispersed Jewish family while rearranging and editing 16 mm home movies shot by a petit bourgeois Jewish family which consisted of his relatives living in Brooklyn in 1930–1940, leading viewers to re-read a historical contextual film as a Holocaust allegory. In *Paradise Not Yet Lost, or Oona's Third Year* (1980), by capturing his wife, close friends and the birthday of her daughter, Jonas Mekas repeated the style of home movies formed of jump cuts, non-continuous, varying exposures and focuses, leaps in time and space, and in which emotional participation almost extinguishes because of lacking contextual information and connection between the events and the characters that are depicted. As he declared in the manifesto that he wrote in 1996 for the hundredth anniversary of cinema:

> I want to celebrate the small forms of cinema: the lyrical form, the poem, the watercolour, etude, sketch, portrait, arabesque, and bagatelle, and little 8 mm songs. In the times when everybody wants to succeed and sell,

I want to celebrate those who embrace social and daily failure to pursue the invisible, the personal things that bring no money and no bread and make no contemporary history, art history or any other history. I am for art which we do for each other, as friends.[13]

Today when everyone desires to make a sale, real cinema can only be made by those who do not write art history or any other history, those who are chasing personal things, embracing the casual, the invisible, and the current that doesn't bring money and bread, in small forms of cinema: the lyrical form, the poem, the watercolour, etude, sketch, portrait, arabesque and bagatelle, and little 8 mm songs by using 8 mm and Super 8 mm cameras.

In Turkey the 8 mm films that are dumped in the garbage and rescued for resale by paper collectors, scrap dealers and furniture scavengers are not just family-created home movies. In these films we meet by chance hidden and protected visual records which we can examine as if they were the field notes of an architect, an archaeologist, a botanist or an ethnologist or even 8 mm records made by an extra standing in the working space behind the main camera on a Yeşilçam[14] film set. You even come across 8 mm distribution copies of political films made in 16 mm (even though most were seized by September 12th martial law courts or smuggled abroad) showing strikes, May Day events, resisting miners, funerals, festivities, congresses. Sometimes they are Super 8 mm militant films showing slum actions, women working in a textile factory, unedited recordings of the strikes that a female film collective from a labour-intensive union continued in factories throughout 1976. Some of the films that surprisingly surfaced amongst the 8 mm home movies were presented in exhibitions or video installations for found footage films, such as "Militant Cinema," "Cevat Kurtuluş: Filmograms 1–12,"[15] "Women's Films," "State Lesson," "Paratext" and "Second Home." Some thinkers, such as Uğur Tanyeli,[16] argue that the connection with visual techniques is limited for the people of Turkey because of religious restrictions and that they fear visualisation devices, especially cameras. However, the view that the Turkish visual context consists of illustrations explaining a text does not seem to be true – at least for 8 mm film practices that were widespread after the 1960s. We can say though that there is no archive practice or a research field of home-based visuality productions which collects the images of ordinary, banality, the infra-ordinary in Turkey.

The idea of using home movies as a research subject is still pretty new. Marc Ferro[17] of the Annales school wrote that the idea of examining films as documents and thus heading towards some kind of counter-analysis of society, to invert the relations between writing and image, was met with resistance. The films could give way to a counter-history which is in a way freed from

the written archives which are nothing but a memory of the state. With the proliferation of 8 mm films, society could cease to be the object of analysis and become the actor of social consciousness by refusing to play the objectified good savage in front of the colonialist cameraman. The Indian subaltern researchers and historians have dealt with these films a little, looking for a trace of what was lost or suppressed there. The 8 mm film opened up a more expansive area of use and of research perspectives than previously thought within the field of so-called cultural studies. In the everyday, the images of race, class and gender abstractions stood before our eyes. In the academy film archive in Los Angeles, Lynne Kirste attempted to examine the 8 mm film archive of Negro baseball league teams from the 1960s which was found in the garbage as an example of racism in American sports. By working on an extensive archive of 8 mm films of Japanese Americans from the 1920s and 1930s preserved at the National Museum of Japan, Karen L. Ishizuka revealed many misunderstood facts about Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II and found out how some ethnic communities in California documented their conflict with each other and the details of everyday life. Starting from the 1960s, the idea of "history from below" versus "big history" reflected by historians such as E. P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm, Eric Foner, Natalie Zemon Davis and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie prompted an awareness of what came from the garbage, what came from below, stored as souvenirs in homes. How is it possible to save the non-commercial, non-professional 8 mm family movie from being a nostalgic memory of the past or from being a trivial by-product of consumer technology? How can this 8 mm archive be transformed into an open production space without reifying the past, without turning it into a consumer object ready for the use of the show industry, the arts or memory tourism? These questions stand before us as we look at these audiovisual dispositives.

FILMOGRAPHY

The Danube Exodus (Péter Forgács, 1998)
Free Fall (Péter Forgács, 1996)
Nanook of the North (Robert Flaherty, 1922)
No More Road Trips? (Rick Prelinger, 2013)
Padenie dinastii Romanovykh/Fall of the Romanov Dynasty (Esfir Shub, 1927)
Panorama Ephemera (Rick Prelinger, 2004)
Paradise Not Yet Lost, or Oona's Third Year (Jonas Mekas, 1980)

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

EGE BERENSEL is a media artist and visual researcher based in Ankara. He is a member of the Timescapes group with Angela Melitopoulos and Maurizio Lazzarato and the founder of the Anarhive Archive collective and the 8 mm Turkish Family Film Archive. He edited the "Cinema," "Anarchism" and "Deleuze Lectures" series with Ulus Baker. He was awarded "Panoptikon" and "Mü/hür" at film festivals nationally and internationally. His video installation "here (t) here" was exhibited at the B Zone at the KW Berlin in 2005, and then at the Fundació Antoni Tapies in Barcelona in 2007. The "Hill Doesn't Chant Anymore" was exhibited in the 10th International Istanbul Biennial. In 2015 his multi-screen video installation "Dinamo Mesken" was exhibited in SALT Ulus. In 2018 his two video installations "State Lesson" and "Militant Cinema" were exhibited in MSUV, Novi Sad. In 2019, "Women's Films" and "Strike and Wedding" were exhibited at "When the Present Is History" in Depo İstanbul. In 2020, his twelve-screen video installation "Cevat Kurtuluş" was exhibited in AVTO, Istanbul. His found video *1963* was exhibited at "Summer Homes: Claiming The Coast" in Salt Beyoğlu in 2014 and his visual research project "Imagery School" was exhibited at the Idealist School, Productive Studio, in Salt Galata in 2018. In 2018 he participated in the 4th Istanbul Design Biennial as a tutor at the workshop of the Lab of Labs.

NOTES

1   Georges Perec, "Approaches to What," in *Species of Spaces and Other Pieces*, edited and translated by J. Sturrock (London: Penguin, 1999), 209–10.

2   By "Kemalist" I refer to a certain ideology stressing the adoption of the modernist and laicist principles of Atatürk.

3   Roland Barthes, *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*, translated by Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 52.

4   Jürgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests*. translated by J. J. Shapiro (Boston: Beacon, 1971), 107.

5   Boris Eikhenbaum, "Problemes de cine-stylistique," *Cahiers du cinéma* (May–June 1970), 220–221. Cited in Roger Odin, "Reflections on the Family Home Movie as Document: A Semio-Pragmatic Approach," in *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories*, edited by Karen L. Ishizuka and Patricia Rodden Zimmermann (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 260. Editors' note: The term "interior dialogue" has been translated also as "inner speech" which might give a clearer sense. See, for example, Ronald Levaco, "*Eikhenbaum*, *Inner Speech* and Film Stylistics," *Screen* 4 (Winter 1974–1975), 47–58.

6   Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Rosetta Books, 2005), 6.

7   Pierre Bourdieu et al., *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, translated by Shaun Whiteside (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 24.

8   Ibid., 81.

9   Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 247.

10   Bill Nichols, "Introduction," in *Cinema's Alchemist: The Films of Péter Forgács*, edited by Bill Nichols and Michael Renov (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xi.

11   Rick Prelinger, "We Have Always Recycled," *Sight & Sound* (August 2015), https://www2.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/sight-sound-magazine/features/rick-prelinger-we-have-always-recycled.

12   Roger Odin, "Le film de famille dans l'institution familiale," in *Le film de famille. Usage privé, usage public*, edited by Roger Odin (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1995), 28–31. My translation from the French.

13   Jonas Mekas, "Anti-100 Years of Cinema Manifesto" (1996), http://www.incite-online.net/jonasmekas.html.

14   Editors' note: Yeşilçam was the popular cinema of Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s.

15   Editors' note: Cevat Kurtuluş (1922–1992) was a popular comedian in Turkish films whose amateur 8 mm films that he shot were discovered by the author in the trash in the early 2000s.

16 Uğur Tanyeli, *Türkiye'nin Görsellik Tarihine Giriş* (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınevi, 2009), 16.

17 Marc Ferro, *Cinema and History* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1988), 15.

Interview with Gustav Deutsch: "Categorisation Limits"

CLAUDY OP DEN KAMP

ABSTRACT

This chapter is a transcript of an interview with the late Austrian filmmaker Gustav Deutsch, conducted in 2010, about the reuse of other people's footage, a practice that was at the heart of his work. Collaborating with international film archives meant being subjected to a variety of regulations and policies, and Deutsch reflects on the legal aspects of his work, citing many examples of his experiences in institutions around the world. On the dividing line between analogue and digital workflows, he also muses on the arguably most crucial aspect of his way of working in cultural heritage institutions worldwide.

KEYWORDS
archive, cultural heritage, found footage, copyright, visual memory

In loving memory of Gustav Deutsch (1952–2019)

Originally trained as an architect, Austrian filmmaker Gustav Deutsch could be called a "filmmaker without a camera." He certainly made films that did involve the use of a camera, but he garnered worldwide acclaim with his films that started on the editing table, where he created new stories from extant film material. Highlights, all realised with his partner Hanna Schimek, include *Welt Spiegel Kino* (2005), the *Film ist.* series (thirteen instalments, 1998–2009), and *How We Live – Messages to the Family* (2017). For more information, please see W. Brainin-Donnenberg and M. Loebenstein, eds., *Gustav Deutsch* (Vienna: Austrian Film Museum, 2009) or visit the Gustav Deutsch homepage (https://www.gustavdeutsch.net/).

Sustainability, preservation and reuse were ever on the filmmaker's mind: in the weeks before his passing, Gustav Deutsch donated most of his work – films, film-related documentation and parts of his library – to the Austrian Filmmuseum (https://www.filmmuseum.at/).

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Initially, I had planned to write a chapter for this publication in line with my presentation at the "Forgetting the Archive" event in Istanbul in November 2018. But due to the unexpected passing of Gustav Deutsch and through contemplation of this volume's title – *Exploring Past Images in a Digital Age: Reinventing the Archive* – I found myself revisiting an interview I'd conducted with Gustav at the beginning of my PhD research in 2010. This conversation, in which I asked him about the legal aspects of and the more general issues surrounding restrictions to the use of other people's footage, would not only become the source of much of my own research. Re-engaging with this interview, I realised how well it reflected this book's title.

What follows is a transcript of that interview, extending over two long sessions – one in Gorizia, Italy, during the MAGIS Spring School in March 2010, and the other in New York City, USA, during the Orphan Film Symposium in April that same year. It is edited for concision and legibility.

Thank you, Gustav, for having generously shared your time and your unique insights, and for the inspiration you have given.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

ACCESS TO ARCHIVES

Op den Kamp: You've worked with many different international archives. What are some of the immediate differences in terms of access?

Deutsch: No one archive is like another; they are all very different and have their own rules and regulations and policies. If I've learnt anything from my education as an architect, it is how to deal with a lot of different sorts of people – from landlords and landladies to the workers mixing the concrete.

If I can't communicate with the person bringing me the films from the vaults and putting them on the editing table, then the experience of the film will not be the same as those times when I have good personal contact.

For a filmmaker like me, access to archives is only possible via personal contact. In order to make myself understandable, I have to find collaborators in the archives who are willing to try to find what I'm looking for. I can only work with the visual knowledge these collaborators have of their collections.

I cannot work with any standardised cataloguing categories – genre, title, year, name of the director, other keywords. What I am looking for is something very special. And only if somebody remembers that in a 90-minute film, there might be that 5-second sequence that I'm looking for – only then can I find it.

This kind of personal dialogue is very important for my work. I am horrified by the digitised future. Archives will tell me that I will be able to have access from home. To me this is a horrible scenario that would mean the end of the way I research. I wouldn't get to travel, I wouldn't get to meet interesting people, I wouldn't be able to speak to the person who selected the material for me, I wouldn't get to hold the film, and I wouldn't get to put it on an editing bench anymore. I need to be able to stop at an image and go backwards, image by image.

PERSONAL CONTACT

Personal contact is the starting point of my research. I want to work with people who are my collaborators, and I don't want them to be virtual collaborators.

I think we are at a crucial point. Most of the time, I work with films outside the canon, with orphaned film material.[1] I think I might face problems in the future if I won't get to go directly to an archive and retrieve films out of the vaults. I might face problems getting access.

Op den Kamp: You're afraid that the titles you're interested in might not get digitised?

Deutsch: Yes. For example, for the first part of *Film ist* (1998), I worked

mainly with a collection of scientific educational films, held by a public institution in Austria with a very good catalogue, with different categories such as physics, physiology, medicine and chemistry, and detailed descriptions of the films. The archivist there was also very knowledgeable.

At some point, they needed additional funding to maintain the collection. But the support fell through, and so the films were all distributed among the universities and other institutions that the individual films had come from. So more or less the only thing left from that collection is my image library, the selections from these films I taped on video.

The material was not seen as worth being kept, I guess according to the reasoning, Who needs 16 mm educational films anymore if you can Google the content? Not many people seem to talk about the artistic qualities of these films.

Op den Kamp: So found footage filmmaking serves as a means of film preservation?

Deutsch: Yes, I see it this way. I select material normally not seen as interesting. I change the context and I change the meaning, but it's the image that survives.

Film is a knowledge-creating medium. I'm not speaking about the scientific commentary of an educational film: I'm speaking of the knowledge embedded in the image.

For *Welt Spiegel Kino* (2005), for instance, I selected material from home movies made in the Dutch East Indies. I had about 25 characters selected, and in the end, I used maybe twelve to fifteen. The others went back to the vaults, which made for hard decisions. After you work with the material for a while, you know people so well from the images, but then you have to decide that "no, this person will not be part of the film." And they go back into the vaults for another hundred years.

B-MOVIES

Op den Kamp: How do you communicate to an archive what kind of material you're interested in?

Deutsch: If somebody says "What you're looking for is in *Metropolis*, or in *Gone with the Wind*," then I say, "There must be a B-movie somewhere that has it as well!" I am not interested in famous films.

First of all, they are titles I cannot afford. But mostly they are too well known. Everybody would see a sequence and immediately imagine the rest of the film, so it would be difficult to create new meanings with them.

Sometimes I *do* use famous clips, though, perhaps as a quotation. So, for instance, with *Film ist. a girl & a gun* (2009), the film starts and ends with

quotations. At the beginning you see Annie Oakley shooting, a sequence shot at Edison's Black Maria – it might not be recognisable for everyone, but it's a well-known film – and Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) is at the end. I could not put these clips between the other sequences. It would have caused a reaction like "Aah, that's *The Great Train Robbery*!" and the film would no longer be *my* film.

I also used one sequence that nearly everybody recognises, but again, that was done on purpose. It's the scene from *La Habañera* [Douglas Sirk, 1937] in which Zarah Leander is singing. At this point, sound comes into the film, the first time I used an original soundtrack in one of my films. I wanted to do that with a sequence that everybody knows. But normally, I prefer to use, and definitely ask for, other kinds of films. Those images are just not as pre-charged.

ARCHIVAL SPECIALISATIONS

Op den Kamp: Do you select the specific archive you're working in based on the kind of material that you're looking for?

Deutsch: Every archive has its specialisations, so, for example, I knew that for the episode in *Film ist. (7–12)* (2002) about emotions and passions, in which gesture is meaningful, I wanted to have the early divas. The archive in Bologna has the biggest collection of these films, so I knew that for *Film ist.*, [for the part about] emotions and passions, I had to go to Italy.

And I knew that for *Film ist. a girl & a gun*, for the *Thanatos* part – the desire for death and war – I had to find an archive with footage of the First World War, so I contacted the Imperial War Museum in London. And for the stag films, I knew I had to go to America, to work with the Kinsey collection. So yes, I definitely choose the archives because of their special collections.

Op den Kamp: Once you are at the archive, do you only get to see already preserved material?

Deutsch: In Vienna and in Amsterdam, I have also viewed nitrate. In those cases, we either used the nitrate directly or the archive took the opportunity to preserve the film. In one case, at the Danish Film Institute, we found a Danish Sherlock Holmes film, *Die Schwarze Kappe* [William Augustine, 1911], which was shown in the Kinematograph Theater in Vienna-Erdberg, which I used for *Welt Spiegel Kino*, for the Viennese chapter. There were only 8 minutes left on nitrate. So we made an agreement that we would pay for the transfer to safety film, and the archive would pay for the negative. This way the archive got something and we got the print.

Op den Kamp: How do you discover things that fall outside the visual knowledge of the archive staff?

Deutsch: I think that the compositions of collections are really up to very personal interests of the archivists and the directors. The Bits & Pieces collection of the Nederlands Filmmuseum, for instance: if it hadn't been for the directors these pieces would still be in the vaults, in different cans, and would not have come together as a sort of collection.

And what an unbelievable source that collection is. If you have to view a 90-minute film just to see a 3-minute fragment, the process would take forever. For *Film ist. (7–12)*, this kind of variety was ideal.

I think a lot about that sort of responsibility. What will be taken out of the vaults? What will see the light again and get digitised? And what will lie there forever and decay?

RESTRICTIONS

Op den Kamp: Has it ever been difficult to obtain footage? Has access ever been denied, for whatever reason?

Deutsch: Yes. There have been political reasons, for instance. For the dialogue sequence in the *Symposium* part of *Film ist. a girl & a gun*, I used a woman and a man talking to each other in a laboratory. It's a banal kind of dialogue, about marriage and kids. The woman is the more open-minded one, saying, "Yes, kids yes, but why marry?"

The setting is a work situation, and you clearly see the hierarchy: he is the boss, looking through a microscope, and she is just taking notes on what he says. But in fact she is the clever one, and that was very important to me for the *Symposium* dialogue, in terms of the man and the woman talking about kids and love and marriage. And I definitely wanted to use it.

The dialogue is from a "forbidden" German film, *Ich Klage An* [Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1941]. It is one of the most horrible propaganda films. It is a film about euthanasia and was used to convince people that there was such a thing as lives that are not worth living. And that the authorities should be given the power to decide to kill certain people. I found the sequence at the Nederlands Filmmuseum.

Op den Kamp: How was the film "forbidden" or restricted?

Deutsch: I was told that I could view it, but if I wanted to use it, I would have to get permission from the German foreign minister. So I wrote to him, requesting permission to use the sequence and explaining why and in what context I was going to use it. I wasn't sure whether I would succeed. It easily could have been no.

Op den Kamp: What do you think made them say yes?

Deutsch: I wrote them a long explanation about the context in which I

wanted to use it. I wrote down the exact words of the dialogue and explained what would come before and afterwards. I also had a reference letter from the Nederlands Filmmuseum. Which all helped. Ultimately I was told that it was clear that I wasn't going to use the material in a way that would be "politically incorrect."

RIGHTS HOLDERS

Op den Kamp: This was obviously a key scene for you and you put in the effort to make it happen. But certainly, that isn't always possible?

Deutsch: No, indeed. For one sequence, for *Film ist. (1–6)* (1998), I didn't succeed. Again, it was a very funny and challenging situation. In *Film ist. a blink of an eye*, there is a sequence – taken from another film – in which you see an effect of the eye, a physical effect of watching landscapes from a moving train or a car. Your pupil moves very rapidly back and forth in what's called [horizontal] optokinetic nystagmus. There are scientific films about this phenomenon. There was this wonderful footage, which I found at the Institute for Scientific Film in Göttingen, Germany, in which you see a rotating cylinder with black-and-white stripes, which acts like a train driving by, and then you see the movement of the eye in close-up.

They said I had to get in touch with the rights holder, a retired 80-year-old professor who had made the film. So I sent him a letter, and he immediately responded by stating, "I made my film for doctors, and only doctors can understand what this film is about. And you, with this concept, you will show it in festivals, and you will show it to people who have no idea what it is all about." I think we communicated back and forth in something like four or five letters.

Op den Kamp: So what happened?

Deutsch: At some point I had to give up. Luckily enough, I found another film. The image there was not as good as the one from the other film, but well, these situations are a challenge. I'll never use a sequence if people don't want me to, whether an actor, a producer, or a director.

If they own the rights and prevent me from using the material, I can't use it. I don't want to steal it. Sometimes material is also very well-known and I know that it might be dangerous to use it because of rights issues, so then I won't use it. In general, I would say that regulations like those governing the spheres of literature or music [collective management organisations; legal deposit regulations] would also be good for film.

DANGER TO THE ARTWORK

Op den Kamp: What did you mean by "dangerous"?

Deutsch: I mean "dangerous" in different ways. First of all, there is the danger to my film as an artwork. My artwork is in danger if somebody says, "You are using footage of this film" – naming it – "and you have completely misunderstood this film." This means that they aren't seeing *my* film but the source footage. That's a danger to my artwork.

It's as if you'd see a collage by Kurt Schwitters and say, "Aah, this piece of photograph is a photograph by so and so." Then Schwitters has failed, because he hasn't made you see *his* image, *his* picture. I can succeed only if I create such a strong new context and meaning with my pictures that people say "it's *a girl & a gun*, and not Edwin Porter's *The Great Train Robbery*."

But there is also the danger in terms of rights clearance. If I use footage that is known, like *Siegfried* [Fritz Lang, 1924], and if I don't care about the rights, I would never be able to use it as such. I would, of course, be able to get hold of a print to use, to "steal" it somehow, but then if someone would come after me and ask me where I got this material, I wouldn't be able to say that I didn't know that this was *Siegfried*.

Op den Kamp: Do you ever obtain source footage in other ways, outside of archives?

Deutsch: Yes. I buy footage in flea markets, or I find it on the streets. Some films are given to me: people know that I collect them, so they give me random 16 mm material. And I must say that with these films I don't care as much about the rights situation as I do with footage I get from archives.

In general, I don't follow the "I don't care at all about rights" attitude like some other filmmakers, because I think that people who put money and effort and energy into restoring and keeping material alive should be paid for what they do. If I get hold of material that nobody is taking care of, then I say, "I don't care."

Op den Kamp: I am trying to gauge the actual risk mentioned predominantly by legal scholars with regard to reusing footage. Have you ever had a rights owner resurface after you'd used something that hadn't been cleared?

Deutsch: No. I also think that in my case, that will actually never happen. In *a girl & a gun* I used longer shots, but in the first *Film ist* chapters, the shots were so short, it would be great if they would be able to recognise their own footage!

BUDGET

Op den Kamp: Is there always a specific part of your budget dedicated to rights clearance?

Deutsch: It's a very delicate thing you do at the beginning of a project, because you never know how much you will ultimately have to pay. But from our experience it is about a third of the budget. You can't calculate it precisely – it is not like the film is 93 minutes long, for instance, and per minute it would be this much. Because sometimes you pay $1 per frame, and sometimes it's $1,000 for 20 minutes [20 minutes of 35 mm film is nearly 30,000 frames of film]. You can't predict it. It can be very expensive.

I tend to have the material on my computer, but when I'm editing I can't be sure that what I'm using will be affordable. For example, in *Welt Spiegel Kino*, I used *Siegfried*, and I knew from the beginning that I had to have it but it would likely be costly. So before I started to edit I asked how much the footage of *Siegfried* would be.

Op den Kamp: You then make another calculation at the end of your edit?

Deutsch: Yes. At the end of the edit, I go back to the archives, ask for the contact information for the rights owners, send out my letters. I usually get answers within two or three weeks, and then I know whether I have to re-edit.

I might have to take something out if I can't afford it. Sometimes the prices might be negotiable if I tell them this is for a low-budget film, or if I offer them a credit. It's a deal you make.

With *a girl & a gun*, there are four archives listed in the opening credits. Besides my production company, Loop Media, there is the Nederlands Filmmuseum, the Austrian Filmmuseum, the Austrian Film Archive and the Imperial War Museum. That's because those archives didn't charge us for *their* rights. At the end of the film, there are all the other archives – who did charge us.

Op den Kamp: Is it always clear whether you are being charged for an archive fee or whether the fee is for rights clearance?

Deutsch: In general, I can't pay for archive fees given the way that I work. If, for instance, people from a television station go to an archive to view the material there, they pay per hour. I can't pay those kinds of fees. I sometimes view things in an archive for two weeks, which means I cannot pay per hour. This is something I have to negotiate at the beginning of my work: if you charge per hour, then I cannot work in your archive.

Some archives ask for "working hours." So they calculate how many hours they have to work for me. The Imperial War Museum, for instance, asked for a certain amount of working hours – not a lot. But in the end that has nothing to do with what you pay for rights.

Archives have to be able to afford their own staff. But the Nederlands Film-

museum, for instance, doesn't charge anything. After *Film ist. (1–6)*, they invited *me* there and ended up giving me an editing table to use for three weeks.

THE NETHERLANDS FILMMUSEUM

Op den Kamp: What is the Nederlands Filmmuseum like for you as a place to work?

Deutsch: It is very special. For me, the Nederlands Filmmuseum is not only a place to research but also a place to produce. Until *Welt Spiegel Kino*, all my films were made optically, for instance, duplicated frame by frame from the prints. This was done at Image Creations in Rotterdam, after the Filmmuseum made the connection. And so, for *Welt Spiegel Kino,* they were actually co-producers. I had money from the Dutch Film Fund, and it was the Filmmuseum which applied for it.

This is a completely different sort of collaboration than with other archives. And part of the deal is that they end up getting a print for the collection.

CATEGORISATION LIMITS

Op den Kamp: What is the term you yourself use for what you do? Is it found footage filmmaking? Compilation films?

Deutsch: Oh, I hate this kind of categorisation, especially "experimental" or "avant-garde." I hate it – it's like putting it in a drawer. I would say I make films, I am a filmmaker, and, maybe more precisely, I use found footage. I don't write a script and I don't shoot anything; I use pre-existing material, and I create new stories with it.

I also don't distinguish between documentary or fiction, because when I select material, I don't distinguish between fiction and non-fiction either. It's too easy sometimes to use terms. In general, you can't avoid categorisation, but categorisation is limiting.

THE KINSEY INSTITUTE

Op den Kamp: What was your experience working with the Kinsey Institute?

Deutsch: In general, I need to have a special reason to go to the US because just the travel costs alone would be three to four times what we spend to go to Bologna, for instance. But I was really focused on the content of the Kinsey Institute.

It also was the first time that I wrote a script, because the Institute demanded it. I wrote a 90-page script, not a script in the sense of what the film would show, I obviously couldn't do that. But I wrote what each chapter would be about – its context and its reasons why.

When I started to think about what the structure of *Film ist. a girl & a gun* would be like and decided on the context of Greek mythology, for instance, that was part of the script. The script was written for people who needed to understand how I would use this delicate material and why I wanted to use it.

Op den Kamp: But at this point you didn't yet know what any of the actual images would be?

Deutsch: Yes, that's correct. I did initial research. I visited the three main archives: the Imperial War Museum, the Kinsey Institute and the Nederlands Filmmuseum, all in order to be able to write the script. I didn't know beforehand what these archives would have, and, to state the obvious, I can only work with material that is there. I can't invent something that is not available.

So, for this film, the research was done in two steps. The first step, which was financed separately, was a pre-production phase. This is why the film took four years to make instead of three; the preparation phase meant an extra year.

And, of course, we had to get permission from the Kinsey Institute, which was the main reason it took as long as it did. We had to send so much information. I had reference letters from the Nederlands Filmmuseum, and from the Austrian Filmmuseum, we had to send our CVs, and the script. All of this went to a committee. We were thoroughly checked, and then our proposal was accepted.

Op den Kamp: Were you the first to use the material there in this way?

Deutsch: Yes.

Op den Kamp: How is their collection normally used?

Deutsch: To my knowledge, it is only used for academic studies, so if you write a piece on sexual behaviour, or whatever, you can have access to the library and their collections. But onsite only: you can't borrow anything.

To my knowledge, they have sold footage only twice in the last ten years: once for the Hollywood production on Kinsey [*Kinsey* (Bill Condon, 2004)] and once for the Museum of Sex in New York.[2] In one of their exhibitions, a loop of stag films was shown.

Op den Kamp: Were there further restrictions?

Deutsch: There was only one restriction from the beginning: I wouldn't be able to see the films that Alfred Kinsey had made himself. I don't think anyone has seen these films in the last fifty years. I don't know why. They might think that if these films are shown, Alfred Kinsey would be seen as a pornographer, or whatever. I think they fear that it might change the image the public has of Alfred Kinsey.

Op den Kamp: So what does this mean for the collection?

Deutsch: I don't think they are aware of the collection being in danger. I told the director that if they don't intervene now, in several years they will have to throw the stuff away. When I saw my selected films on an editing table, around 20% or so weren't playable anymore because they had completely shrunk. If a fifth of your collection is that heavily damaged, it means that a lot of money would have to be invested in saving it.

Op den Kamp: Is there any budget for that?

Deutsch: They don't even have their own editing table, plus they don't have anybody working on the films specifically. I am quite sure that lots of the films have vinegar syndrome[3] and I told them that they had to isolate those films. But they had no idea what vinegar syndrome even was. They were, ultimately, very open to me, because they realised, I was trying to help.

Op den Kamp: Was your work at the Institute based on the visual memory of someone working there as well?

Deutsch: No, there wasn't anybody there who knew these films.

Op den Kamp: So how did you select them?

Deutsch: I selected them by date. I said that I wanted to see all the films from the beginning up to the 1940s. That was about 150 films. All the films I viewed were from that period.

Op den Kamp: Were they all 16 mm?

Deutsch: Yes, they were 16 mm; a few were on normal 8. They were originally shot in 35 mm, especially the films from the early period from before there was 16 mm. The prints are in bad condition. These films had been shown over and over again, which is also part of the genre. They are completely damaged and re-worked! So it's not just me who had decided to re-work them, they had already been re-worked – different films were combined, with special sequences and special close-ups put in.

RE-APPRAISAL OF ARCHIVAL FILM

Op den Kamp: In general, do you ideally see the archive as a birthplace for new productions?

Deutsch: I think that in general, material stored in archives is not used often enough. What I hear frequently from collaborators is that material gets requested quite a bit with regard to historical celebrations.

Collaborators at the Imperial War Museum, for instance, told me that in the previous year there had been a celebration of the Battle of the Somme. They themselves produced a new DVD, with music. But they also said it was sort of hell for a year because people from all over the world wanted to have footage. And then for the next years, it's over.

On the other hand, there seems to be an incredible change happening in terms of home movies. I think that people are realising that the attitude towards this material is changing. It's being valued again. This is what I wanted to focus on with *Welt Spiegel Kino*: that history is made up of private stories.

Not only do archives seem to be getting a lot of private collections these days, but private collectors are also focusing on this kind of material. They try to get their hands on this kind of material, and then they see themselves as its owner and try to sell it to me.

Op den Kamp: And then perhaps by investing money into digitising and preserving the material, reclaim the rights to their "new" products?

Deutsch: It's funny that you say that. When it came to the contract with the Kinsey Institute, they first asked me for a draft of a contract, as they had never made a contract with a filmmaker before, so we sent them an example.

But more importantly, their lawyer told them they couldn't claim rights to these films, as they had thought they would, because they didn't own the rights to these films. So they could only charge for the work done.

Op den Kamp: Ah yes, this links to what I meant before in terms of the difference between a fee for work or for rights, and how those two elements are sometimes used interchangeably.

Deutsch: The funny thing is, I am now getting the first requests from people wanting to reuse *my* films. I tell them they can reuse whatever they want but I cannot sell them the rights. And I certainly don't give anybody the high-res 2K files. I don't sell footage.

They buy a DVD or download *a girl & a gun* from the internet, which I cannot stop. As soon as you send a DVD to a festival, it's over, it's out there.

I claim rights only for certain kinds of contexts, for instance, theatrical rights or distribution rights for Europe. For *a girl & a gun*, there will never be a commercial DVD release, because we cleared rights only for the theatrical release. The rights could perhaps be "re-cleared." If there is a television station that wants to purchase the film, they would have to clear the rights for their use. Unlikely, but it could happen.

Op den Kamp: So when someone is interested in getting high-quality footage, would they have to go back to the source?

Deutsch: Yes. You can remix a download, but then only present it again on the internet; you could never make a 35 mm print and project it in a theatre. Young people's access to the internet has changed so much. Their forum is not a festival or the cinema; their forum is the internet. And with incredible results: I see videos on YouTube that have 350,000 visitors; no film of mine has ever had that many visitors!

Op den Kamp: The tension between makers and users (and makers-as-users) is so fascinating.

Deutsch: The funniest thing I've heard in this respect was when I was recently in Mexico, because the Cineteca Nacional did a retrospective of my work. It was very successful and brought in new young people, and someone said to me, "If you come back here next week, you will find all of your films being sold in front of the Cineteca!" If they think there is an audience for it, they will film it off the screen and sell it.

OF ZEROS AND ONES

Op den Kamp: How are you experiencing your film process going digital?

Deutsch: For me, it is a learning process. I am not at all trained in this way, and I am not willing to learn the details of how it works exactly. I need people to give me information. I need a producer who takes care of the workflow, and I need a lab that knows what I need in the end. If this all works, then it's all fine with me, and I don't really care about the details.

Op den Kamp: The post-production process of *a girl & a gun* was very different from how you had done this sort of thing before, right?

Deutsch: It was particularly the absence of film material in the post-production process that was very new to me. All the fragments were different – black and white, colour or stretched. I was re-editing the film with material that didn't look like the material I had originally seen. You don't see what you get.

In the last three days of the process, we did all the reformatting and re-colouring. We worked fifteen hours a day to make this happen. In the end, it looked good. But within the analogue process, I would already have seen rushes some two months before the film was made.

In the digital workflow, the first step is to edit with low-resolution video, do all the effects in the computer – stretching and mirroring, and so on. Then the original of those fragments is scanned, and I have to re-edit with the data. I also have to redo all the effects.

Op den Kamp: How had that been done before?

Deutsch: In the photochemical process, the effects were done in the copying process. So, for instance, there would be a card with instructions in the reel that would read, say, "There are three sequences in this reel; in the first sequence, duplicate every second frame; the second sequence needs to be shot backwards; in the third sequence, the entire sequence has to be mirrored and every third frame has to be doubled."

I would get the rushes and I would check whether everything was done correctly. I would have the material in my hands, and I would be able to see whether the contrast was right, or whether the sequence would have to be shot

again. It was a process that would give *me* more time and more security.

Op den Kamp: Are there any aspects of that process that are easier in digital?

Deutsch: In *a girl & a gun*, I could play with the colours to a much, much greater extent. All the sequences were scanned in black & white and I had a colour palette of twelve colours. Ultimately, it was shot back to colour negative, from which a colour print was made. Also, the zooms, sometimes up to 400%, were done digitally, which was already the case for *Welt Spiegel Kino*. Optically, this wasn't possible anymore at the time.

Op den Kamp: Was it also easier to work on a global scale in digital?

Deutsch: Yes, but no (*laughter*). When I worked optically, I had all the films sent to Vienna. I had *one* studio work with all of the material. Now, I get five different things; sometimes I get data from the archives, because the films are already scanned. Some archives scan hard, some soft, they all scan on different machines. So you end up dealing with lots of different source materials.

For me personally, the photochemical process was more manageable. It was easier to talk to the one person who was preparing and duplicating the material. Now I have to deal with different archives and labs, and I cannot immediately see whether what I get is good. Someone has to tell me if something is a good scan.

Institutions like the Kinsey Institute and the Imperial War Museum would not send their films out of the country. We had to pay, but they suggested a list of local labs from which we could choose.

LET'S GET RADICAL

Op den Kamp: Is there anything you would like to add that you feel you haven't addressed?

Deutsch: I don't think that anybody should own films. They are a kind of public cultural heritage. Especially when it comes to ridiculous rights situations in which I wouldn't even be able to view a film on an editing table because the rights owner would have to allow it. This is a reason to become radical!

FILMOGRAPHY

Die Schwarze Kappe (William Augustine, 1911)
Film ist. (1–6) (Gustav Deutsch, 1998)
Film ist. (7–12) (Gustav Deutsch, 2002)
Film ist. a girl & a gun (Gustav Deutsch, 2009)

The Great Train Robbery (Edwin S. Porter, 1903)
How We Live – Messages to the Family (Gustav Deutsch, 2017)
Ich Klage An (Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1941)
Kinsey (Bill Condon, 2004)
La Habañera (Douglas Sirk, 1937)
Siegfried (Fritz Lang, 1924)
Welt Spiegel Kino (Gustav Deutsch, 2005)

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NOTES

1   There are two definitions of "orphan film." In the strict legal sense, an orphan film is a work for which the rights holder(s) is/are unknown or unlocatable. These films pose problems for archives because potential rights holders cannot be contacted in order to obtain their permission for the use of the film. Gustav uses the more "curatorial" definition of "orphan film" (one followed by the organisers of the Orphan Film Symposium): a film that has been neglected and for which the commercial incentive to pay for its preservation has been lost. For more information on the issue of orphan films, see Claudy Op den Kamp. *The Greatest Films Never Seen: The Film Archive and the Copyright Smokescreen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

2   "Stags, Smokers and Blue Movies: The Origin of American Pornographic Film," Museum of Sex, February 2005–January 2007.

3   Safety film, just like nitrate, is subject to deterioration. High heat and humidity, coupled with chemical contamination, can cause the film's base to decompose. This process of deterioration emanates the pungent odour of acetic acid. Because of the smell, the phenomenon has come to be known as the "vinegar syndrome." Anthony Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait: A History of Film Preservation in the United States* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1992), 5, 159–60.

Old Footage, New Meanings: The Case of *The Atomic Cafe*

SIBLEY LABANDEIRA

ABSTRACT

This chapter investigates the way in which certain found footage films offer keen insights into the complex relationship between historical events and their recorded traces, as well as the workings of cultural hierarchies that determine certain audiovisual materials as valuable and others as waste, and how these categories are highly unstable. It reflects on films that re-present images of specific historical moments, of political and technological transformation, in order to elucidate what happens when old factual footage is taken out of its original context and inscribed into a new discourse. In particular, it offers an in-depth analysis of *The Atomic Cafe* (Jayne Loader, Kevin Rafferty and Pierce Rafferty, 1982), an audacious approach to the audiovisual remains of nuclear fear and paranoia.

KEYWORDS
found footage film, archival waste, historical representation, technology and experience

The mechanical production of moving images, born in the nineteenth century, in many ways has come to represent the twentieth century. These images act both as tools of representation and as storage devices. As representational tools, they gave birth to a specific kind of experience, that of the past and current affairs through the images that capture them, which also created the need to interrogate these images, both as representation of events and in their own right. As storage technologies, they present problematic questions regarding the workings of cultural hierarchies and the accumulation of filmic documents, that gave rise to an ever-growing archive of cinematic texts of value, on the one hand, and an equally ever-increasing pile of audiovisual rubble, on the other. With the advent of the internet and the development of editing software since the late twentieth century, moving images have become widely available and easy to produce, reproduce and consume. Thus, the re-editing of footage has become pervasive in a myriad of ways with wide-ranging applications, from entertainment to ideological grooming, from the expression of aesthetic affinities to outright fake news.

The aim of this chapter is to reflect on the reuse of footage from a time past that is put to the service of a different temporality's critical inquiry, before the wide spread of the web and of editing software. The following pages address how one film in particular, *The Atomic Cafe* (Jayne Loader, Kevin Rafferty and Pierce Rafferty, 1982), eloquently demonstrates the subversive potential of recycling highly fetishised past image banks to speak of current issues. The film puts in recirculation images from the birth of the atomic bomb and the golden age of the Cold War paranoia, in the midst of a nostalgic enshrining of the 1950s, perceptible both in the political rhetoric and popular culture of the 1980s in the United States. Admittedly, it is not alone in its recourse to the 1950s visual archive; in fact, Catherine Russell writes of a revival in the 1980s of collage forms of filmmaking that recur to the imagery of the 1950s, which she terms "Atomic Ethnography."[1] The film, while sharing some common features with works by other filmmakers, such as Bruce Conner and Craig Baldwin, offers a particularly incisive critique of political and cultural nostalgia, effectively addressing pressing issues of its own time related to historical representation, national identity, image technology, political misguidance and consumer culture, as well as the debris they leave behind. The focus will be on how new meanings can be elucidated by taking old footage out of its origi-

nal context and inscribing it into new discourses. In addition to the different temporalities implied in these objects, films of this nature can also address important shifts in technologies of representation and their impact on visual discourses.

To better understand *The Atomic Cafe*'s merits and the critical potential of certain found footage films, the chapter offers a brief description of the movie, a succinct biography of the filmmakers and an analysis of some of its central topics. The intention is to reflect on these key themes with reference to specific sequences in the film, and in contrast to historical data, starting with how atomic science was dealt with as a public relations issue, moving on to discourses of prosperity and paranoia, the trope of the nuclear family, the increasing role of television as a medium of information, 1980s nostalgia and storytelling with audiovisual waste. First, it might be necessary to address some basic aspects concerning the practice of recycling footage.

FILMIC APPROPRIATION AND SHIFTING TECHNOLOGIES

The re-inscription of old footage into new cinematic narratives is practically as old as cinema itself.[2] However, the first person to put forward a mature compilation film motivated by historical inquiry, as well as an ontological understanding of the relationship between mechanical records and reality, was Soviet film director and editor Esfir Shub. Her film *Padenie dinastii Romanovykh/Fall of the Romanov Dynasty* (1927) was made almost entirely of old newsreel and tsarist footage, with the intention of representing the backwardness of the old regime by using the very images with which that power represented itself. This pioneering film is often classified as a documentary; however, such a label is not without controversy. Some authors have called into question the accurateness of speaking of *Padenie dinastii Romanovykh/Fall of the Romanov Dynasty* as a documentary, concluding that it responds to retrospective reasoning.[3] While others defend that the critics and filmmakers of the time are in fact theorising about documentary in the sense that they "were concerned with feature-length films constructed from previously gathered material – films capable of making an argument about the historical world for an imagined future audience."[4] Essential to understanding Shub's endeavour is that she did not recur to this material out of need but purposefully. The footage itself was what was important in her recounting of the history of the February Revolution; for her, the fact that these images were the visual record of the time she was portraying made them more "authentic" than any other possible staging of the revolution.

Throughout the twentieth century, and during the first two decades of the

twenty-first century, the recycling of archival footage has been explored by a wide variety of artistic and experimental filmmakers, such as Chris Marker, Emile de Antonio, Ken Jacobs, Abigail Child, Harun Farocki, Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi, just to name a few.[5] Their films, and that of many others who work with appropriated material, have received several names over the years. In general, they have followed a conventional division between those that are classified as "compilation films," which are inscribed within, or related to, the field of non-fiction filmmaking; and those that fall under the banner of "found footage films," which are usually understood as part of artistic and experimental film practices. However, the separation into these two distinct categories is problematic, to say the least.[6]

In recent years there have been interesting additions to the terminology for recycled cinema and video, such as "appropriation film" and "archiveology." The former is the expression chosen by Jaimie Baron to refer to films that reuse historical footage and that "may produce a particular *effect* or evoke a particular kind of *consciousness* in the viewer." The effect she is referring to is what she calls "the archive effect," which is built on two constitutive experiences: a sense of "temporal disparity" and a sense of "intentional disparity."[7] In her most recent book, *Reuse, Misuse, Abuse: The Ethics of Audiovisual Appropriation in the Digital Era*, Baron centres her attention on the latter sense, that of "intentional disparity." In fact, the premise of the book derives from this notion and takes it further, arguing that "every reuse of pre-existing recording is, on some level, a 'misuse' in the sense that its new use was not intended or at least not anticipated by its original producer."[8] It is her understanding that misuse is not synonymous to unethical use; on the contrary, significant social or political critique might arise from the play of intended and unintended meanings. Her shift from "intentional disparity" to the terms "reuse," "misuse" and "abuse," is due to the rise of digital technologies, and the ethical challenges that comes with it.[9]

In a similar vein, Catherine Russell has coined the term "archiveology" to address a media practice based on the reuse, recycling, appropriation and borrowing of archival material. For her, archiveology belongs to the lexicon of the twenty-first century. She argues that the theorisation of archiveology has only become possible after the millennium, which is particularly well suited to a reviewing and reimagining of the twentieth century.[10] She views it as an outgrowth of found footage filmmaking, which in her earlier work, *Experimental Ethnography: The Work of Film in the Age of Video*, she analysed in terms of an "apocalypse culture." This shift from found footage to archiveology is based on the fact that archival practices have become more prevalent both in mainstream culture and experimental media. In essence, it includes the proliferation of all kinds of videos, thousands of YouTube

homages and remixes. Basically, she is defining "archiveology as a language of media culture."[11]

While Baron, Russell and others make compelling arguments on the need to reassess the status of experimental films that recycle archival footage in the digital era, it is my contention that our current technological landscape is still very much in debt with cultural products of the late twentieth century. In fact, movies like *The Atomic Cafe* can shine a light on current productions in the sense that they offer a critical model for inquiry, a tool to navigate the present situation. The film not only holds up forty years after its initial release; its virtues as an eloquent text on image technology and historical representation have become more apparent.[12]

This is not a minor matter, since media images have become an important part of public space and, consequently, it is essential to be able to think them, to have a space to detain them. To be surrounded by images does not make us better informed. As Susan Buck-Morss argues, we have become "a media-saturated but still information starved public."[13] However, this is not a recent phenomenon. It is not limited to digital technologies, and these were not born into a vacuum. They are the result and extension of prior developments. Friedrich Kittler, following Marshall McLuhan, writes: "[O]ne medium's content is always other media: film and radio constitute the content of television; records and tapes the content of radio; silent film and audiotape that of cinema; text, telephone, and telegram that of the semi-media monopoly of the postal system."[14] It is my contention that film, video, VCR, video cameras, sound-recording devices, Walkmans, phones and text are the content of the internet and other digital systems used for recording and transmission, and all of the former participate in the shaping of the latter.

Our current media landscape poses a series of complex problematics, and one way to confront them can be found in certain films that have recurred to the recycling of old footage with critical intent before re-editing could be so effortlessly practiced. The unfolding of every developed art form depends on the evolution of technology to a certain form of art, in the sense that traditional art forms in certain phases of their development work strenuously towards effects, which later, are effortlessly attained by the new ones.[15] In *The Atomic Cafe* we can see this strenuous labour. It offers an elaborate hijacking and rearticulation of moving images and found sound, the product of years of research and diligent post-production. It is a process that has now become effortless with the expansion of the internet and digital technology, both because of the unprecedented access to archival footage that the web offers, as well as the advantages of non-linear editing. However, this does not diminish the film's audacity, since one of the main reasons the film is still relevant today is because of its capability to hold ambiguities that still plague our relation-

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ship with the audiovisual world. On the one hand, it showcases a deep mistrust towards images and, on the other, we can read in it an element of hope in the potentiality for critique that those same images offer.

THE FILM

The Atomic Cafe is made exclusively of recycled footage and found sound from 1945 to 1959, including newsreel, television broadcasts, advertising, nuclear test documentaries, military debriefing films and educational movies. It covers historical events with a wide variety of, mostly marginal, recordings in combination with an elaborate soundtrack, made of multiple narrators and musical references. In some sequences, it contrasts iconic visual representations of historical milestones and the outtakes discarded at the time of their production.

The film starts with images of the Trinity test and footage of Hiroshima, during the bombing of the city and its aftermath. Superimposed we hear a lengthy description of the attack by Paul Tibbets, pilot of the plane carrying the bomb. Once peace is announced, we see American civilians enjoying themselves in public spaces, followed by the evacuation of King Judah and his people from the Bikini Atoll for further nuclear tests. Next, we are warned of Russia's "ruthless expansion of the Total State." Followed by a presenter of an educational film who takes a moment to thank his sponsors, two shopping malls described as "concrete expression of the practical idealism that built America." We see news headlines announcing "RUSS HAVE A-BOMB SECRETS" and images of Nixon as a righteous red hunter and of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg being vilified by the media. We hear of the couple's execution followed by a multitude of manicured white hands shifting dials on radios in modern middle-class homes. We hear Eisenhower's voice praising American ingenuity while speaking of the hydrogen bomb over images of hip diners, fancy cars, lavishly stocked supermarkets, and nuclear families bent over their TV dinners. A concatenation of reassuring messages against the fear of radiation is voiced while the screen shows its devastating effects on victims from the Pacific. Soldiers are equally reassured during debriefing before doing their part in nuclear tests. Schoolchildren are trained to "duck and cover" in the event of an attack, fathers are sold on home shelters and women on atomic fashion.

All in all, it is a masterful mash-up of American Cold War propaganda, pregnant with references to the media by which it was disseminated. The multiple visual and aural sources used in the film share the particularity that by 1982 they were audiovisual refuse, some because they had lost their novelty,

essential for them to be classified as news, some because of their ephemeral or marginal nature, and others because they had been deemed outtakes, discarded at the time of their production. Their elaborate juxtaposition is not only eloquent of a time past but also of the moment of the movie's release.

The film was the result of a collaborative effort between Jayne Loader, Kevin Rafferty and Pierce Rafferty, who established the Archives Project as a company to produce and distribute the film. It was released in the spring of 1982, early in Reagan's first administration. It all started when Pierce Rafferty found thousands of films made by the US government.[16] More specifically, he stumbled upon the catalogue *3434 US Government Films* (1951) in a San Francisco bookstore in 1976 and he came up with the idea of making a movie with these films.[17] His brother, Kevin Rafferty, and Jayne Loader, who embarked on the project in 1977, edited the material.[18] Initially the filmmakers planned to make a movie about propaganda, but they narrowed their focus to concentrate on films about the birth of the atomic age. It was only during the process that they decided to focus their attention on that specific period, and within that age they made the conscious decision of limiting it to the "'Golden Age' of Cold War paranoia."[19]

Pierce Rafferty was born in 1952 and started his filmmaking career as a consultant and archival researcher for the documentaries *With Babies and Banners* (Lorraine Gray, 1976), *The War at Home* (Stewart Silber and Barry Alexander Brown, 1979), *The Wobblies* (Stewart Bird and Deborah Shaffer, 1979), *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* (Connie Field, 1980) and *Target … Earth* (Joost Van Rees, 1980). After *The Atomic Cafe* he continued to work as an archival researcher and archival footage supplier, having founded Petrified Inc. in 1985, together with his former spouse, Margaret Crimmins.[20] He is currently the director of the Henry L. Ferguson Museum in Fishers Island, New York.[21]

Kevin Rafferty (1947–2020) studied at Harvard, where he came in contact with filmmakers Bob Gardner and Don Levy. When the latter was hired to teach at a film school in California, Kevin went with him as his assistant. It was not long before he returned East and New Hampshire Public Television commissioned him to make a documentary about a collective farm run by a Maoist commune.[22] He directed *Two Days in a Halfway House for the Emotionally Disturbed* (1973) together with Richard Cohen and *Hurry Tomorrow* (1975) together with Richard Cohen and Richard Chen, before embarking on *The Atomic Cafe*. Afterwards, he directed acclaimed documentaries such as *Blood in the Face* (1991), *Feed* (1992), *The Last Cigarette* (1999), *Who Wants to Be President?* (2000) and *Harvard Beats Yale 29–29* (2008).[23] His influence goes beyond his own productions (which were few and far between) since he was a generous mentor to younger documentarians such as Robert Stone, assistant producing his Oscar-nominated documentary *Radio Bikini* (1982), and

Michael Moore, as cinematographer in his breakthrough documentary *Roger & Me* (1989).[24]

Jayne Loader, born in 1951, is a writer and multimedia artist. She worked as a freelance journalist, critic, ghost writer and film professor before joining the Rafferty brothers on *The Atomic Cafe*.[25] She started her career in film as a consultant for *With Babies and Banners* (Lorraine Gray, 1976), where she coincided with Pierce Rafferty, and as an archive researcher for *Song of the Canary* (Josh Hanig and David Davis, 1978).[26] After *The Atomic Cafe*, she worked on a film concerning animal rights that fell through after much hard work, and on a documentary for the Disney Channel about outlandish American fads, which never saw the light since Disney found it "too political."[27] In 1994, together with her husband Eric Schwaab, she started working on a book and CD-ROM about women aviators; however, when the French resumed nuclear testing in the Pacific, she was prompted to return to the themes of *The Atomic Cafe* and created the interactive CD-ROM *Public Shelter*. During the late 1990s she travelled the world to speak about nuclear issues and curated media workshops.[28] She has abandoned filmmaking for writing.[29]

While all three members of the Archives Project have had very different trajectories, they shared a keen interest in controversial issues and image production. All three were part of the first generation of filmmakers who were born and grew up with television; a generation that had been taught from childhood that they had the power and responsibility to save themselves and came of age politically in the 1960s and 1970s. Unlike their parents, they refused to live in fear of nuclear war.[30] In the words of contemporary filmmaker Abigail Child:

> My generation of filmmakers, people born after World War II – we are TV kids. We were easily influenced by media and by how the media influenced our worlds. [...] Now what I think a lot of us are doing: we're using emotional images, images that mean something to us, powerful, resonant images – not taking just anything, but being attentive to what images say and mean and how they can be read, actually approaching the flow of image-meaning, representation.[31]

The editing of those powerful and resonant images is what makes the film absolutely of its time, announcing what was to become a common practice in 1980s advertising and music videos. The splicing replicates channel surfing enabled by the proliferation of networks and remote controls. The film's constant switching from one source to the next emphasises the redundancy and the incongruence of the propagandistic material it re-edits. The pace of the montage works at varying speeds, at times offering rapid juxtapositions and at others showing sequences at uncommon length or together with dis-

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carded outtakes. One of the most brilliant instances of the latter concerns footage of Truman shot a few seconds before his solemn public address after the bombing of Hiroshima. It includes a grinning Truman who must change his demeanour to slip into an adequately poised attitude for the official announcement. Truman's smile is unacceptable for public representation; hence, it is discarded. This "unstaged" moment speaks volumes of how the official position regarding the bomb was construed, as well as its distance from the enthusiasm of some governmental sectors. What is media waste in 1945 is pure gold for 1982, offering a stark contrast to the graveness of the official discourse. The fact that this sequence takes place early in the film can be read as an announcement of things to come, both in the movie and in the treatment of atomic information by government agencies.

ATOMIC PR

Controlling the atom politically meant controlling information about atomic science. What we find are two approaches to scientific information: a defensive attitude, which created a heavy censorship, and a proactive approximation, as witnessed by the proliferation of public relations activities. Among the latter, one of the most spectacular events in the immediate post-war period was Operation Crossroads at the Bikini Atoll. On this occasion, the US Navy encouraged major news coverage from around the world.[32] Consequently, the media frenzy it inspired months in advance, as well as the two detonations it consisted of, generated a substantial amount of footage. Some of which features in *The Atomic Cafe*, such as the displacement of the local inhabitants or, more precisely, the staging of the islanders' evacuation. The sequence starts with the clap of the clapperboard and the announcement: "Scene twenty-six. Take two. All right Commodore...." Again, the directors have included the outtakes together with the scenes that made the cut, which include an officer speaking to a group of islanders led by King Judah, mentioning the "good faith" among both peoples and how things are now in "God's hands." This is a clear reminder that what we are seeing is a film, and both the event and its representation are not organic or inevitable but decided and acted upon. It also showcases how the islanders were misled and the implied ideological slants concerning race demonstrated in the condescending tone of the officer.

Operation Crossroads, and the media event it became, was just the beginning. The following years are marked with a proliferation of pamphlets, films and other materials created, or financed, by government agencies, which explained the steps to take in order to survive an atomic attack. Many of these films, which are one of the main sources for *The Atomic Cafe*, were shown to

captive audiences, such as school children and soldiers receiving instruction.[33] The message was everything would be all right if you followed the correct steps, but what was really implicit was the opposite, "that nuclear war was not only inevitable – it was imminent."[34]

The Atomic Cafe addresses the absurdity of the proposition, as testified by one of the movie's most commented sequences taken from the educational film *Duck & Cover* (Anthony Rizzo, 1951), a short film that had been widely distributed throughout elementary schools. In 1982 it seemed hilarious but in its time was deadly serious, as was its aim: "to teach children how to survive a nuclear attack by themselves, without adult assistance."[35] It features a cartoon turtle, Bert, who is alert and knows he is supposed to withdraw into his shell in the advent of danger. Just like Bert, children should also be ever vigilant, especially to the atom bomb. With films like this, the younger generation was being taught that they had an active role to play. What is more, it became a matter of national identity, in the sense that these manoeuvres were brought in line with a tradition that had fought against a corrupt monarchy in the American Revolution, to free the slaves in the Civil War, and against fascism in World War II. There is a continuation of what Tom Englehardt called the "heritage of a triumphalist narrative *victory culture*."[36]

This *victory culture* is also prevalent in nuclear test documentaries, another important source for the film. The war had created new needs for American representation, and the post-war moment would be represented alternatively as a continuation of these needs and as an abandonment of the wartime way of life.[37] One clear continuation is the sense of triumph in the shape of new battles yet to be fought as victories during the following decades.[38] Accordingly, these nuclear test documentaries show the high-water mark of the militarisation of American culture, in the sense that the military and its policies served as a template for conducting domestic life.[39] This Cold War discourse stemmed from the war narrative, where "a mythology of the strength of the ordinary person, of the average American."[40]

These films, together with television broadcasts, played an essential role in the US struggle for a post-war identity. There was a crucial battle being fought at home attempting to impose an image that was meant to be unquestionable. *The Atomic Cafe* manages to highlight this and, at the same time, speak of the discursive landscape of the early 1980s, with its renewed belligerent anti-red rhetoric, and the medium through which it is transmitted, television.

This battle taking place on the image front leaned on two complementary discourses: one, America's victory and ever-growing prosperity and, two, the "Red threat." Both of these discourses sunk their roots in World War II, as mentioned above. The victory discourse has a direct link to the propaganda efforts of the war and its outcome, and the prosperity it proclaimed was part of an effort to re-conduct life in a time of peace. The "Red threat" soon replaced the Nazi menace, using the same mechanisms to represent the former as they had represented the latter during the war.[41] Dana Polan speaks of a "science of home front fighting," of how through engineered shared concern, the home front becomes another version of the war.[42] The fear that communism generated was bound up with the population's desire for post-war stability and prosperity.[43] The result is a dialectic of power and paranoia, and the image bank of this period shows as much, as television and film were deeply implicated in the network of new technologies and fears.[44] These fears seen with the perspective of the 1980s become ludicrous.

Paradoxically, certain anxieties, such as those directed towards the effects of radiation, were met with false information intended to reassure American citizens. The control of nuclear energy was turning out in practice to mean control over secrets, in the name of "security."[45] The real effects of radiation were considered too sensitive to be shared with the public. Regular American citizens did not fully know what the atomic bomb did to the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, partly due to psychological resistance, but mainly as a result of secrecy, distortion and suppression that would persist for decades.[46] The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was determined to let nothing impede its tests and, thus, it continued its public relations campaign.

In 1953, the bomb tests in Nevada produced so much fallout that citizens of nearby towns were ordered to stay indoors while the clouds passed. Despite the grave danger, the AEC committed itself to a policy of reassurance and the press repeated the reassurances.[47] The film echoes such policies when it presents the town of Saint George in Utah, where the radio announces that due to the wind there might be a mild danger of radiation, therefore, people are recommended to stay inside for an hour but to not be alarmed since there is "no real peril."

This sequence is followed by a voice explaining how "never before have so many known so little about a subject so big and so important." Nonchalantly, this narrator states that atomic bombs do not have the monopoly of risk – risks are common when working as a fireman, when cooking and even in the shower. But perhaps the most striking sequence where reassurances are contrasted with the real manoeuvres in place to further nuclear testing can be found in

the re-editing of nuclear test documentaries together with media coverage. For instance, there is a sequence that starts with an animation explaining that the dust and debris resulting from an atomic explosion are only hazardous if introduced to the body via mouth or ruptures in the skin. Immediately after we see and hear a soldier recounting to the camera how he got a "mouthful" of dust.

If the science being disseminated via instructional movies was misleading, television did not offer a better alternative. And television would have a crucial effect on the shape science would take in popular imagery, due to the fact that how most people learned about science, outside classrooms and textbooks, was through the media. Additionally, television became increasingly shaped by entertainment values, as well as corporate interests.[48] One key aspect of this development was the appearance of new types of science popularisers, people who were not scientists but were professional and relaxed on camera. A shift that helped to loosen further the scientific community's control of its own public image and replace their views with uncritical perspectives on science.[49]

NUCLEAR FAMILIES AND TV

Both the period portrayed in the film as the time it was produced were moments of dramatic political and technological shifts. Besides the developments in nuclear armament, *The Atomic Cafe* addresses the expanding power of broadcast television from the standpoint of an era where TV is a widespread means of communication that produced content at a pace never seen before and that would only increase in the following decades with the development of transnational media mergers, which jumpstarted a shift in the organisation of communications along industry-specific lines into more synergistic global firms crossing technological and national boarders, which lead to new media conglomerates.[50]

Just as newsreel had covered World War I and II, television would play an essential role in the depiction of international conflicts, as well as changes in lifestyle, consumer society and models of civic duty. This phenomenon came with its own set of complex problems and would have a profound effect on future generations. The film sheds light on the fight for a new identity in a post-war world, where two burgeoning superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union, shifted positions from former war allies against Nazism into notorious foes.[51] What becomes clear is that this patriotic identity and the technology behind its visual configuration are intimately imbricated.

The contents developed by television networks and their sponsors – from whom they received their funding – offered a reassuring pictorial convention

of the family at home. The aim was to channel the country back from the sacrifices of World War II to a peacetime economy based on consumption and family values. Everyone was relieved that the war was over and was expecting things to get back to normal, but what exactly was normal? Memories of the Depression loomed large, and many were aware that the war had given men jobs as soldiers and women as factory workers. It was in this context that the nuclear family, with its constrained gender roles, was idealised to a greater extent than ever before. This image was quite different from the experiences of GIs returning home and the changing roles of gender and sexual identity. Thus, illustrations of domestic bliss and consumer prosperity were more of an aspiration than a reality; they presented a soothing alternative to the tensions of life after the war.[52] Not surprising, the depictions of nuclear families in *The Atomic Cafe* offer some of its funniest moments. Much of the humour derives from a historical perspective, which invests the image of the family with meanings derivable only from the distance of the early 1980s.[53]

Tropes such as the nuclear family and suburban living were, simultaneously, the perfect scenery for the exhibition of consumer goods and an illustration of civic virtues and models of patriotic duty. Within this context, the TV set itself occupies a central position in representations of family relationships. Spigel describes it as: "the great family minstrel which promised to bring Mom, Dad, and the kids together; but at the same time, it was something that had to be carefully controlled to harmonise with the separate gender roles and social functions of individual family members."[54]

What makes the discourse around the television even more fascinating is how it works in coordination with other realms of everyday life that are part of a sociohistorical nexus of institutions which grew together after the war, such as the freeway and the shopping mall.[55] All three, according to Margaret Morse, imply a partial loss of touch with the here and now, a distraction, in the sense that they imply practices and skills that can be performed semi-automatically; driving, shopping and watching TV are the "barely acknowledged ground of everyday experience."[56]

The Atomic Cafe echoes the interrelation of these systems in several moments of the film, particularly explicitly in a sequence in which we are presented with a succession of shots of fast-food joints, supermarkets and images of car culture with the voice-over of Eisenhower's speech on America's greatness and the challenge of the Atomic Age.[57] This sequence makes abundantly clear how the idealisation of this new way of life is interwoven with the threat of it being in danger. However, there had not been any kind of incident to inspire such fear; it all stemmed from a discursive experience. Something similar had occurred with the attack on Pearl Harbor, which had come to most Americans already shaped as a representation. Except for a few people, it took

place as a symbol, and it is precisely its force as a symbol that brought about a sense of unity to a divided nation.[58]

This idea of threats that are experienced on a discursive level is key to understanding both the propaganda of the Cold War era and *The Atomic Cafe*'s effectiveness. In this sense, the film is a brilliant exercise of cultural studies; it offers a profound analysis of, and response to, the audiovisual discourses that the Cold War generated, which in turn also created the visual memory of the Cold War.

COUNTERING NOSTALGIA WITH IMAGES OF THE PAST

Cold War propaganda was not simply the expression of an official ideology; it involved a range of different ideologies, discourses and institutions.[59] As stated above, among its key tropes were the nuclear family, with its social ordering along gendered lines, as well as the equation of consumer goods with civic virtues and patriotic duty. Images of the 1950s became a source of inspiration in the 1980s on several levels, notably in film production and political rhetoric. Both arenas based their discourses on carefully constructed recreations, expressing a nostalgia for happier and simpler times.[60] *The Atomic Cafe* confronts this head-on by appropriating, instead of recreating, images of the era.

The film's humour and insight derive from a historical perspective; the re-edited images are invested with meanings derivable only from the distance of the early 1980s. In so doing, the film constructs a dialectic of past and present which reflects on current conditions as it reframes past events. Thus, the historical revisionist approach is pursued as a political commentary on the present.[61] The most recognizable and, for some, the funniest, albeit the most unsettling, scenes were those of Bert, the animated turtle. The directors of *The Atomic Cafe* thought it was funny and that they could make it even funnier by editing. In Loader's words: "It was so incredibly absurd. But it had that wonderful jingle. And the animated turtle. And that narrator. It was perfect in every way."[62]

The film makes use of two contradictory but complementary mechanisms: saturation and ellipsis. Saturation replicates the redundancy common to propaganda in general, as well as the images of the 1950s prosperity and the overabundance of nostalgic artefacts marketed by the entertainment industry in the 1980s. The footage might be from the 1940s and 1950s, but it is the incessant flow of images in the style of the 1980s television broadcasting that we are seeing their disposability. The filmmakers are talking about present times through images of the past. By seeing so many similar images put together, we are able to see slight differences among people and voices and we are able to see the contradictions and false claims instead of that all too famil-

iar 1950s image of the placid nuclear family and suburban life. The film not only re-edits propagandistic material, but it also replicates the very structure of propaganda in its recourse to saturation – there is a sense of accumulation, of a message being repeated ad nauseam.

The Atomic Cafe also addresses 1980s nostalgia towards this supposedly simpler time by using one of the recourses of this revival fashion, ellipsis. There is an evident time gap in the film between the time of production of the source material and the time of the film's release. It does not go into the convulsive events of the 1960s and 1970s, just like other mainstream cultural products of the time, it omits crucial events that took place between the years 1960 and 1982, such as Eisenhower's warning of a military industrial complex, the missile crisis, JFK's assassination, Vietnam, the civil rights movements and second-wave feminism. But the film's effect is quite different to other retrospective endeavours. By focusing on the early Cold War era, the film both highlights crucial similarities between the two decades – that is, the charged anti-communist rhetoric and the strategy of creating fear towards an abstract enemy, which is said to threaten an entire way of life – and profits on the temporal distance which enables its ironic reassessment of the imagery.

In 1982, the footage included in the film seemed absolutely outlandish. On one hand, time had proven that a large extent of the information enunciated in the footage was partial, biased or false and, on the other, these images did not have the glossy lustre of the current film, music and fashion looking back to the 1950s. The "real" images of the period contrasted starkly with the nostalgic discourses of the time, which offered an idealised version of the 1950s attuned with the desires of prosperity and security of the 1980s, after the turmoil of the 1960s and 1970s. The only way to effectively recur to the 1950s as a period to long for was to offer a recreated version that eschewed the anxieties and controversies of the past. *The Atomic Cafe* works in the opposite direction, dismantling this idea of a happier and simpler time by bringing back actual visual records.

On the political front, Ronald Reagan, the president who had come into office by the time the movie was released, was himself the perfect incarnation of multiple ideologies at play in Cold War propaganda. In 1982, he presented himself as a small-town American who could restore common decency to a corrupt government, appealing to an ideological faction whose views had not been substantially represented in Washington since the 1950s.[63] Reagan represents a revival of the rhetoric of prosperity and paranoia. He had been a prominent anti-red crusader in Hollywood in the 1940s and 1950s. As president, his administration undertook the largest military build-up in peacetime history, some even spoke of a "Second Cold War."[64] This armament *in crescendo* was paired with a discourse in which Americans were the chosen people,

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who believed in "the Holy Trinity of God, Democracy and Freedom," a way of life that was threatened by what Reagan called the "evil empire" of the Soviet Union.[65]

He had come in "on a platform of restoring the dreams of abundance without any necessity for sacrifice on the part of the population,"[66] echoing the spirit of abundance portrayed in 1950s advertising, of which he had been a stellar cast member. In this regard, his position as spokesman for General Electric (GE) from 1954 to 1962 would prove to be of the utmost importance in the development of his media persona.[67] Reagan's most visible role for GE was that of the host of the *General Electric Theater*, a prime-time television programme, which included the "Live Better Electrically" campaign, where the Reagans were portrayed as the ideal nuclear family enjoying all the benefits of GE electrical appliances. For the campaign, GE equipped the Reagans' home with their latest technology, enabling him to offer viewers a tour of his "total electric" house, showcasing the benefits of the new suburban lifestyle with Nancy as the perfect housewife.[68]

Reagan had an acute appreciation of popular culture, which could lead the way for him to rewrite the past to suit his vision of America's present and future. However, he was not alone in his nostalgic rendering of the past. A cohort of relatively young directors, including Francis Ford Coppola, Steven Spielberg and George Lucas, was also looking back in many of their productions from the mid-1970s and 1980s, with "nostalgia films" that recreated the fashion, ambience or plotlines of movies from the past. Fredric Jameson criticises them harshly: in them, he sees an inability to focus on the present, a symptom of incapability of achieving aesthetic representations of current experience, which was an indictment of consumer capitalism itself or, at least, a symptom of a society that has become incapable of dealing with time and history. What is more, he writes, "we seem *condemned* to seek the historic past through our own pop images and stereotypes about the past, which itself remains forever out of reach."[69]

Jameson's account leaves out the potentialities of dealing with time and history through images. The films he analyses might be underwhelming as aesthetical representations of the present. However, pop images and stereotypes about the past can be quite eloquent concerning the present. What certain found footage films, such as *The Atomic Cafe*, offer is a tension between the moving image as representation and the moving image as record. The impact of mechanically produced images, in general, and moving images, in particular, in historical representation cannot be overestimated. The sense and representation of history have suffered intense transformations since the beginning of the twentieth century and, not coincidentally, these transformations are correlative with the birth of cinema, modernity and modernism.[70]

When the represented is seen through its representation, the latter necessarily transforms the former. Thus, with the creation of mechanically produced visual media, not only could events be recorded, edited, screened and broadcast – events were becoming defined by their recordability, edition, screening and broadcasting.

Once produced and disseminated, these images came to play an important role in the visual memory of the events they depicted, for contemporary and future audiences. As objects, their accumulation gave place to a vast and ever-growing archive, and archival images become documents of a past time. Russell argues that works that experiment with the documentary status of these archival images evoke alternative and dialectical forms of temporality and history.[71] This is something which is already present in Shub's pioneering film. What made her work so innovative and insightful was her approximation to film as historical document, which had to be re-read and seen anew. What Shub manages is to turn the original connotations of her source material – tsarist imagery – on its head in order to show what she believes to be "*the* truth" in these images – the backwardness of the old regime. The alteration is as subtle as it is effective.

The Atomic Cafe manages an equally effective alteration and resignification of recycled footage. However, there has been a substantial leap between both films. Shub's faith in the "objectivity" of images is based on the fact that these images were mechanically produced, that is, the camera had simply recorded what had been in front of it and, thus, for her they were *real* images, more *authentic* than any staging or recreation. This kind of reasoning implies a specific way of understanding the relationship between images and reality. *The Atomic Cafe*, on the other hand, while still focusing on footage *from* the time period it represented, sheds light on something else, namely on how moving images have become part of reality. The film constantly defies any logic of direct recording and of "pure factual discourse," if one can speak of such a thing. Interestingly, the film includes multiple simulations, re-enactments and drills, which featured heavily in training films, commercial ads and educational features, such as *Duck and Cover.* There is a lot of "make-believe" that seems to insist on the falsity of what the films initially strive to portray. However, they are the "real constructions" of the 1950s.

The selection of simulations, as well as the inclusion of outtakes, such as Truman's laugh before the Hiroshima announcement or the clap of a clapperboard edited together with the "useful" section of takes, make the spectators witness the very construction of historical footage. Images are always images, framed, selected and articulated. It is in this respect that *The Atomic Cafe*'s relationship with the past is substantially different than that of the nostalgia film. The latter is a recreation, a fictionalised version of how things supposedly

were, whereas *The Atomic Cafe* offers a *re-presentation* of past images, a literal act of presenting once again images of the past specifically *as* images. Instead of evoking a time past, they are quoting it, as it were. There is an act of re-framing, which changes the meaning and effect of the footage. The images have been *read* as documents by the directors of the film and, as such, they have been used as the building blocks for a new discourse, not as a mere illustration. It is the footage itself that constructs the story, one that offers reflection not only on the historical events portrayed but also on the images by which we know (or presume to know) what happened.

This is not to say that the notion of nostalgia does not play a role within *The Atomic Cafe* – it does. But it cannot be considered a "nostalgia film" nor as a nostalgic film. It lacks one essential characteristic of nostalgia: longing. In fact, the film could be described as *anti-nostalgic*, in the sense that it deals specifically with what is *retrievable*, that is, recorded images and sounds. The film demonstrates that what others might long for, a happier and simpler existence associated with life in the 1950s, only existed on an image level. Pictures of family bliss and prosperity created during the early Cold War acquired an almost cult status and became a great source of inspiration for nostalgic discourses of the late 1970s and early 1980s. However, these appeals could only succeed by omitting the troubling realities and anxieties of the post-war years and the subsequent nuclear threat. The images produced at the time were not as placid as the nostalgic representations of the 1980s, and this is what *The Atomic Cafe* showcases. The film is a testimony to the outdatedness of these old images, more than the consumer goods and the social stereotypes; it is the moving images themselves that seem so very old.

By doing this, they are not speaking of the past (or, at least, not only), but of certain uses, images are put to and the relation these uses held – and still hold – with policymaking, publicity targets and economic aims, as well as social constructions. The film is an anti-nostalgic exercise that critically reflects on current nostalgic discourses that appeal to that longing for an imagined happier time. Not only is it impossible to go back to a "simpler time" that never really was, but they also show how undesirable such an aspiration might be. Additionally, they point out that, in certain respects, things have not changed that much. Film, television and radio still show simplistic images of family bliss and patriotism that have more to do with consumerism and conformism than with real social needs. They suggest that governments, and the many platforms they employ to disseminate their messages, are just as misleading. One just has to look at the audiovisual remains.

STORYTELLING WITH WASTE

In using discarded images of the 1940s and 1950s, the film deploys a great blow to the nostalgic claims of its time, by intervening on the very remains of the longed-for era. The way this footage is articulated brings out new readings of the past and the present as depicted in the media, while also unveiling the great plasticity that audiovisual records hold. The directors, in a sense, are acting as two idealised figures described by Walter Benjamin, the "historical materialist" and the storyteller. The former "regards it as his task to brush the history against the grain."[72] The latter was a person who was able to accumulate and make his own the stories of many and, in turn, pass them on.[73]

The Atomic Cafe offers a cautionary tale written with old footage. Thus, making this footage relevant once again, there is something to be learned from it, which is another characteristic of storytelling, for the nature of a story was to contain something useful, to offer counsel. What the filmmakers demonstrate is that we cannot afford to cast off old footage as visual waste. In the first place, the idea of waste is fundamentally volatile when dealt with as an epistemic category. It has to do with what has fallen by the wayside, with what has been left out, and precisely because it has been left out, it can hold unforeseen value.[74] However, the waste itself is permanent and unavoidable, in the sense that there is no system that does not produce remains, scraps or leftovers. Paradoxically, these are not meant to perdure. Thus, waste is a category of transition, a limit category.[75] It is located somewhere between value and devaluation, between memory and oblivion. The filmmakers enact a transition from waste to worth, in the sense that where others saw useless, obsolete footage, they saw historical documents of great value, which they decided to approach inquisitively, bringing out new meanings to the initial sense of the footage. They not only brush their material against the grain; they offer such an intense accumulation of materials that without them intervening *in* the footage, without imposing new words, just by combining what they had and reissuing it thirty years later, it ends up contradicting itself. The filmmakers were not the only ones to note how some sequences are best left alone, according to William C. Wees, if "leftover" sequences from the past are perfect left alone it is "not because they are unrecognised gems of cinematic art, but because their very artlessness exposes them to more critical – and more amusing – readings than their original makers intended or their original audiences were likely to produce."[76]

This is not to say that the images in the film are naked or untouched; their very selection and rearticulation within a specific combination inevitably taints them. However, images in film are always presented in a succession; they always work in relation to other images, as well as in relation to the expe-

rience of each viewer. What the Archives Project offers is what Yann Beauvais terms a "materialistic approach," an approach that manipulates collected images to make new ones, shaping new ways of seeing.[77] The result is a new story, or a new recounting of the story from a subjective and analytical standpoint, a critical view of the past events that includes both the stories from the past and the experience of the storytellers with those images.

One of the key features of storytelling, as defined by Benjamin, is its distinction from forms of communication based on information, such as the press. The issue he had with information was that it laid claim to prompt verifiability and, more importantly, its prime requirement to appear "understandable in itself." Information had to sound plausible, which made it incompatible with the spirit of storytelling, and its value did not survive the moment in which it was new. A story, on the other hand, preserved and concentrated its strength for a long time.

The reason behind Benjamin's recurrence to the storyteller is the decreasing communicability of experience after the First World War when those returning from the front seemed condemned to silence after witnessing first-hand mechanised war. The effects of the Second World War and the atomic bombs that represented its final chapter were no less devastating and shocking. Again, the individual would see his capacities to bring events in line with the past challenged. In Benjamin's words:

> [N]ever has experience been contradicted more thoroughly than strategic experience by tactical warfare, economic experience of inflation, bodily experience by mechanical warfare, moral experience by those in power. A generation that had gone to school on horse-drawn streetcar now stood under the open sky in a countryside in which nothing remained unchanged but the clouds, and beneath these clouds, in a field of force of destructive torrents and explosions, was the tiny, fragile human body.[78]

After Hiroshima even the sky had changed; it had held the iconic and devastating mushroom cloud. The cloud that could bring certain death, not only to the fragile bodies underneath it but total annihilation. In the film, there is one particular sequence that is shown twice, first, during the Hiroshima sequence and, again, towards the end of the movie. In it we see a smartly dressed Japanese civilian looking up to the sky immediately before the bomb detonates. This image comes from a different source than the rest of the footage in the film, it is taken from a Japanese fiction film.[79] It offers a point of view that is absent in official US accounts, that of those under the bomb. The fact that the directors use an image from the Japanese film industry to put a human face looking up at the sky, in contrast to American coverage of the event, is bril-

liant. He is an "enemy," however, he does not look how an enemy is supposed to look, especially if we take into account how the Japanese were othered with far greater vehemence than the European nemesis in American propaganda.[80] This sequence shows what is not to be seen anywhere else, a Japanese civilian that is not that different to the American citizens shown going about their own lives in the rest of the film. It is crucial that this image is not an American representation of a Japanese man, but an image from the Japanese film, signalling the fact that Japan is an image builder in its own right, regardless of American propaganda; Japan is a nation with agency to represent itself.

Recycling images, in the way *The Atomic Cafe* does, is a turning over, a reversing, but it is more than that. The discourses we hear in the film no longer inspire what they once did, the sanctimoniousness of Truman, Eisenhower and others feels like a charade. What they say, together with what had come to be known in 1982, makes their words work differently. They are, among other things, performing for the camera. In this sense, they have also acquired the role of the newscaster, a figure whose role, however "personalised," remains a role, a mask, no less so when he appears to be dropping his mask.[81] This seems to be one effect of the expansion of television, all those who appear on it seem to interpret a role. This automatically creates a distinction between what is worthy of broadcast and what is not. And this way of selecting some material and disregarding others is essential to the shape historical images take. This is what makes working with outtakes and discards so interesting. Images are more than duplicates of things; they are a complex set of relations between the visible and the invisible, the visible and speech, the said and the unsaid.[82]

The Atomic Cafe deals with a battle that was fought on the image level, by appropriating the images themselves and replicating the structure of what is under scrutiny. The images themselves become the story; they are the common referent we have to think the past and to reflect on the very structures that are supposed to inform us. Moving images have become an important part of public space and, consequently, it is essential to be able to think them, to have a space to detain them. Beyond just recycling historical footage, in *The Atomic Cafe,* there is a "talking back," a turning over of meaning and an act of turning material deemed waste into documents of worth. The filmmakers construct a discourse in relation to the original meaning of the footage with which they enter into dialogue. There is an analytical approximation to images, a study and scrutiny. The directors weave the images they appropriate into a tightly written essay, which is as complex as the very topic it covers while making their own trickery as apparent as that of the source material.

The film demonstrates how moving images have an impact on our experience of history, and on our ways of confronting problematic events, controversial issues and the public space in which they occur. Moving images themselves

can be tools for thought and inquiry, as much as they can be opaque instruments put to various means. The filmmakers are able to confront their current political landscape by recurring to the visual records of an idealised past, by recycling those images, both iconic and marginal, and weaving them into an audiovisual text that addresses fissures, gaps, omissions and uncertainty and, by doing so, questions official political discourse and the hierarchical relations of value among cultural products.

FINAL REMARKS

As mentioned in the introduction, with the emergence of the internet and the development of non-linear editing, moving images have become easily accessible, producible, reproducible and consumable. Not surprisingly, the re-editing of footage has become pervasive and ubiquitous. Baron suggests that "[a]ppropriation has become the lingua franca of the digital era,"[83] that is, a language that is shared but not native to its speakers. However, it might be worth thinking if, in fact, appropriation has become somewhat of a native language in the digital era and, thus, a system of communication that we read/use somewhat automatically. Several authors seem intent on signalling differences in the shift from analogue to digital technologies when it comes to recycling footage. Russell speaks of *archiveology* as an outgrowth of found footage filmmaking that "has not entirely subsumed found footage or displaced it but offers another way of thinking about that practice as a critical cultural form."[84] Baron rightly states that "audiovisual appropriation is now a practice in which almost anyone with a computer can participate" and that "digital media has dramatically increased the speed at which such appropriations occur. The same image or sound clip may reappear as an element of multiple texts days, hours, or even minutes after it was produced and posted online."[85] Thomas Elsaesser went as far as questioning whether the term "found footage" has become a misnomer due to the ubiquity, overabundance and easy availability of so many films and audiovisual materials on internet sites such as YouTube, Vimeo and Mubi.[86]

These authors make good points; however, it is also true that many of the problems posed in the digital era concerning image and sound appropriation were not born with that technology, but seem to be part and parcel of the very nature of mechanically produced images. The materiality, reproducibility, plasticity and polysemy of moving images are constant features that traverse the history of photography, film, television, analogue video and digital imagery. For this reason, films like *The Atomic Cafe*, which analyse the historical and technological discourses of a time past while being absolutely of their present,

offer great potentiality for critically thinking our media landscape and the narratives it spews. Needless to say, forty years since its release, the public most likely will not engage with the film in the same manner as the 1980s public. Just as the sources with which the film was constructed did not inspire what they once did during the Cold War era. In fact, the film's context has changed radically, making it necessary to point out two crucial developments. First, much of the source material used in the film is now available via multiple platforms, from YouTube channels such as the Nuclear Vault to institutional repositories such as the Library of Congress website.[87] The movie in its integrity is currently available on YouTube, both its original version and the digitally restored version.[88] Second, in 2016, it was admitted to the National Film Registry, the Library of Congress list of movies deemed culturally, historically or aesthetically significant.[89]

The time of its inclusion to the registry and the subsequent restoration, by IndieCollect with funds from the Library of Congress, and re-release, by Kino Lorber, could not have been timelier. To a certain extent, it mirrors the original release of the film in the sense that *The Atomic Cafe* was predicated on the central thesis that the government's deliberately misleading and scaremongering representation of the threat of nuclear war in the 1950s was ripe for ironic reassessment.[90] Its ripeness rested largely on the nostalgic discourses of the 1980s perceptible in politics and in entertainment, with a president that bridged both terrains. Something that would happen again in the 2016 presidential election bringing businessman and reality TV star Donald Trump into the White House with a discourse of "Making America Great Again." In the words of Sandra Schulberg, president of IndieCollect: "When we embarked on its restoration in 2017, Cold War memes were re-emerging in our public discourse, and White House staffers were asserting the validity of 'alternative facts.' It just seemed like the perfect movie for our time."[91] A time where, once again, the entertainment industry was also immersed in nostalgic endeavours dedicating enormous budgets to reboots, such as *Terminator*, *Alien*, *The Karate Kid* and *Ghostbusters*; and recreations of the 1980s, such as *Drive*, *The Americans*, *Halt and Catch Fire* and *Stranger Things*.

However, this shift from indie cult classic to museum piece is also significant in the sense that it gives the film a new status and, more importantly, it separates the movie from the innumerable memes and remixes that people the online world. This inclusion into the National Registry gives the film new authority in a time that some term the "Post-Truth Era," where maintaining the status of truth is tricky, where the speed and accessibility of the internet exceed anyone's direct control, and "where the hearsay nature of the web, especially that of social media – which is really neither social nor media – can be leveraged to aid and abet the post-truthers."[92] The film

not only looks to the past with a critical eye, it also hints towards a future where the recycling of moving images has become easy and ubiquitous. The filmmakers keenly scrutinise a specific type of footage from the late 1940s and the 1950s, a time when the new technologies of the 1980s such as VCRs, camcorders and satellite and cable television started to remap the access and distribution of images and information on a global scale. What they make clear is that television's one-way transmissions could – and should – be challenged. Digital technology and online services would soon outshine analogue technology, but the legacy of VCRs, camcorders and playful linear editing would endure beyond the actual technology. So does the legacy of *The Atomic Cafe*.

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III

WHAT THE PRINTS (DON'T) TELL

CHAPTER 9

Preservation and Resignation: A Study of Survival

FUMIKO TSUNEISHI

ABSTRACT

A film that has survived for a hundred years has experienced a long chain of good luck. Even if a film has survived, however, it is usually incomplete for it is often the case that the praxis of film preservation has meant that the original source material has been duplicated onto new black-and-white film stock and the colour information has been lost (survival of colour). Another and problem with film preservation is that careless digitisation of old films causes a loss of picture information that could have been easily rescued (survival of grain). This chapter discusses two films shot in Istanbul in the 1920s as an example to reconsider what the role of film archives in the digital era is and should be.

KEYWORDS
preservation, digital era, colour, restoration

INTRODUCTION

It has been more than a decade since film material ceased to be the exclusive container to deliver motion picture films to cinemas. While film material still has a life of its own in very limited applications,[1] it will never regain its position as the backbone of the film industry. As a result, the role of film archives has shifted rapidly from the traditional realm to the digital one. In the past, film archivists have actively discussed the question of "how" to keep the remaining film elements alive without causing further deterioration or destruction, whether technical or ethical. However, now that the basis of film as an audiovisual medium has clearly changed, it seems to have become unclear "what" is to be kept alive. In other words, a decision is required to separate what should be preserved from what we should be resigned to losing.

This chapter discusses the decisions that have been made in the past by people who devoted themselves to the production and preservation of film. The analysis will be conducted from the perspective of a film archivist who has also been involved in drawing these lines for nearly twenty years at the national film archives of Japan and Austria, examining specific cases from both countries. Section 1 begins with an overview of what was the object of preservation in the era when film was inseparable from film material. Even in this era, the situation was not so simple that everything had to be preserved as long as it was on film. Section 2 deals with the extinction of nitrate film, a highly inflammable material that was almost single-handedly responsible for the first half of the film history. Section 3 then discusses the significance found in nitrate film, which has survived to the present day through the circumstances discussed in the previous section. Section 4 focuses on the historical transition in the appreciation of applied colours of silent cinema and its relation to the technical context. Section 5 discusses what should be preserved now that film has left film material and moved to digital. After clarifying the current problems of long-term preservation of digital data, the final section turns its attention to the medium of film outside the space of cinema.

Through these analyses, this chapter will clarify what has been selected as to be preserved, and what we must be resigned to losing. In other words, it is an attempt to trace the borderline areas of the film as a medium in a historical context.

1. FILM TO BE PRESERVED

Even in the days when film as an audiovisual medium was still inseparable from film material, there was no clear definition of "what" a film archiving institution[2] should archive. In the vicinity of film material, there are many "film-related" or "non-film" materials such as paper materials, equipment and other objects. Video tapes, audio tapes and other audiovisual recordings in all kinds of formats often drift ashore, mixed in with film material. When a famous filmmaker or film star passes away, his or her legacy (which ranges from items considered to have high "historical value" such as shooting scripts, shooting albums, costumes used in filming, notebooks, diaries, handwritten notes, letters, etc., to his or her books, personal items, etc.) may arrive in bulk. There are probably few "film archives" that strictly limit their collections to film material, and most institutions are struggling to draw the line over which materials should be accepted and which should not.

On the other hand, it is not necessarily the case that being a "motion picture film" is sufficient for a film to be accepted by a film archive. Since film is a medium of mechanical reproduction, there are many physical elements for each single film. As for the visual image, the most "essential" is the original camera negative, which is the actual film that was sensitised in the camera at the time of shooting, and from there, various master materials (edited original negatives,[3] master positives, dupe negatives, etc.) are edited or duplicated to strike release prints. The number of release prints varies widely, from a few to several hundred, depending on the size of the release. Since films are profitable when they are presented to the public, the basic business model is to collect back and dispose of the release prints after the box office has run its course to prevent them from being sold or handed over to others for unfair profit. Similarly, film archives do not necessarily have a policy of preserving all the release prints if there are many left. It depends on the circumstances, such as whether the master material is still available, but in general, one or several prints that are in the best condition will be preserved after comparing their length (number of missing parts) and condition (amount and extend of damage), and the rest will be discarded.

Even in the vicinity of the most important original camera negatives and master materials, there are various elements that are generally considered to be less essential for preservation, for example, outtakes, intermediate materials that were used for optical effects and not cut into the film itself, and so on. Title negatives that were used in the past to burn subtitles onto prints may not be considered for preservation, too, as different techniques are used nowadays for the same purpose. Even materials that could be high on the priority list, such as dupe negatives, may not be preserved at all if there are multiple copies

of them. Also, the only surviving element of a film may have to be discarded if its physical or chemical condition is too bad, that is, for example, nitrate film having got sticky or solidified, or triacetate film deformed too severely by vinegar syndrome to pass through printers or scanners.

For audio, the situation is more complicated, and the most original material is not always the one to be preserved. Original picture negatives are most typically stored together with the corresponding sound negatives, which are necessary in the process of striking release prints. Perforated magnetic tapes, which contain the final mix, are often not archived, even though they are closer to the original sound than the sound negatives and of better quality. There are even fewer cases where original recordings are preserved.

Today, many film archives are expanding their collections to include private film in addition to traditional commercial film. There is a wide range of items in this area, however, that are not intended to be released to the public. Naturally, permission must be obtained from the donor to make the film public, but if the donor is not familiar with the content, permission alone is not sufficient, and the content must be carefully examined. This includes cases where the donors are not the filmmakers themselves, but their family members or heirs, as well as cases where the collection has drifted into the archives via second-hand stores or flea markets, far removed from the filmmakers. In the process of examining the films, it is not uncommon to find content that makes the film unsuitable for release. For example, images of naked children, pornography made in private, or depictions of the remains of the dead. The meaning of such images changes completely when they step out of the time and space of reception assumed by the filmmaker so that, for example, harmless images of a naked infant bathing in water could be used as infant pornography.

2. THE EXTINCTION OF NITRATE FILM

Preservation in the field of motion picture film, however, involves not only the general activity of preserving various materials, which may be common in many other fields, but also another major activity specific to film: the handling of nitrate film. The word "preservation" has also come to mean the very particular task of duplicating (inflammable) nitrate elements onto (non-flammable) safety film stock (Table 9.1).

The film industry used to rely largely on nitrate material until 1952, when Kodak, followed by other film manufacturers such as Fujifilm, completely switched the base material of 35 mm film stock from cellulose nitrate to cellulose triacetate. Since then, the use and even the possession of nitrate film

Table 9.1

Analogue		Digital	
Source 35 mm, 16 mm, 9.5 mm			
Preservation Master 35 mm neg., pos.	Telecine →	**Digital Master** DigiBeta, HDCAM	
Viewing Copy 35 mm print, 9.5 mm		**Access Copy** DVD	
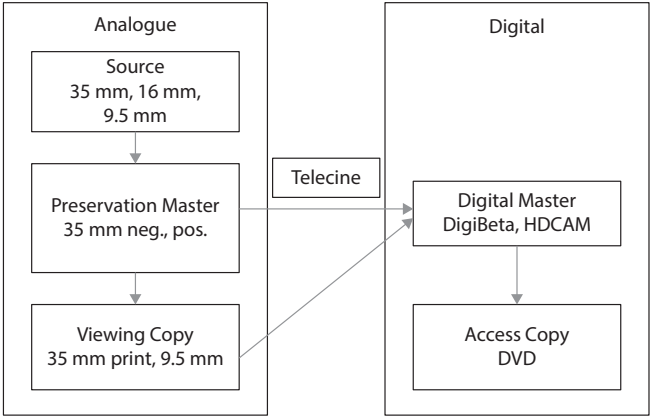
has been restricted, albeit to varying degrees in different countries. In other words, what was until that moment the basis of the entire industry had suddenly become an awkward burden. The film industry in general was still on the upswing at that time and there was still no great need to rely on income from old films. Even if there was a profit to be made, it would not be worth the huge management costs and risks involved, and from a purely profit-and-loss perspective, it was clear that the maintenance of past films would be a heavy burden for any film studio. In many cases, especially in Europe, it was the public film archives that took over this burden out of public interest, and whether such institutions came into existence in a timely fashion has been key to whether the film legacy of those countries exists to this day.[4]

Unfortunately, Japan was not one of the countries whose film legacy was preserved. Despite the fact that Japan was, especially in the 1930s, the 1950s and the 1960s, one of the top countries in terms of the number of films produced yearly,[5] there is an incredibly small amount of nitrate film remaining. One of the main reasons for this is the legal restrictions on inflammable material. Due to so many cruel accidents around film studios, such as the great fire in the film storage facility at Shochiku Shimokamo Studios in 1950, the Fire Defence Law in Japan was extremely strict in its restrictions on the storage of inflammable film, making it almost impossible for film studios to keep their own master elements from the past in the original form. Major studios that produced two new features each week during the peak period had to find a solution rapidly to get rid of this vast amount of film material from the past.[6] They came suddenly into a situation in which they had to invest a considerable amount of money in order to duplicate their nitrate elements before getting rid of them. The burden was no small one even for the most powerful studios, and only a few could afford the best possible method of the time, that is, dupli-

cation onto 35 mm safety master material. In order to save the cost and storage space afterwards, 35 mm nitrate elements were very often duplicated onto 16 mm master material. In this way, a complete set of original negatives for one feature film, each typically consisting of more or less ten cans each of picture and sound, could be contained in a single can about 10 centimetres thick.[7] Whenever I saw this kind of can containing a famous masterpiece of Japanese cinema, I couldn't help but think of the original twenty cans for each film that had been lost long ago. Since the film gauge, needless to say, indicates directly the amount of information contained, in essence, picture quality, Japanese cinema has abandoned one of its key elements by this reduction to 16 mm. In addition, there were many cases where, without going to the trouble of creating new preservation elements, simply one or a few existing safety release prints were kept for "preservation" purposes, which were often merely worn-out, scratchy 16 mm prints. Also, nitrate originals were sometimes simply discarded without leaving anything behind.

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Another critical factor was that film archives capable of accepting nitrate film had not yet been established at this time. It was not until 1970 that the National Film Centre[8] was founded as a division of the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, and by that time the vast amount of nitrate elements that once existed had almost completely disappeared. The direct impetus for the establishment of this institution was the repatriation of a large number of films that had been confiscated by the government of the General Headquarters of the occupying Allied powers immediately after the end of World War II and sent to the United States to be stored at the Library of Congress. It was a national project that enabled the acquisition of more than 1,000 extremely important Japanese films, most of which no longer existed in Japan.[9] However, even the original items returned from the United States at that time were, in principle, all destroyed after being duplicated. The reason for this was that once nitrate elements are registered with the National Museum as part of its collection, it was difficult to cancel the registration and disposal became inevitable. The practice of not registering nitrate elements in the first place, but only after reproducing them on safety stock, continued until recently. The explanation was that what should be permanently preserved was not a physical object such as nitrate film but an abstract "film," and that nitrate film was a temporary and ephemeral existence that would eventually end its life by being transferred to safety film. Although there are a few miraculous exceptions, such as the collection of early European silent cinema by renowned collector Tomijiro Komiya, the overall amount that remains is overwhelmingly small. In 2014 the National Film Archive built a highly functional nitrate film vault with sophisticated air-conditioning and fire-extinguishing equipment, but with a surprisingly small capacity of 1,152 cans.[10] The case of Japan is an extreme

example of what an enormous and fatal impact state regulation of inflammable material has had on the inheritance of film heritage. There are, however, many archives outside Japan, too, that have systematically disposed of nitrate elements after duplication.

3. THE SURVIVAL OF NITRATE FILM

Filmarchiv Austria has a contrary policy to that of Japan regarding the handling of nitrate film. This institution can be, therefore, in addition to the role as a national film archive which is responsible for the Austrian national cinema, also characterised by its active and international collection policy, especially in the field of nitrate elements. The internationality is due in part to its historical and geographical particularities. The collection contains a significant number of unique films from neighbouring countries, such as areas that used to be under the hegemony of the Austro-Hungarian Empire before 1918 and areas that used to border the empire, including Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Turkey. Some important considered-lost films have been found in Austria and repatriated. It was in 2004 that a Serbian national film *Vožd Karađorđed/The Life and Deeds of the Immortal* (Ilija Stanojević, 1911) appeared and caused a sensation in the film's homeland. *Az Utolsó Hajnal/The Last Dawn* (1917), directed by Kertész Mihály (Michael Curtiz), was also thought to be a lost film for many years until a fragment of it was identified in Austria,[11] and its screening at the 2005 Pordenone Silent Film Festival led to the identification of another more complete version in the collection of the Eye Filmmuseum in Amsterdam, which realised a further restoration and release of a version integrating the two versions. Since films without names from another country or in another language tend to remain unidentified, such international cooperation is extremely useful in clarifying the origins of these films.

The staff and budget were never big enough to launch a project of duplicating the entire nitrate collection onto safety stock like in Japan and some other countries. This also proves, however, that the archive does not regard nitrate film as an ephemeral medium whose life should end when it is transferred to safety film. The archive's new storage facility exclusively for nitrate elements completed in 2010 features a unique construction – it is a huge but simple wooden box made of domestic wood – which contributes to the stable temperature and humidity environment inside. The fact that it was built with a capacity of 70,000 cans, far more than the 40,000 cans already in the collection, is a clear indication of the active stance of the archive to enlarge its collection. The collection continues to grow, indeed, due to constantly acquired

nitrate elements, mainly with deposit status, from institutions and private collectors, both public and private, large and small, who are overburdened with the management of their holdings.

It has now been widely recognised that nitrate film could have a long, or even a longer lifetime than acetate film provided it is kept in a good storage environment. It used to be a general understanding, however, that nitrate film was chemically unstable, would inevitably deteriorate and would become unusable. It therefore had to be duplicated as soon as possible onto a more sustainable storage medium, that is, triacetate-based film stock. As symbolised by the motto "Nitrate Won't Wait,"[12] many film archives rushed to duplicate their nitrate elements in their collections based on this premise. With each photochemical duplication, no matter how meticulously and ideally it is done, there is an inevitable loss in definition. In addition, sharpness is often compromised due to poor focus, dirt and grime from the original material or printer is burned in, or the frame is misaligned by a perforation or two, leaving a wrong frame line in the middle of the image. Whether the original was intentionally discarded after duplication or was lost due to deterioration or other force majeure, in the overwhelming majority of cases, only duplicates are left. Unfortunately, some, not all, of course, inappropriate duplications have led to the widely shared impression that old films are dirty and hard to see.

Over the past decade, it has become possible to digitise existing materials directly without going through the process of photochemical duplication to present their original beauty more accurately. As the technology matures, the scanning cost at 4K resolution has become considerably cheaper than the photochemical duplication of the past, even on a commercial basis. An increasing number of institutions, including Filmarchiv Austria, own scanners on their premises and operate them themselves, digitising without incurring any direct costs. In response to this, new digital restorations of classic films that have been repeatedly restored in the past are being actively undertaken, and these surviving nitrate elements are being brought to their full beauty, providing an opportunity for the incredible perfection of past techniques and aesthetics to be widely recognised.

4. THE SURVIVAL OF COLOUR

During the silent film period, there were specific techniques used to apply colour to black-and-white film, but it is only relatively recently that these have been fully recognised as an important part of the aesthetics of silent cinema, and that the preservation and reproduction of colour in film has become an important research topic.

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The two major methods were tinting and toning. *Tinting* is a technique in which the entire film is dipped in a bath to dye the gelatine of the emulsion so that the white part of the picture is coloured. In *toning*, the black part of the picture is discoloured to make it blue, sepia, etc., by combining a silver salt image with iron, copper, etc. Other techniques include *hand colouring*, in which each frame is coloured by hand, and *stencil colouring*, in which multiple colours are applied one after another by overlapping film strips that are stencilled for each colour. These methods disappeared with the transition from silent to sound and have been neglected as a relic of the past for a long time.

It is not uncommon for a silent film to have no information about the method by which it was coloured, even if the master material has been preserved. The reason for this is that the first item to be preserved has generally been the master material, especially the original negatives. Coloured screening prints were only an additional, or a complementary option to be resorted to.

Take for example the 1928 German film *Geheimnisse des Orients/The Secret of the Orient*, directed by Alexander Wolkoff, whose original negative has survived in the collection of the Bundesarchiv in Germany. In 2003, a coloured release print was discovered in the nitrate collection of Kashiko Kawakita,[13] who distributed the film in Japan in 1930. This discovery has revealed for the first time what kind of colours the film had at the time of its release. Not only was the film tinted for most of its run, but gorgeous stencil colourings were applied in sequences where the main character is entertained at a drinking feast in an oriental court, and in erotic scenes of half-naked women dancing in groups. This kind of stencil colouring had begun to be used in the 1900s and reached its peak in the 1910s, so this film is a very late example of the technique and shows a remarkable sophistication. In addition to the gorgeous yellow colour that reminds viewers of the shine of gold, the coloured skin of the actors gives the portraits an outstanding realism. Even in the midst of intense dance movements, there is almost no colour shifting nor bleeding. There are even overlapped sequences, simulating the protagonist's intoxicated vision, where one can see an exceptional example of a doubled stencil colouring. Considering the marvellous effect of the colour, one cannot help but think that the film would not have survived in its complete form if it had only been in black and white. In addition to this, there must be many other films that have been successfully handed down to the present in an ideal form of master material, but merely in black and white without leaving any clues as to what colour they had.

Colour information can be lost also due to duplication. It has long been common practice to duplicate coloured nitrate release prints using black-and-white safety film stock. As noted in Sonia Genaitay et al.'s valuable report on the BFI's preservation policy,[14] the BFI has made detailed documentation of

the colours of nitrate prints, which is extremely useful for films for which the original nitrate elements are no longer available.

Since the 1990s, various technical methods have been developed and put into practice to reproduce the colours of nitrate prints. The earliest and most widely used method was colour internegative, but the discrepancy between the original look and the reproduced one was quite large, an observation that was repeatedly raised at one of the earliest conferences dedicated to this theme held at the Filmmuseum in Amsterdam in 1995.[15] When reproduced on internegative, the colours could differ considerably, depending on the grading, and the tinting had the distinct tendency to look like a toning, making it difficult from the remaining reproductions even to determine which method and which colour had been applied on the original element. However, with the establishment of this method, a common understanding was established – that colour was an integral part of the aesthetic of silent cinema. In the field of photochemical reproduction, other methods were developed in order to get closer to the original look of the colour, including the so-called Desmet method, which uses a black-and-white negative, adding colours by grading on colour print material, or chemical dye tinting, in which black-and-white prints on safety stock are dyed, as was done at the time.

5. DATA TO BE PRESERVED

In the early days of digital restoration, it was still film that was used for the final output. In order to obtain a 35 mm print for screening, the final digital data was laser recorded onto a 35 mm negative (Table 9.2). At that time, it was the negatives and prints that were to be preserved permanently, and the digital data was treated as an intermediate material for that purpose, and its sustainability was not taken very seriously. In the early digital restoration projects in which I was involved between 2003 and 2005,[16] for example, we used Sony's digital storage medium called Digital Tape Format (DTF) to store several hundreds of gigabytes of data, which was overwhelmingly large for the time. And, in fact, after the second generation of this format was released in 1999, no subsequent generation appeared, leaving our tapes nearly inaccessible.

In 2006, the specifications for the current digital screening standard, DCP (Digital Cinema Package), were internationally finalised, and with the rapid shift to digital in cinemas around the world, a major transformation, also occurred in the field of film restoration and preservation. It became common in this field, too, to produce only DCP as the final screening material and not to produce 35 mm film at all (Table 9.3).

Table 9.2

Analogue

Source
35 mm, 16 mm,
9.5 mm

Scanning

Recording

Digital

Digital Master
DPX

Preservation Master
35 mm neg.

Viewing Copy
35 mm print

Access Copy
DigiBeta, HDCAM,
QT

Table 9.3

Analogue

Source
35 mm, 16 mm,
9.5 mm

Scanning

Digital

Digital Master
DPX, TIFF (DCDM)

Access Copy
DCP, QT
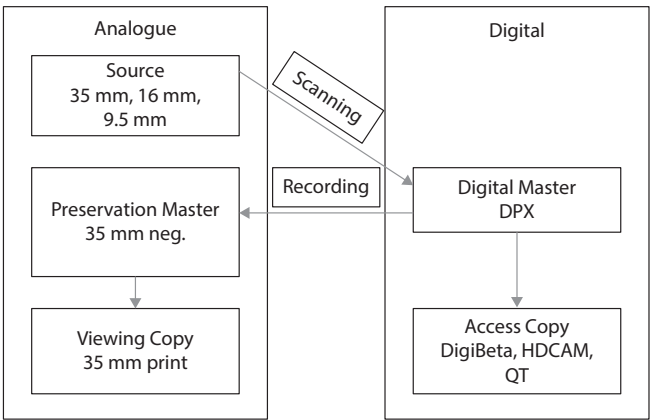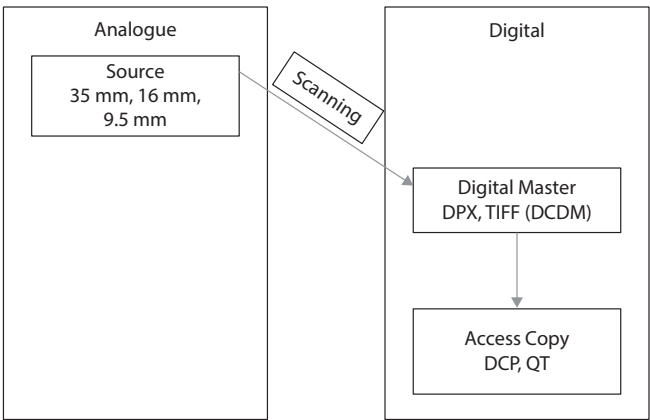
Even if prints for screening are no longer necessary, it is undisputedly desirable to record the digital master onto 35 mm negative for preservation and, if possible, to make screening prints, too (Table 9.4), but when the most important goal of screening has already been achieved in digital form, not many production companies or archives are willing to make this large investment for pure preservation.

In that case, what should be preserved is the DCP as a screening copy and the digital master that is the basis for it. The DCP contains only a few dozen to a few hundred gigabytes of data, while the master consists of 129,600 DPX or TIFF image files for an hour and a half feature film, plus audio files and various metadata such as subtitles, amounting to several terabytes to a dozen terabytes of data, which requires some kind of offline storage medium instead of an online server. The most commonly used offline storage media today is magnetic tape called LTO (Linear Tape-Open). The other option for long-term stor-

Table 9.4

Analogue		Digital	
Source 35 mm, 16 mm, 9.5 mm	*Scanning* →	**Digital Master** DPX, TIFF (DCDM)	
Preservation Master 35 mm neg.	← Recording		
Archive Copy 35 mm print		**Access Copy** DCP, QT	
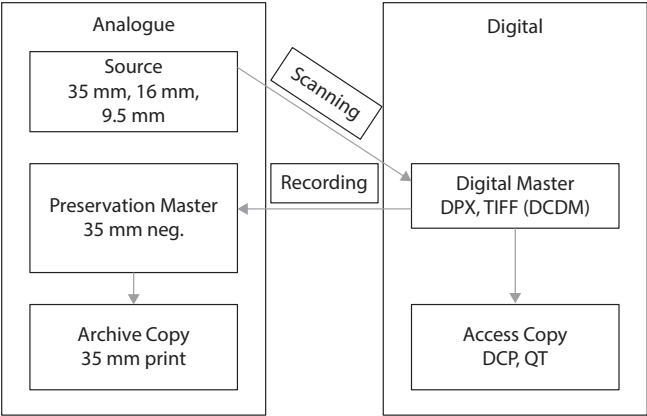
age of this kind of data is optical discs, which are being actively developed and introduced as a disaster-resistant media, especially in Japan, since the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami caused extensive damage to photographs, videos, 8 mm films and other records related to people's personal memories. However, at present, at least in the field of moving picture, LTO seems to have a near monopoly.

Since the first generation was introduced in 2000, the LTO has been continuously updated to the ninth generation as of January 2021. As hard drives can read only tapes from two previous generations and new generations are released roughly every two years, migration needs to be undertaken seamlessly over a relatively short span of several years. If one doesn't keep on migrating data successively, one would soon encounter severe problems in rescuing the data from old tapes, although manufacturers announce that tapes themselves should last over 30 years. The success rate of migration cannot be judged solely by the error rate of the media itself and given that users are not necessarily experts in performing such tasks, the chance of data loss will become considerably high, due to human operational errors and too long a period of neglect.

Here is an example of how helpless users become if they once fail to follow the chains of migration which is advised from the manufacturer. In 2006, the Filmarchiv Austria borrowed a nitrate element from 1908 from the Czech Film Archive (Národní filmový archiv, NFA) in order to restore it digitally. It was scanned, processed and recorded onto 35 mm negative film stock and a 35 mm release print was struck. After twelve years, we attempted to create a DCP so that the only 35 mm print wouldn't have to be shipped out for every screening. The digital master used for the film recording was stored properly on LTO tapes, even though they were from the first and second generations and haven't been migrated yet. The original nitrate element had already been

returned to the archive, so it was not easily possible to re-scan and restore it again. Since the actual system working in-house was from the seventh generation, we had to find a solution to bridge the distance of five to six generations. What one would need for this task were an LTO-3 drive, its driver, an SCSI interface board and its driver, a motherboard that fits the SCSI board, an operating system that runs all of them, and a workstation with the current interface for writing data (USB, network, etc.). Given that all of these devices are not available new and that there are problems of compatibility between each device, it was quite difficult to combine them and bring them into operation. It was a typical example of the so-called "digital dilemma."

Due to the difficulty and uncertainty of digital storage, there is an idea of adopting motion picture film as a medium for storing digital data. More and more film labs have closed down around the world, and nobody knows how long motion picture film stock will continue to be manufactured, but despite that, 35 mm film is still the most reliable storage medium for moving images when money permits. In that case, the question again should be asked: What should be preserved? I would like to replace this question with another one: What would be the most desirable if one were to start a new restoration starting from digital data? It is in fact a very realistic scenario. The film has been digitally restored once and the nitrate element that was usable in the previous restoration has deteriorated to the point that it can no longer be scanned. The best practice would be to use the original scanning data, and in view of this, it is common for any restoration project to archive unmodified scanning data in addition to the final data. However, in the current situation, as described above, where the reliability of long-term storage of data is relatively low, it is conceivable that the data can no longer be accessed. In such a case, it is necessary to return to some kind of film material.

As noted above, in the early days of digital restoration, when the DCP had not yet taken root as the format of the final output, what was later recorded on 35 mm film stock was the restored final data. This is the data after image processing, involving position correction, scratch removal and grading. However, having been active in the digital restoration of early films for nearly twenty years, I am keenly aware that digital technology is constantly evolving, and that a digital restoration is nothing more than an accidental outcome that relies on the technology that happened to be available at the time. The shortcomings of digital restoration, especially the annoying digital artefacts caused by the digital processing itself (digital noise caused by manipulating contrast or unnatural traces after scratch removal, for example), become more apparent as time goes by, technology advances, resolution increases and the expertise of the restorer increases, no matter how meticulous the process has been. If the same film is to be restored after years, the result would be completely dif-

Table 9.5
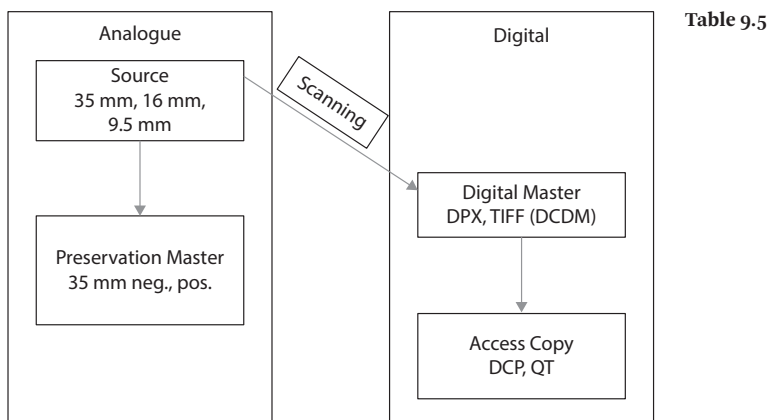
ferent. Many of the restoration results that I was actually involved with in the early stages have had to be adjusted years later.

Therefore, in recent years, I have come to think that it is from the perspective of legitimacy problematic to record such artificially modified data on 35 mm film for the purpose of permanent preservation. Table 9.5 shows a workflow which may offer a tentative answer to this question. The workflow for a presentation copy is a digital process while the one for the preservation element is an analogue process. Naturally, the original defects in the source material will be burned in as they are. Intergenerational degradation due to photochemical duplication is unavoidable, too. The defects, however, which derive from the original source and the mechanical duplication process are more authentic than the digitally generated ones. I would like to look ahead to the future, where a hybrid of analogue and digital technology will allow the coherence of presentation and preservation.

Over the past decade or so, the field of film archiving has largely shifted its focus to the digital realm. The film collection has become the backyard that supports this main battlefield from behind. The hurdle to making original material available for the public has become lower than ever. Nevertheless, research has only just begun on how to preserve digitally generated reproductions as sustainably as possible so that they can be used again in the future, and we are still in a state of limbo both theoretically and practically.

6. SURVIVAL OF FILM AS A MEDIUM

The truth is that 35 mm prints have long been absent from cinemas. Looking back on the history of film, there are countless formats that have already reached the end of their lives and have become historical entities, which in itself is nothing unusual. However, can we consider 35 mm film, which has been since its birth inextricably linked to the medium of film, as just one of the various formats that have become obsolete and are no longer useful?

It has been considered essential to have the outstanding image quality guaranteed by 35 mm prints for the large space of cinema and its large screen. For this reason, the labour and cost of delivering 35 mm prints to cinemas has been maintained since the end of the nineteenth century, in spite of their weight, volume and difficulty in handling. And audiences have continued to pay a not inconsiderable price for each film because of the extraordinary space, the time spent there, and the quality and size of the image that cannot be achieved at home.

In 2018, the sales of video-streaming services such as Netflix and Amazon Prime overtook ticket sales in cinemas. Streaming services are bringing the quality of their contents closer to that of cinemas in terms of resolution and other easy-to-understand metrics, and the time lag between the theatrical release and the start of streaming is shrinking. Although the dominance of streaming will continue to grow, most predicted that the function of cinemas to produce a ceremonial period of time when a new film is unveiled would at least remain at a certain level, albeit on a reduced scale. However, this ambiguous coexistence between the two seems to have lost its balance under the extreme situation of the current threat of the Covid-19 pandemic. With the emergence of a number of major films that were released simply via streaming, skipping theatrical release altogether, the cinema business is in many countries in crisis, at least for the time being.

Forced to stay home, people are spending more time than ever before in front of their home screens. What is seen there is still called "film," even though it has left the material of 35 mm film and the space of cinema, and seems to be drawn from a huge, abstract digital archive like a "cloud" floating in the void. A large number of films from the past which film studios and archives have managed to keep alive are in there. Audience preferences have shifted rapidly from "physical" media such as DVDs and Blu-rays to streaming, which leaves nothing behind locally, probably due to the unwarranted but somewhat solid trust that this cloud will continue to exist. In that sense, this is one of the most actual states of film archives.

FILMOGRAPHY

Az Utolsó Hajnal/The Last Dawn (Kertész Mihály [Michael Curtiz], 1917)
Geheimnisse des Orients/The Secret of the Orient (Alexander Wolkoff, 1928)
Vožd Karađorđe/The Life and Deeds of the Immortal (Ilija Stanojević, 1911)

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

FUMIKO TSUNEISHI started her career as a film archivist at the National Film Centre, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, in 1999. In 2002 she took up the first digital film restoration projects of Japan in collaboration with European film laboratories. In 2006 she began to work as the curatorial archivist at Filmarchiv Austria. Between 2014 and 2020 she worked as the head of the archive's technical department, responsible for the digitisation, digital restoration and digital archiving of European heritage films. Her publications include: "Some Pioneering Cases of Digital Restoration in Japan," *Journal of Film Preservation* 69 (2005); "From a Wooden Box to Digital Film Restoration," *Journal of Film Preservation* 85 (2011); and "Digitizing 25,000 Films a Year: A Challenge for Filmarchiv Austria," *Journal of Film Preservation* 99 (2018). Her latest digital restoration works include *Varieté* (1925), *Orlac's Hände/Hands of Orlac* (1924) and *Die Stadt ohne Juden/The City without Jews* (1924). Currently, she is working at Dokkyo University.

NOTES

1   Fujifilm stopped manufacturing film stock for motion pictures in 2014, with the exception of a few products for digital recording, whereas Kodak still continues film stock manufacturing, including products for shooting. There have been moves to tap into the new demand for film stock, primarily in the amateur film sector, including the 2016 relaunch of Super 8 products that allow hybrid shooting with digital, as well as Ektachrome in 2018.

2   In the first sense, it is an institution that is a member of the Fédération internationale des archives du film (International Federation of Film Archives, FIAF), but if it is interpreted as an institution that holds motion picture film material in addition to other materials, the number of such institutions increases almost without limit.

3   The reason why an "original camera negative" is distinguished from an "original (edited) negative" is that in some cases where a large number of prints are required, the entire original camera negative is copied onto a master positive and then edited. In such cases, the original camera negative is left unedited and almost untouched.

4   The situation in France in the 1950s is described in Penelope Houston, *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: British Film Institute, 1994), 43.

5   In 1960, the number of feature films produced in Japan reached a high of 547; since then it has declined rapidly.

6   At the rate of ten rolls each of picture and sound per film, this would mean that 2,000 rolls of new elements were being accumulated per year from the original negatives alone.

7   A picture negative and a sound negative were commonly duplicated on a single element as a composite negative.

8   It was a big step forward that the Film Library was established as a small part of the National Museum of Modern Art in 1952, in the sense that a national institution began to be involved in film preservation. It was, however, meant to collect projection prints to be presented in its own cinema and it had too few financial and personnel resources to collect, much less duplicate, nitrate or other original elements systematically for preservation purposes. In 2018, the National Film Centre gained independence from the museum to become the National Film Archive of Japan (NFAJ).

9   In 1967, an agreement was signed between the United States and Japan, and as a result of the three-year process of repatriating the films to Japan, a total of 1,286 films (102 fiction films, 521 cultural and documentary films, 25 animation films and 638 newsreels) were duplicated on safety film stock and added to the collection.

10 This is not the only venue for the nitrate elements under the control of the archive and a small amount is still kept by other institutions or companies as well, but all in all the remainder is not more than several thousand roles.

11 Nikolaus Wostry, curator of Filmarchiv Austria, had donated the fragment from his private collection to the archive, and through an information exchange with Kurutz Márton, curator of the Hungarian Film Archive, managed to identify it.

12 Anthony Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait: A History of Film Preservation in the United States* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1992).

13 Kashiko Kawakita (1908–1993), vice president of Tōwa Trading, not only distributed masterpieces of European cinema, but also devoted herself to the film archive movement in Japan. She also protected the nitrate master material of the films she distributed since the 1930s by personally establishing a specific storage facility for inflammable goods.

14 S. Genaitay, U. Ruedel, B. Dixon, A. Kross, T. Anckarman, T. Føreland, T. Delannoy, B. Alimi and F. Tsuneishi, "Preservation, Restoration, Presentation, and Policy," in *The Colour Fantastic: Chromatic Worlds of Silent Cinema*, edited by G. Fossati, V. Jackson, B. Lameris, E. Rongen-Kaynakçi, S. Street and J. Yumibe (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 261–71.

15 Dann Hertogs and Nico de Klerk, eds., *"Disorderly Order": Colours in Silent Film* (London: British Film Institute, 1996), 12.

16 Fumiko Tsuneishi, "Some Pioneering Cases of Digital Restoration in Japan," *Journal of Film Preservation* 69 (2005), 45–52.

Memory and Trust in a Time of Un-framing Film Heritage

NICO DE KLERK

ABSTRACT

Based on my experiences in a national, publicly funded film heritage institute, I'd like to reflect on the public tasks this category of institutes has been mandated with, particularly presentation, access, and visitor/user information, and the ethical issues they imply. Behind these reflections is the notion that film historians, film archivists and their expert communities must confront – and communicate – all the signifying contexts that have impacted the production, distribution, exhibition and/or archiving of films in a certain administratively defined area as a result of which the objects collected in a film heritage institute serving that area have a specific shape.

KEYWORDS
film archiving, film history, archival science, colonial cinema, film heritage institutes

In loving memory of Gustav Deutsch

Today, more than ever before, cinema heritage is available in ways different from its original manifestations, whether it concerns material aspects, projection and viewing technologies, business policies and practices, exhibition spaces and their schedules, presentation formats, purposes or target groups. Their digital semblances, on discs or online, can be watched any place at any time and in any dimension, yet often without any contextual modulation. This multiplied accessibility has removed the distinctive experiences between film heritage and newly released works – a concomitance that is repeated in many

cinema museums' onsite screenings of archival materials alongside new films that have a commercial release in film theatres in the same country or city, while their visitor information further equalises its supply of programmes with entertaining and easily digestible titbits.

The heritage experience, however, is marked by a distinct frame within which archival artefacts have been repurposed and made to comment on the times and circumstances of their production, design, marketing, screening, use, effect, aesthetics, etc. Enhanced by specific spaces, such as archives and museums, this frame stimulates concentration, reflection and sensemaking. Film archives' ubiquitous access, however, threatens to erase the notion of heritage altogether (a circumstance perceived by some, perhaps, as a liberation from these institutes' not entirely unfounded, traditional reputation for restrictive access policies). Under these conditions, no one can be blamed for forgetting the film archive, except the film archives themselves. Because as long as they fail to adequately present their artefacts, onsite *and* online, and fully inform their publics about why their holdings look or sound the way they did and – in restored and/or digitised versions – do, heritage will become a defunct, meaningless term, history a foreign country without a travel guide.[1]

JUMP

I take a short, silent non-fiction film shot probably in 1912, on the island of Java, titled *Koepok – Inenting in de Desa/Cowpox Vaccination in the Countryside* (J. C. Lamster, 1912; hereafter *Cowpox Vaccination*), as a little case study to illustrate the importance of preventing both archival amnesia and irrelevance. I will begin with a detailed discussion of a few of the film's shots and then

gradually widen the perspective to matters regarding archival work, access to and reuse of its materials. All the film elements of the title I discuss, from the one nitrate duplicate negative and two nitrate positives that were input for its preservation to the various projection prints and digital semblances, are kept at the archive of the Eye Filmmuseum, Amsterdam.[2]

In its currently available, most recently preserved 35 mm projection print, the film opens on a scene of crowds of indigenous people on their way to a vaccination site.[3] Next, it shows an indigenous vaccinator arriving in a country village whose inhabitants and those of surrounding settlements are waiting to have their babies inoculated, which duly happens in the next few shots that show the vaccinator at work on an open-air platform. The film ends on a "group portrait" that crams as many people as possible in its limited field of view.[4]

Commissioned by the Koloniaal Instituut in 1911, shortly after its foundation the year before, the film is part of a collection of information and propaganda films made on location in colonial Indonesia (at the time called the Netherlands East Indies). Films – as well as lantern lectures and exhibitions – were used as instruments in the educational task the institute had assigned itself, convinced as it was that "in various circles of the Dutch population knowledge about colonial matters leaves much to be desired."[5] For the making of these films, J. C. Lamster, a captain in the colonial army at the Topographical Department, a division of the Engineer Corps, was hired while he was on leave in the Netherlands. After having been sent to Pathé Frères, in Paris, to inform himself of the "current developments of cinematography,"[6] Lamster and his family returned to the Netherlands East Indies in February 1912. With them sailed a Pathé cameraman, Octave Collet, whom the Koloniaal Instituut had hired for six months, after which time Lamster was supposed to be able to finish the job by himself.[7] Filming lasted from the spring of 1912 – the earliest reference I found to the making of these films was a report in a Bandung-based newspaper of April 1912[8] – through the early summer of 1913.

Even this little bit of information is already relevant to come to grips with a moment in this archival projection print of *Cowpox Vaccination*. The moment in question is the jump in shot number two, showing a procession, to a camera position closer to the people passing in front of it – shot number three. This was not an unknown option at the time, no doubt for economical reasons (saving film stock – an essential consideration when filming on location). But it is rather unusual in this collection of films, in which overall scene and shot coincide – similar to the tableau style in fiction films – in order to show activities and movements uninterruptedly. Whenever filming conditions allowed, closer shots showing details were made to be cut in later, but as a rule, a cut was made only when activities came to an end or moved to another locale, a

transition commonly marked by a title panel.[9] At the time, the early 1910s, this way of filming was the default mode of many industrials, travelogues and other non-fiction films. However, the abovementioned jump was almost certainly made in the camera; the fact that in shot number three the open-air barber by the side of the road is still cutting the hair of the client in shot number two indicates that not much time had been lost between the two camera set-ups.

During the years that this film was available for public screenings – as all of the films in this collection, less than a decade and a half[10] – either or both

of these shots were shortened, possibly the result of damage caused by wear or tear which was then replaced by shortening and splicing the film. In fact, in both nitrate positives that were input for the film's preservation one can spot a *copied* splice, a white horizontal line just below the upper frame line in the first frame of shot three. Made by overlapping one image partially with the next one – after the loss of one or more frames, the two ends of the film strip were cemented together again – a splice, when copied, can be seen in a new positive print as a white horizontal line, a result of the light deflected by the overlap during the duplication process. What this means, then, is that these two elements belong to a generation of prints at one or more removes from the originals. Despite these changes, though, the retained, in-camera jump to a closer position within the profilmic space suggests a more experienced, livelier notion of the topic to be filmed. And in this one may see the hand of a professional cameraman. Hence, incidentally, the shooting of the film can arguably be dated before September 1912, when the Pathé employee's contract expired.

One may be tempted to see the mark of a professional confirmed in the transition from shot four to five. These two shots show the arrival of the vaccinator in the village, who subsequently walks towards the camera that pans along with him (another shot variation to give this film record more animation) until he exits screen right; in shot number five he is picked up again entering screen left. This filmically conceived option looks even more unusual, not just in this collection, but in contemporary non-fiction filmmaking generally: an instance of continuity editing. But it is precisely for its rarity that I seriously doubt that the copied splice between *these* two shots reflects the same "level of intentionality"[11] as the moment discussed above. The transition between shots four and five begs another explanation.

EPITEXTS

To find out how shots four and five came to hang together we need to know more than the print can tell us. In fact, none of the abovementioned, surviving nitrate elements that formed the input for this preservation contains the image information to enable us to arrive at a satisfactory answer; the copied splice was already in the nitrate duplicate negative. As noted, the two nitrate positives and the one nitrate duplicate negative are all that is left of what for all practical purposes may be called the original materials; no camera negative or complete first-generation projection prints have survived. As a matter of fact, during my inspection of the remaining nitrate materials of this entire collection, in 2009 and 2010, I found that almost no element could be posi-

Fig. 10.3

Fig. 10.4

tively said to have been made in 1912 or 1913. What I did find was that insofar years of stock manufacture, release or production could be identified through edge marks, most of the materials date back to between 1917 and 1924.[12] With regard to *Cowpox Vaccination*, parts of its composite duplicate negative consist of Kodak film stock made in 1923; the two positives could not be identified precisely, but as they measure almost the same length, contain the same number of shots, and copy some of the duplicate negative's physical and formal characteristics they can safely be dated around that same year.

More unequivocal information about these elements' histories comes from some of the film's epitexts: the Koloniaal Instituut's film catalogues, its annual reports and what remains of its business papers. From the latter, we learn that the institute rented its films exclusively to schools, colleges and universities, museums, colonial and trade expositions, various associations and other educational, non-theatrical venues.[13] I surmise that it is for its endeavour to "avoid the character of a commercial cinema screening," with its proverbial cheap and garish amusements, that all its prints were initially left in black and white.[14]

The film catalogues bring us a step closer to the remaining prints. The institute published three editions of its film catalogue, those of 1914, 1918, and 1923. Each subsequent edition shows significant differences from the preceding edition. As the institute explained in the second edition:

> The changes and corrections introduced mainly consisted of removing failed or unclear parts, shortening lengthy scenes, correcting and adding intertitles, putting parts in the right order as well as inserting, in some films, still images in order to supplement the topic as much as possible.
>
> By transferring the topics of some films to separate ones, the original number of films [...] was raised from fifty-five to fifty-eight. Furthermore, due to their great length, fifteen films were split into two films of equal length, increasing the collection by another fifteen.[15]

What this announcement omitted to mention, let alone motivate, however, is that the new prints were now coloured (mostly by tinting). Indeed, the two abovementioned nitrate positive prints are both tinted, while the nitrate duplicate negative contains colour instructions for the lab scratched in black leader film plus a few inserted, orange-tinted title panels. Left unmentioned, too, was the acquisition of 1,000 m of Pathé Frères footage, parts of which were included in a number of newly made projection prints (prints containing this material could not be shown outside the Netherlands, in all probability for reasons of copyright) as well as additional footage shot in 1917 by L. Ph. de Bussy, director of the institute's Trade Museum, with Lamster's camera (which had remained in the colony). As a result of the corrections, rearrangements and additions practically no title escaped changes in length compared with the 1914 catalogue. In 1923 a similar operation was undertaken. All these invasive measures taken over the years could be quite drastic. *Cowpox Vaccination*, for instance, was cut from 150 m in the 1914 catalogue to 110 m in the 1918 edition, and finally to 45 m in the 1923 edition. In fact, the latter length is almost identical to the length of all three remaining nitrate elements mentioned – small differences between them are due to the length of title panels and leader film (see note 1).

What this strongly suggests, then, is that rather than having survived the Koloniaal Instituut's inspections, it is far more likely that this seemingly unique instance of continuity editing between shots four and five was *accidentally created* by the removal of one or more intermediate shots, now lost, that might have shown other parts of the vaccinator's walk through the village. As a matter of fact, if the missing part would only have contained this walk, then this 40-metre cut might have been made already in 1918. But that all shots were linked by continuity is, given the then accepted, predominant stylistic choices, extremely unlikely. Unfortunately, no printed brochure of this title, a so-called "illustration" (*toelichting*), the text of which was compulsory reading during the film's screening, has survived.[16] One cannot, therefore, establish what an earlier, longer version might have included. Nor has any of the footage removed in both 1918 and 1923, as far as I can tell, been reinserted in another title's print. But one thing seems almost certain: the alteration in *Cowpox Vaccination* was not meant to introduce a new type of shot transition we now call continuity editing.

Parenthetically, there may have been more considerations to adapt the prints besides the ones mentioned in the 1918 catalogue. For instance, a comment in the introduction to the 1918 brochure to the film *A Car Ride through Bandung* indicates that it had outlived its use value: "Bandung is in the grip of a veritable construction frenzy that seems to transform the city daily. Therefore, the film, shot in 1913, does not at all show the city of today."[17] Although information regarding revised versions has hardly come down to us, this quotation does point up the efforts made to update the institute's film collection. Nevertheless, rearrangements, elisions or additions in subsequent prints of *A Car Ride through Bandung* could not in the end camouflage the changes the city had undergone since the film's making.

SECONDARY PROVENANCE

So why all this detail? Well, because usually the elements that constitute the input for an archival projection print – analogue or digital – are inaccessible to audiences, often even to researchers, for reasons of safeguarding, copyright and other legal measures (embargoes, various Enemy Property Acts, for instance), sensitive content, fragile materials, uninventoried materials, deficient retrieval systems or sheer secrecy. They are also routinely left unmentioned in visitor information and other forms of publicity or in newly made prints. Unlike projection prints of titles preserved or restored by, for instance, the Cinémathèque française in Paris or the Cinematek in Brussels, it is still not common practice to preamble prints with information about their input

materials (their genealogy and generation, physical characteristics, production or distribution traces) and the technologies used to create the new prints. Providing longer introductory texts seems worth the trouble only in the cases of films that have a certain prestige. Customarily, though, by not pointing out why an archival projection print looks or sounds the way it does obstructs an audience's appreciation and understanding. Surely a responsible cinematheque doesn't want its visitors to leave its premises with the idea that the Koloniaal Instituut's collection contains an early instance of continuity editing. And this particular type of knowledge, the history of film style, is just one aspect of these institutes' pivotal role in restoring the forgotten.

What is more, information about original circumstances and considerations does not suffice. Canadian archivist Lori Podolsky Nordland has written: "A document is more than its subject content and the context of its original creation. Throughout its life cycle, it continually evolves, acquiring additional meanings and layers, even after crossing the archival threshold." Nordland has termed these additional layers of context and meaning *secondary provenance*.[18] The archival term *provenance* refers to the entity that creates or receives items in a collection. The relevant, multiple entities in this particular little case study are – to keep things simple – the commissioning institute, the filmmakers and the heritage institute where the film elements are now stored.[19]

Ideally, the role of its current repository differs from the other two. Because during its appraisal of incoming archival materials a heritage institute commonly applies the principle of provenance as a guideline for evaluation on the basis of the creator's and/or owners' mandates and functions. But creators or owners, of course, are free to do with their materials as they see fit. This, as we have seen, happened at the Koloniaal Instituut with its invasive measures and changes of policy, from black-and-white to coloured prints, for instance. And in 1918 it also permitted the Association for the Promotion of the Netherlands Abroad to commission a Dutch entrepreneur to make a compilation of these materials for a coloured, more exoticising film; Dutch intertitled prints of this film and a domestic distributor's logo are evidence that this film, titled *Onze Oost/Our Eastern Province* (Johan Gildemeijer, 1919), was released in Dutch commercial cinema theatres.[20] With all these decisions the Koloniaal Instituut created, and allowed the creation of, new meanings and contexts for new audiences. Such practical decisions and measures may actually make a creator overwrite, even forget, its *own* archive. Only by the time when its materials have ceased serving commercial, practical and/or ideological purposes and start to be forgotten, they may find their way to a heritage institute, to which then falls the task of halting amnesia and sorting out the layers of context, meaning, significance and/or purpose.

Once inside a film heritage institute, another element of provenance

becomes relevant: the arrangement and description of these materials directly related to their original and/or subsequent shapes, purposes, and functions. That is why, in the case of the films commissioned by the Koloniaal Instituut, 1923 is such a crucial date. Because during my inspection of the materials – the latest comprehensive inventory of these archival materials to date – I could not but conclude that there was no point in following the institute's initial plans and earliest catalogue, for there simply was not enough footage in support of that. I could only date back with any certainty less than a handful of partial film elements to 1912–1913. Given the large number of duplicate negatives in the collection, older prints were plausibly discarded after new, revised ones had been struck. I, therefore, recommended to take the catalogue of 1923 as a reference point for new preservations and projection prints, because more – though not all – nitrate materials agreed with the lengths and titles in that year's catalogue than with the earlier two. My proposal, then, implied not only that all new safety prints of the titles shot by or under the supervision of Lamster should be coloured, but that a number of them would be *shorter* than some titles' longest available nitrate materials. This is always a sore spot for film archivists, who often appear to identify "originals" with prints of greater length and directorial intentions – as the restoration histories of *Metropolis* (Fritz Lang, 1927) or *Napoléon vu par Abel Gance* (Abel Gance, 1927) illustrate – even though at the time, not a soul may have seen such versions. But Lamster was a mere hired hand and as was customary for non-fiction films of the time, his name was never mentioned on the prints or in the catalogues. The choice for the 1923 catalogue as a reference recognises the central role of the Koloniaal Instituut as sponsor, distributor, editor and owner of the materials, which it emphatically imprinted onto audiences through their title panels and logo.

Above I said that the role of the heritage institute is "ideally" different from that of record creators. But the work on this collection over the years (mine was the third effort in a period of about twenty years to inspect this collection of films for preservation, presentation and research purposes) actually exemplifies how reality often disrupts ambition. As a result of these successive efforts, this group of films now exists in projection prints in black-and-white 16 mm reduction prints, in black-and-white 35 mm prints, in 35 mm colour prints and in digital formats (albeit inconsistently, as they mix coloured and black-and-white versions). Available budget, increased knowledge, ethical considerations and priorities (or occasions to create priorities – in this case, the abovementioned book on Lamster and the accompanying DVD), amongst others – determine such decisions. One can safely say that this film heritage institute, just like the Koloniaal Instituut, simply has continued creating its own additional layers of context, significance and meaning.

But let us assume – again according to the principle of provenance – that the arrangement and description of these materials have been satisfactorily aligned to one of the Koloniaal Instituut's purposes or policies. Then a new phase of forgetfulness sets in immediately. Because the moment films have been restored, preserved and made available for screening or streaming, film-makers come knocking on the door for their found footage or compilation film. Or a picture researcher inquires about "content" for a TV programme. Or an advertising agency calls about "material" for a commercial. This is what actually happens on a daily basis at a sizeable film heritage institute.

Nowadays this "knocking on the door" is further encouraged by these institutes' digital channels, on their own websites, on YouTube, Vimeo or elsewhere. These "display windows" make wonderful promotional material, even though they may not always have been intended function that way (European Film Gateway 1914, for instance[21]). Nonetheless, this is where filmmakers, picture researchers, companies as well as private individuals may find the stuff they need or like without being overmuch bothered by history or any other type of relevant knowledge. This, you might say, is one way of returning to the public what the public made possible: the creation of an institute with a mandate to collect, research, preserve, present and access the film heritage of a particular administrative unit, regardless of the use made of it by visitors, users, clients, etc.

However, from an archival and film historical point of view, I observe that such channels often fail in their tasks of explanation, sensemaking or interpretation, whether it concerns archival, technical, aesthetic, business, and other (film)-historical information, or whatever else appears to be relevant in a given case.[22] Of course, from the users' perspective, this very lack provides them with an unbiased service (here I leave aside – not unlike many users and digital platforms in their own ways – copyright issues regarding preserved materials[23]). One client might want to use a film like *Cowpox Vaccination* to argue the beneficence of Dutch colonial rule during the era of the so-called Ethical Policy, which professed to put the welfare of the local population, their health, education, or employment, before profit. Another might use the same film to argue that, despite such enlightened notions, only the most routine types of jobs in these fields, such as vaccinator, were offered to indigenes (or Indo-Europeans for that matter). And yet another might want to demonstrate that J. C. Lamster was the inventor of continuity editing.

Secondary provenance is an open-ended process. In all this, it befits a film heritage institute, certainly a publicly funded one, to act with reserve and impartiality. Apart, perhaps, from refusing requests for materials by obvious

enemies of the public, an archive is no arbiter of taste or sentinel of sensemaking. It fulfils a gatekeeper function by virtue of its film-historical and -technical know-how, but it is paid by the public to serve the public. Despite all this, nothing absolves a film heritage institute from performing its important, mandatory task: to make sure, between subsequent instances of amnesia, that all these layers of history, all these additional meanings and signifying contexts are retrieved, preserved, researched and made fully available. And while users, whenever they are so inclined, may only cherry-pick from all this knowledge, there is no compelling reason to copy this selectiveness, let alone nonchalance. Memory is the basis of the authority on which rests the public trust that heritage institutes should strive for. Nobody else does.

FILMOGRAPHY

A Car Ride through Bandung (1913)
Koepok – Inenting in de Desa/Cowpox Vaccination in the Countryside
    (J. C. Lamster, 1912)
Metropolis (Fritz Lang, 1927)
Napoléon vu par Abel Gance (Abel Gance, 1927)
Onze Oost/Our Eastern Province (Johan Gildemeijer, 1919)

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1   For a wider and more widely sourced account concerning the policies of film heritage institutes, see my *Showing and Telling: Film Heritage Institutes and Their Performance of Public Accountability* (Wilmington, DE, and Malaga: Vernon Press, 2017).

2   *Koepok – Inenting in de Desa* (The Netherlands: Koloniaal Instituut, 1912), J. C. Lamster [Octave Collet]. The details are:

- Nitrate duplicate negative A394, 35 mm full frame, b&w, tinting, 43 m, Dutch titles, preservation element
- Nitrate positive B2323, 35 mm full frame, b&w, tinting, 46 m, Dutch titles, preservation element
- Nitrate positive B4728, 35 mm full frame, b&w, tinting, 48.4 m, Dutch titles, preservation element
- Acetate duplicate negative C2317, 35 mm full frame, b&w, 51.5 m, Dutch titles, preservation element
- Acetate positive D6648, 35 mm full frame, b&w, [51.5 m], Dutch titles, projection print
- Acetate duplicate intermediate negative C5643, 35 mm full frame, b&w, 51 m, Dutch titles, preservation element
- Actetate positive DK6643, 35 mm full frame, 51m, b&w, colour, Dutch titles, projection print
- DVD 141–11, b&w, [2'40]
- Playable rendition, .mxf, IMX 50, 25, b&w, colour, [2'40"]

3   This print was made in 2010. Its creation was occasioned by the publication of a book on its filmmaker, J. C. Lamster. See Janneke van Dijk, Jaap de Jonge and Nico de Klerk, *J. C. Lamster, een vroege filmmaker in Nederlands-Indië* [J. C. Lamster, an early filmmaker in the Netherlands East Indies] (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2010). The film's digital version was included in a DVD of the same title that was packaged with the book.

4   Information about the camera's 18 mm lens's limitations comes from a letter to the board of directors of the Koloniaal Instituut, the film's sponsor, written by its secretary, Professor Wijsman, who, during his public relations tour in colonial Indonesia on behalf of the institute had visited the filmmaker that it had hired; H. P. Wijsman, "Letter, January 20, 1913," 3; Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (Royal Institute for the Tropics). This was the new name given to the Koloniaal Instituut in 1950, a change necessitated by the formal independence of the Indonesian colony, in December 1949. Hereafter KIT], Amsterdam, 4314.

5   Koloniaal Instituut, *Eerste jaarverslag, 1910–1911* [First annual report, 1910–1911] (Amsterdam, 1912), 14. This meant that the films were screened to Dutch audiences only, although requests for loans to other European countries were routinely granted. But they were not made available for screenings in the colony.

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6   Koloniaal Instituut, *Tweede jaarverslag, 1912* [Second annual report, 1912] (Amsterdam, 1913), 17.

7   Ibid.

8   De Preanger-Bode, "Opening Dessa-Landbouwschool" ["Agricultural Country School Opening"], 17, no. 112 (April 24, 1912), morning edn., 2. Delpher, http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB08:000128484:mpeg21:p001.

9   In modern parlance one might say that there was no decoupage, only montage.

10 After their premiere, in April 1915, the films were in distribution for twelve years. In 1927 the Koloniaal Instituut announced: "To avoid further deterioration of the film collection from now on it will mainly be reserved for use by the association [Koloniaal Instituut] itself"; Koloniaal Instituut, *Zeventiende jaarverslag, 1927* [Seventeenth annual report, 1927] (Amsterdam, 1928), 14.

11 Guy Edmonds, "Conserving the Unwieldy Body: A Material Approach to the Cinematographic Remains of Paul Julien," in *Tourists and Nomads: Amateur Images of Migration*, edited by Sonja Kmec and Viviane Thill (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2012), 25–32.

12 Edgemarks, or edge data, are (a combination of) numbers, letters or company names printed on the edge of film rolls by stock manufacturers, production companies and/or labs. Their systematicity allows the identification of the year of manufacture, production and/or release.

13 Apparently for a long time no film rent was charged. Only the 1923 catalogue mentions, besides restitution of overhead, "a small fee […] of 1 cent per metre per screening, earmarked for partly covering the costs of maintenance and repair of the image collections." Koloniaal Instituut, *Catalogus van kinematografische opnamen van de Koninklijke Vereeniging "Koloniaal Instituut" te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1923), 3.

14 Minutes of the Board of Directors of the Koloniaal Instituut, January 15, 1912, 8; KIT, 219. At the time, it was not unusual for films to be coloured by various applied processes (i.e. *after* a black-and-white positive print had been made), such as tinting, toning and/or stencilling. For more information, see Paul Read and Mark-Paul Meyer, eds., *Restoration of Motion Picture Film* (Oxford and Woburn, MA: Butterworth and Heinemann, 2000), 41–44.

15 Koloniaal Instituut, *Achtste jaarverslag, 1918* [Eighth annual report, 1918] (Amsterdam, 1919), 18. This annual report contained the 1918 catalogue in Appendix XII.

16 These "illustrations" were introduced more or less simultaneously with the 1918 catalogue; ibid., 18, 86.

17 This "construction frenzy" erupted in the wake of the plans, in the late 1910s and early 1920s, to move the seat of the colonial government from Batavia – today's Jakarta – to Bandung and its healthier climate.

18 Lori Podolsky Nordland, "The Concept of 'Secondary Provenance': Re-interpreting Ac co mok ki's Map as Evolving Text," *Archivaria* 58, no. 1 (2004), 147–59.

19 With "simple" I mean to abstract from the local cameraman Lamster hired for a short period of time after Octave Collet's return to France – on both there is hardly any more information than what I have stated here; from the Koloniaal Instituut's role in renting the films and providing lecturers; from the fact that the films had been housed at this institute and its successor, the Royal Institute for the Tropics, until the latter transferred the materials to the then Nederlands Filmmuseum between the late 1960s and early 1990s; from the Dutch National Archive, The Hague, and the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, where original elements of the film's epitexts are kept; as well as from the erstwhile Department of Colonial Affairs, which had paid Lamster's salary for the duration of the commission and pressured the Koloniaal Instituut into greater activity in pushing its film catalogue.

20 *Onze Oost/Our Eastern Province*, The Netherlands (Vereeniging tot Verbreiding van Kennis over Nederland in den Vreemde [Association for the Propagation of Knowledge about the Netherlands Abroad]), 1919, domestic distributor HAP-Film, print identification number DK1823, 35 mm full frame (safety projection print), b&w, colour, silent, 1401 m, 69,' Dutch titles.

21 EFG1914 Project, https://europeanfilmgateway.eu/content/efg1914-project.

22 With this I mean, of course, *historically* relevant. Many a Communication Department's efforts to point out an artefact's relevance for *today* are misguided and futile, as that is precisely what their users and consumers can easily define themselves.

23 For more information about these issues in film archival settings, see the recent, in-depth study by Claudy Op den Kamp, *The Greatest Films Never Seen: The Film Archive and the Copyright Smokescreen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

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"Uncontained" Archives of Cinema

RASHMI DEVI SAWHNEY

ABSTRACT

In this chapter, two central questions are explored with respect to archives and historical narratives: How might we read or write into the absences that mark dispersed and transitionary archives? And, given that historiography now includes multiple media and formats, how do we comprehend the relationship between historical time and technological time? I draw upon my own work on Fatma Begum (1892–1983, the first South Asian female director-producer) along with the work of experimental filmmaker Kamal Swaroop on D. G. Phalke (1870–1944, the first South Asian male director, considered "the father of Indian cinema"). In doing so, I wish to address the relationship between archives, history, and time in the context of plural cultural imaginaries of the past and present.

This chapter is based on a paper I presented at the "Forgetting the Archives: Exploring Past Images in the Digital Age" event held at the University of Şehir, Istanbul, in November 2018, when the world was a very different place. In the brief span of a few months, our lives seem to have moved entirely online, with emergent anxieties about public spaces and physical contact completely breaking down previously held notions of public space and polity. In this context, the question of film archives also takes on a fresh urgency, as we see more and more film festivals going online, trying to both share from their archives as well as work out feasible models of digital streaming revenues. While the original impetus for the "Forgetting the Archives" event was the announcement by the Turkish Ministry of Culture's plans to set up a film archive, the visionary title of the conference had already signalled its nod towards the digital. It was, in a manner, an opportune moment to try to grapple with the question of how to imagine a film archive in ways that were more amenable to digital and post-colonial contexts.[1]

In this chapter, I draw upon examples from Indian film history to offer an alternative conceptualisation of archives, by way of what I call the "uncontained archive." An uncontained archive is an archive that negates the totalitarianism of the colonial archive. It is incomplete and always in the process of being built and rebuilt, and as a consequence of its fluidity, allows us to think of historical narratives as projections into present times, rather than as entities belonging to a distant and cut-off past.[2] The uncontained archive is not an archive of contained plenitude, but an unpredictable, dispersed, unreliable and evasive archive that doesn't already exist, but has to be brought into existence and will always be incomplete.

In the first section of the article, I draw out some of the "on-field" challenges faced by film historians and cultural theorists that necessitate the move towards conceptualising archives differently. In the second section I focus on two figures from early cinema, namely Fatma Begum (1892–1983) and D. G. Phalke (1870–1944) – India's first female and male directors, respectively – to conceptualise the relationship between the uncontained archive and historiography. And finally, I briefly address the implications of the uncontained archive and speculative accounts on historical method and objectivity.

1. ARCHIVES AND HISTORIES OF INDIAN CINEMA

It is by now an old argument that the Hollywood mode of production, and consequent film theories established with either the popular Hollywood film or the artistic European film as the standard, cannot explain film cultures and histories across the world.[3] In countries like India, which have had robust film cultures from the very early days of cinema – having withstood the censorship and regulation imposed by the British during colonial rule, as well as the aggressive competition of the American film industry – cinema has served a rather distinctive social purpose, and developed a unique form, commonly associated with the "Bollywood" film. Along with these films, which are predominantly made in Mumbai/Bombay,[4] the cities of Chennai, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Kochi, Trivandrum, Bangalore (and others) also house fully fledged film industries, producing films in several Indian languages other than Hindi (the language of Bollywood films). This scenario has posed a great challenge in trying to establish what is India's "national cinema," which can only be seen as a combination of multiple "regional cinemas" coexisting with a relatively more pan-Indian Bombay cinema.[5]

As we know from the Hollywood industry, or indeed from European cinemas, language has been among the key defining aspects of a "national cinema." However, as there is no consensus on a "national" language in India, and there has been a long and often violent history of linguistic conflict in various parts of the country,[6] along with the fact that some of the "regional language" industries are actually more productive than Bollywood in terms of the number of films made, this question of a "national" film culture has been a vexed one. In turn, this has posed a further challenge to the writing of film history, as well as the imagination of a "national" film archive. As argued by Stephen Putnam Hughes, the nature of an archive bears upon the historical accounts it allows for, and therefore one could extrapolate this to speculate whether film historiography is only as good (or bad) as the archives that seed it.[7]

The issue outlined above is the conceptual challenge, but there is also a ground-level challenge, which is that there are no exhaustive archives of Indian cinema to rummage through. This issue has been discussed and debated ad nauseam by Indian film historians and theorists, and a number of conferences and publications have been devoted to addressing this national tragedy. For example, the journal *Bioscope: South Asian Screen Studies* has published several articles examining the historian's predicament triggered by the absent archive.[8] Likewise, the *Journal of the Moving Image*, published by the Department of Film Studies, Jadavpur University, brought out in 2010 a special issue on the question of archives and the writing of film history.[9] The challenges are especially magnified in the study of early cinema. Out of the hundreds of films

made, only a handful of silent films survive, and there is almost no ancillary material available from the 1900s onward for almost three decades.[10] In their editorial for the special issue on "Archives and History," Vasudevan et al. point out:

> Absence appears to be a governing trope in the study of film history in the subcontinent: absent films, non-existent studio papers, intermittent, and mostly doubtful statistical series, a lack, inability or wilful indifference on the part of government institutions to make records accessible; many a time is the eager researcher confronted with the death-knell scribble "file not transferred" on her archive requisition slip. As many scholars have noted, perhaps the most difficult absence of all is the researcher's confrontation with the fact of mortality, the failure to speak to people and record their experience in time. The project of capturing live testimony, whether through interviews or ethnographic engagement at various sites of film activity emerges as a pressing agenda in contemporary bids to develop an archive of experience.[11]

The official archive of Indian cinema, the National Film Archive of India (NFAI) in Pune, is the most comprehensive film archive in the country, so to speak. However, it is infamous for both deliberate and accidental negligence, which has led to the destruction of many film prints, as well as film journals, periodicals and other such materials. In an article that discusses the devastating 2003 fire at the NFAI which led to the loss of several film prints, Ramesh Kumar makes the optimistic suggestion that the global fetishisation of the nitrate film reel as an artefact in and by itself, hadn't quite taken root in India, mitigating the impact of the loss caused by the NFAI fire for film historiography.[12]

While Kumar's benevolence towards a history of negligence may help ease the blow, it is indisputable that as a consequence of such challenges, historians of Indian cinema have had to fairly quickly adopt innovative methods departing from the film print as the primary object for the study of cinema. This has included adventurous scavenging around for material objects such as discarded celluloid in recycling yards, film posters, film memorabilia, song booklets and private collections.[13] All these approaches have generated an exciting body of work in the realm of what one might call "speculative history," which makes an important contribution to the theorising of the relationship between archives and histories.[14]

In an important assessment of the relationship between archives and histories of Tamil cinema, Stephen Putnam Hughes uses the term "living archive" to indicate the importance of re-mediatised film archives, where "traces of the past, become part of the vision for the future."[15] Hughes derives the term

"living archive" from Stuart Hall's essay "Constituting an Archive," written in the context of constituting an archive of Black and Asian artistic production in the UK, and presented during the Living Archive conference. Hall points out that "the moment of the archive represents the end of a certain kind of creative innocence, and the beginning of a new stage of self-consciousness, of self-reflexivity in an artistic movement."[16] Resisting the totalitarian drive of the archive, Hall suggests that the very idea of a "living archive" contradicts completeness, as new work produced is added to it and each interpretation inflects it differently.

> The archive has to insist on heterodoxy. [...] Archives are not inert historical collections. They always stand in an active *dialogic* relation to the questions which the present puts to the past; and the present always puts its questions differently from one generation to another.[17]

I use Hall's prompt as a point of departure, to raise questions about "archival prosperity" and the "richness of interpretation," addressing the dilemma of countries like India, where film history exists and thrives despite the absence of any proper archive. These are living histories oozing out of heterodox and unruly archives, rather than the products of mighty archives, as popularised by the influential work of Jacques Derrida.[18]

In critical theory, and in archival practice, archives have conventionally been imagined as closed buildings with rows and rows of dusty shelves holding precious boxes of indexed and classified material that function as the secret DNA to knowledge and therefore, power. In the context of a film archive, the dusty shelves would include film prints, publications, media reports, photographs and so on. The presumption has been that a more complete archive leads to more complete knowledge and, therefore, more complete control or grasp over a subject. In other words, the more comprehensive the data or information contained within an archive, the more sophisticated are assumed to be our methods of knowledge production, and more authoritative our comprehension of the object of knowledge. This begs the question: Must an archive always be seen as a measure of comprehensiveness? And if this then translates into the haves and the have nots of film history, at least as far as the disciplines of cinema and media studies are concerned, how do we make sense of the incomplete archive? How do we understand archives that spill over and beyond their proper restricted space into everyday life? André Malraux's idea of a "museum without walls" helps us to think of these kinds of archives.[19] What are the forms that historiography can take in the context of digital technology and semi-organised data that is constantly vanishing and reappearing in different locations? What happens to the idea of a "historical

document" in light of what Henry Jenkins calls "convergence culture,"[20] where we are both producers and consumers of media content? The fact that YouTube is now probably our largest online archive and that it is crowd-sourced, generates challenges and possibilities that we haven't had to grapple with in the context of the classical physical archive. In the Indian context – as I will go on to show – this spilling over isn't just about technology, but also about the classification of different conceptions of time, or the relationship between historical time and technological time.

2. FATMA BEGUM AND D. G. PHALKE: EXPERIMENTS IN FILM HISTORIOGRAPHY

Fatma Begum

In addressing these questions, the first example I draw upon is my own film historical work on Fatma Begum (1892–1983),[21] British Asia's first female director, producer and scriptwriter who worked in Bombay in the 1920s and the 1930s. I have been attempting to explore Fatma Begum's life and work for over a decade now, and my explorations seem to have taken the shape of an ongoing probe, which is perhaps what Monica Dall'Asta and Jane Gaines (2015)[22] embrace in their suggestion of "constellating" with women workers from earlier periods in film history, as a durational investment. What I recount here in the form of a synopsis is an account pieced together after several years of persistent enquiry, drawing upon a range of different sources.

Fatma was born in 1892 in the state of Sachin, and her husband, Ibrahim Muhammad Yakub Khan III, was probably of Siddhi descent, as was Fatma herself. The Siddhis (also known as Habshis) were of East African origin, belonging to the Bantu tribe in Ethiopia. They were brought to India initially by the Arabs and later by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, largely as slaves, but were also recruited as soldiers, while some came as traders. They are considered to have risen in political rank and economic influence, establishing two states of their own in the eighteenth century, of which Sachin was one, with its own model of governance and cultural practices. Thus, it turns out that the first female director of South Asian cinema was probably of East African descent, a fact that hasn't been emphasised enough in Indian film historiography, which has tended to trace the origins of Indian cinema back to the "indigenising efforts" of filmmakers like D. G. Phalke and others, who were in search for an "Indian idiom" of filmmaking.

Fatma was one of the wives of the Prince of Sachin, the ruler of a small princely state in the western part of India in present-day Gujarat. She migrated to Bombay in the early twentieth century; the date is uncertain, but one sus-

pects that it may have been around 1913, the year listed as her year of death in the lineage documents of the Prince's family. It would have been perceived as rather disgraceful for someone from a royal family to leave her husband, migrate to a big city and join the movies, and therefore, declaring her dead may have been a more convenient option. Fatma went to Bombay with her three daughters, and not much is yet known of her life in Bombay for about a decade, until 1926 when she set up Fatma Film Corporation, later renaming it in 1928 as Victoria Fatma Film Corporation.

Her first film as a director, *Bulbul-e-Parastan/Bird of Fairyland* (1926), was produced under her own banner which also produced all the other films she directed, which included: *The Goddess of Love* (1927), *Heer Ranjha* (1928), *Chandravali* (1928), *Kanaktara* (1929), *Milan Dinar/Meeting Day* (1929), *Naseeb ni Devi/Lady of Fortune* (1929) and *Shakuntala* (1929).[23] Ironically, 1929, the year of highest productivity for the studio, was also its last year; she got embroiled in a number of legal cases, stopped directing or producing films, taking up only some acting roles in the 1930s, with the last one being in *Duniya Kya Hai/Resurrection* (G. P. Pawar, 1938).

In the absence of any material in the NFAI, barring a very small number of reviews of a couple of her films, I have often had to trace her life through that of her daughters – Zubeida, Sultana and Shehzadi – whom she brought with her to Bombay from Sachin. The daughters established themselves as successful stars in the Bombay film industry, and there are several films in which Fatma herself acted with her daughters. Zubeida played the lead actress in the first South Asian talkie, *Alam Ara* (Ardeshir Irani, 1931), and Sultana is reported as being among the highest paid actresses in silent cinema in the 1920s. Fatma's own life and work lies at this strange crossroad represented by Zubeida and Sultana, that is, the transition from silent to sound cinema. The absence of available prints of Fatma's films means that the aesthetic and form of her craft (or the lack of it) will remain concealed from us until the prints are located. However, this absence also propels researchers onto the by lanes of improper and uncontained archives.

By 1930, Fatma had to fold up her film production business, as did so many other small producers who could not successfully make the transition into the talkies. The story of Fatma's production house is as exciting as a racy thriller, and I have written about this in more detail elsewhere.[24] My main source in constructing this history have been newspaper reports of the many legal cases that Fatma was embroiled in from about 1929 to 1933.[25] The coverage of these cases in mainstream newspapers, such as the *Times of India*, provide dramatic details about her life, such as the fact that she drove a Rolls Royce, lived on Carter Road (a posh area in Bombay), had her production house in Bandra, sat in court with her face lightly veiled, had not paid money she owed and was

Fig. 11.1
A digital image of Fatma that has surfaced on Wikimedia with its original source unidentified. Source: Wikimedia.

Fig. 11.2
Digital artwork by Mishta Roy, blending images of Fatma and her daughter, Sultana. Source: Mishta Roy, reproduced with permission of the artist.

briefly married to a man who probably attempted to take control of her studio and possibly also instigated various individuals to file charges against her. There were charges of fraud, forging of mortgage documents, the theft of a film-printing machine, money taken from producers for films that were never completed, allegations of stolen jewellery and so on.

Fatma's story may be considered symbolic of the desperate situation of several small-scale filmmakers in the transition from silent cinema to the talkies, but it is particularly indicative of the tremendous instinct for survival that women entrepreneurs in the film industry had to summon. The multiple legal cases are symptomatic of the struggles of a woman with no history of making films attempting to build a career in the industry at perhaps the most precarious phase in the history of Indian cinema: the transition from silent to sound cinema. This transition, as we know, led to the closing down of many studios (and the emergence of new studios based on the logic of curtailing risk), bringing to an end or into substantial revision many careers in the film industry.[26]

Many of these and other details revealed themselves to me gradually and over time, and the incompleteness of the narrative pushed me towards exploring alternative forms of writing history, which I first tried out as a fictional interview between Fatma Begum and a journalist called Ms. Kitty, attempting to develop her character sketch while also providing a historical context.[27] Returning to the question of the relationship between the archive and the kind of historical accounts they enable (raised earlier in this essay via the work of Hughes), I suggest that the kinds of uncontained archives that I have had to draw upon in constructing an account of Fatma Begum's life remain dispersed across multiple sites. These archives contain everything from physical objects (such as an old trunk of hers that is now in the custody of the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, INTACH) and media reports partially available in digitised form, to completely ephemeral and erratic digital objects, such as photographs whose sources cannot always be tracked down. The vulnerability of the digital objects, in particular, which could be held in a server in Moscow or Berlin (or elsewhere), ungoverned by any national legislation, floating instead in amorphous clouds of data that can at best be imagined, implies that our historical narratives will always be contingent and transforming. Textual histories, too then, can merely always be a work in progress.

KAMAL SWAROOP AND D. G. PHALKE

As I continue to constellate with Fatma, I draw inspiration from the work of the independent filmmaker and researcher Kamal Swaroop,[28] who has spent almost a lifetime recovering the history of Dhundiraj Govind Phalke (1870–1944), considered the "father of Indian cinema," having made the first full-length Indian film *Raja Harishchandra* in 1913. There is of course a significant caveat here: although Fatma was literate enough to write film scripts, unlike D. G. Phalke, she was not seen as being significant enough for her scripts, or diaries (let us assume she may have scribbled some notes somewhere, although we cannot express any certainty over what their content or form might have been), or anything else related to her life and work to be preserved.[29]

I first came across Swaroop's work on Phalke while serving as a programme officer, at the India Foundation for the Arts (IFA), heading their Arts Practice and Curatorship programmes in India. Swaroop had been given three grants by the IFA for his research into Phalke's life, and after having gone underground for several years (and thus being blacklisted by the Arts Foundation!), he resurfaced in 2013 at the IFA office in Bangalore, unannounced, carrying a heavy backpack full of books. These were copies of an exquisitely designed large hardcover book called *Tracing Phalke*, produced by the National Film Development Corporation of India (NFDC), that Swaroop was carrying around, attempting to sell copies door to door. One couldn't have expected anything less startling from the director who had already been established as a cult figure by virtue of his extraordinary experimental film *Om Dar-Ba-Dar/Om, from Door to Door* (1988), which as film legend has it, had been so widely circulated and copied on VHS[30] that the image and sound imprints had become almost illegible.

Swaroop's own filmmaking work is interesting enough to warrant a separate study, but by way of a brief introduction it may be useful to mention that as a fresh graduate of the Film Direction programme at the Film and Television Institute of India, Pune, he joined the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE), a programme (1975–1976) of the Indian Space Research Organisation, to develop television content. In 1976 he co-directed *Ghashiram Kotwal/Inspector Ghashiram* (K. Hariharan, M. Kaul, S. A. Mirza, K. Swaroop), based on Vijay Tendulkar's play by the same title, and subsequently worked as assistant director on Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* (1982) and as production designer for Mani Kaul's *Siddheswari* (1989). After *Om Dar-Ba-Dar/Om, from Door to Door*, his next film, *Phalke Children* (1994), was a documentary featuring Phalke's children, including Mandakini, his daughter who played the role of Krishna in *Kaliya Mardan/Death of Kaliya* (D. G. Phalke, 1919) and Kamlabai, the first female actor in Indian cinema.[31] However, his work really

Fig. 11.3
Still from *Rangbhoomi* (2013). Kamal Swaroop reading from the script of Phalke's play.

acquired a new interest and currency after *Om Dar-Ba-Dar/Om, from Door to Door* was screened in Bombay in 2005, as part of the Experimenta film festival curated by Shai Heredia. IFA's grants to Swaroop were also made around 2005–2006, and Heredia subsequently joined IFA to run the Arts Practice programme. When I took over this programme in 2012, I inherited a file of "blacklisted" defecting artists, which included documentation about Swaroop's projects.

The project (along with support from external sources) eventually yielded the NFDC book, two feature length films, *Rangbhoomi* (2013) and *Tracing Phalke* (2015), and the Phalke Factory website (https://wiki.phalkefactory. net/). *Rangbhoomi* is based on a play that Phalke wrote in Benares, where he went to live after taking *sanyas* (spiritual retirement) from the film industry. Like Chaplin and other iconic figures from the silent era, Phalke could not transition to sound cinema with his craft-industry film production mode.[32] In the 1920s, by then a broken man, Phalke had moved to Benares with the intention of quitting cinema. In an account provided by Jaya Dadkar in her Marathi book *Dadasaheb Phalke: Kaal ani Kartavya* (Dadasaheb Phalke: Time and duty, 2011), Fatma Begum had gone to Benares to persuade Phalke to return to filmmaking, which he did. In the film, Swaroop and his film crew read from Phalke's play (also titled *Rangbhoomi*) against the backdrop of shots of the ghats of Benares, evoking a situated past into a performative present. This has been a favourite method of Swaroop, which to a large extent influences his methodological approach to film historiography.

Tracing Phalke was a result of an innovative pedagogy, which included holding workshops in Nasik, Baroda, Kolhapur, Pune, Benares and Bombay – all the cities with which Phalke had a connection – in collaboration with art and educational institutions located in these cities. During these workshops, Swaroop worked with different groups of students, artists, film lovers, older

residents of the cities and so on to devise speculative narratives and visuals about Phalke's life in these urban sites. As Swaroop recalls:

> I wanted to capture fleeting moments during the workshops. It was most interesting to see how while researching actual locations and people, the students gradually became the characters from the stories they were developing. If carefully watched frame by frame or with different speeds, one can see a number of personal stories drowned in the noise of these restless recordings.[33]

Thus, while developing characters for their own stories, the participants became characters in the meta-narrative of Swaroop's documentation of Phalke's life. All the workshops were recorded, generating 350 hours of video footage, becoming part of the larger archive of cinema and film history. An IFA report on the workshop held in Pune, where Phalke worked briefly at the Prabhat Studio founded by V. Shantaram,[34] states:

> The walls of the workshop space were covered over with images from Kamal's scrapbook, Shantaram's autobiography, and pictures of gods and goddesses that were part of the popular imagination of those times. We collected photocopies from old *Film India* issues from NFAI and wrote on the window panes in washable ink. We projected films and film excerpts for the workshop participants. As we worked, sometimes we could see, in the studio adjacent to us, young aspirants for the actors' course, going through the routines of a selection procedure. We got the participants to meet the older light men, who had memories of earlier days of Prabhat. We took them around the premises, and also to the Prabhat museum, trying to bring alive the ambience of Prabhat and to create for the participants and for ourselves, a sense of what those times were like, to evocatively bring them into the contemporary.[35]

Tracing Phalke uses footage from these workshops combining archival and film historical research with a séance-type speculative recalling. Gilles Deleuze's[36] notion of the time-image: an image that is saturated with relationships between multiple points in time allows us to think about the images in Swaroop's film as bringing together the past and the present, in the manner of evoking a spirit, a spectre. The historian's job is not only to enter the recesses of the archive and go back in time, but to rescue parts of the past and bring them back into our own present, in the manner of a time traveller.

Let me return to my earlier question about the relationship between historical time and technological time: in what ways does the "real time" of his-

Fig. 11.4
Still from *Tracing Phalke* (2015). Reproduced
with permission from Kamal Swaroop.

tory – years and years of a person's life or events belonging to another time
– exist within the time-space of our own, as mediated forms? What shapes
can these mediating mediums take as historiographers and historians? And,
therefore, how do we account for these within the larger archive of moving
image cultures, which manifests across different temporalities and forms? I
will address these questions briefly, in the concluding section that follows.

3. SPECULATIVE HISTORY AND QUESTIONS OF OBJECTIVITY

The idea of speculation is probably as distasteful to historians as the absence
of "controlled conditions" is to scientists. While rigid notions of what consti-
tutes history as well as its methods were challenged in literary theory by new
historicism, and by sub-disciplines within history such as oral history, the
significance placed upon the provenance and authenticity of historical docu-
ments extended to the histories of cultural forms and practices, including art

and cinema. Documents (within or outside archives) continue to remain a historian's most trustworthy sources. This has, as has been extensively discussed within post-colonial studies, resulted in violence against societies which did not consider history to be synonymous with the written word. Under colonial rule, such societies were allegedly endowed with a "historical consciousness" through the writing of colonial histories, aided by the creation of the colonial archive. In India, this colonial endeavour was strengthened by the efforts of European Orientalists such as the German scholar of Sanskrit Max Muller, who established the discipline of Indology, or the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, who was also a professor of Sanskrit. It is widely known that Sanskrit, and its associated culture, *sanskriti*, were treated as authentic sources of "Indian culture and history" during colonial rule. Unsurprisingly, many later-day Indian texts on historiography remained undiscovered; for example, the tenth-century poet-critic Rajashekara's extensive text *Kavyamimansa*, which lays out a typology of knowledge in which history (*itihasa*), includes both myth and legend, or the eleventh-century critic Bhoja's ideas about historiography being meaning-producing and hence necessarily sequential.[37] European scholars had almost unquestioningly turned to ancient Sanskrit texts like the *Vedas* and *Upanishads*, even though Sanskrit had long ceased being the language of communication or scholarship, and modern Indo-Aryan languages had taken strong root from the tenth century onwards. Nonetheless, historical accounts were produced aplenty, usually following the narrative trajectory of describing an ancient Indian "golden age," which gradually fell into despondency, and awaited being rescued and restored to former glory by the colonisers.

Writing such accounts fit well within the colonial project of constructing epistemological frameworks through which the colonies could be "made familiar" by being measured, managed and governed. In the process, living indigenous practices of thinking about the past were sidelined and subjugated to the tyranny of "history proper." One example of this is that yesterday and tomorrow – or the past and the future – are represented by the same word "*kal*" in many Indian languages, implying that continuity and overlap have defined the historical imagination of millions of people in the region. The word "*kal*" is related to the word for time, "*kaal*," and this has given rise to the popular conception of time, and therefore history, as being cyclical, reinforced in cultural practices by the belief in reincarnation in both Hindu and Buddhist traditions.

Under colonial rule, these fluid conceptions of time and history were force-fitted into the grid-like and teleological structure of the colonial archive, which emerged as an important site for governance. The fallacy and irony of the colonial archive, of course, lay in its utopian desire for completeness, which as we know is but a myth at best and hubris at worst. The archive is at

all times partial and incomplete, just as historiography is. In a structuralist sense, absences are just as significant as presences are for the archive as well as for historiography since it is between the play of absence and presence that meaning is generated.

I argue therefore, that absences in historical accounts or in the archive may invoke our wrath at the lie of the archive and of history, however, the completion or filling in of absences cannot by itself be the endpoint of the archive or of historiography. Rather, I propose a kaleidoscopic approach to historiography, whereby we are able to rearrange available bits into new patterns, showing up the world in a diversity of forms; paying attention to dispersed and unstable sites of information, turning to alternative, more speculative conceptions of historiography, that allow a degree of uncertainty: perhaps in the form of a spectre, which lingers but cannot be fully grasped. The uncontained archives of cinema may perhaps allow us to recalibrate our very understanding of history and its archives.

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FILMOGRAPHY

Alam Ara (Ardeshir Irani, 1931)
Bulbul-e-Parastan/Bird of Fairyland (Fatma Begum, 1926)
Chandravali (Fatma Begum, 1928)
Duniya Kya Hai/Resurrection (G. P. Pawar, 1938)
Gandhi (Richard Attenborough, 1982)
Gangavataram (D. G. Phalke, 1937)
Ghashiram Kotwal/Inspector Ghashiram (K. Hariharan, M. Kaul, S. A. Mirza,
    K. Swaroop, 1976)
The Goddess of Love (Fatma Begum, 1927)
Heer Ranjha (Fatma Begum, 1928)
Kaliya Mardan/Death of Kaliya (D. G. Phalke, 1919)
Kanaktara (Fatma Begum, 1929)
Milan Dinar/Meeting Day (Fatma Begum, 1929)
Naseeb ni Devi/Lady of Fortune (Fatma Begum, 1929)
Om Dar-Ba-Dar/Om, from Door to Door (Kamal Swaroop, 1988)
Phalke Children (Kamal Swaroop, 1994)
Raja Harishchandra (D. G. Phalke, 1913)
Rangbhoomi (Kamal Swaroop, 2013)
Shakuntala (Fatma Begum, 1929)
Siddheswari (Mani Kaul, 1989)
Tracing Phalke (Kamal Swaroop, 2015)

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NOTES

1 While "digital archives" have by now drawn significant attention, I mention "post-colonial" here in order to point out the fallacy of the colonial archive, which sought to establish "comprehensiveness" as part of its ambition of possessing complete knowledge of, and thereby an authoritative control over, its colonised subjects. Any attempt at rejecting the hubris of the colonial archive must acknowledge the faulty grounding of "extensive data" as a source of knowledge in itself.

2 There is an exciting body of work looking at the relationship between history and the present, via the archive, including many of the texts I reference throughout this chapter. A work that I don't discuss in this chapter but which has been particularly inspiring is that of the visual artist Nalini Malani, who works with video, installations, performance and a unique form she has devised called the "video shadow play," which are large installations consisting of reverse-painted rotating mylar cylinders over which videos are projected, casting shadows when visitors move through the installation space. In dealing with contemporary issues such as historical violence, geo-political conflicts, gender-based discrimination and nuclear warfare (among others), Malani extracts figures from history (of art, literature, mythology, etc.) to bring them to address contemporary events by way of quotation as a formal as well as methodological technique. For more on Malini's work, see Mieke Bal, *In Medias Res: Inside Nalini Malani's Shadow Plays* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2016). See also Rashmi Sawhney, "Shadowing the Image Archive: *In Medias Res: Inside Nalani Malani's Shadow Plays*," *MIRAJ: Moving Image Review & Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (2018), 324–34.

3 For example, see Valentina Vitali and Paul Willemen, eds., *Theorising National Cinema* (London: BFI, 2006), which makes a compelling argument as to why historiographical accounts of "national" cinemas modelled upon American cinema do disservice to film history in general. In the context of Indian cinema, M. Madhava Prasad's *Ideology of the Hindi Film: A Historical Construction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) was among the first scholarly works to engage with the mode of production of popular Hindi cinema, tracing textual aesthetics back to its production systems, and thereby making an implicit case for the distinctiveness of the conceptual frameworks required to understand Indian cinema.

4 Although Bombay was renamed as Mumbai in 1995, films made in the city have accumulated a history under the terminology of "Bombay cinema," as representative of a specific pan-Indian ambition, and continue to be referred to in this manner even after the renaming of the city itself.

5 Of particular relevance to Indian cinema is Valentina Vitali, "Not a Biography of 'Indian Cinema': Historiography and the Question of National Cinema in India," in *Theorising National Cinema*, edited by Valentina Vitali and Paul Willemen (London: BFI, 2006), 262–73

6   During colonial rule, British India or South Asia was divided into presidencies and princely states, which on an ongoing basis through the twentieth century were reorganised into "linguistic states," quite firmly yoking the question of identity to that of language and a language-based cultural identity. The question of what would be India's national language could never be satisfactorily resolved and, as a consequence, linguistic plurality was accepted as the norm, aided by the federal system of governance, which allowed "regional" languages to co-exist along with Hindi and English, including through the medium of cinema. Cinema has played an important role in the construction of linguistic and regional identities, as the very substantial amount of literature on "regional cinema" demonstrates. For an introduction to the linguistic complexities of India, see Madhava M. Prasad, "The Republic of Babel," in *Theorising the Present: Essays for Partha Chatterjee*, edited by Anjan Ghosh, Tapati Guha-Thakurta and Janaki Nair (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 65–81.

7   Stephan Putnam Hughes, "The Production of the Past: Early Tamil Film History as a 'Living Archive,'" *Bioscope* 4, no. 1 (2013), 71–80.

8   See, for example, Ravi Vasudevan et al., "Editorial: Archives and Histories," *Bioscope* 4, no. 1 (2013), 1–7; Ravi Vasudevan et al., "Infrastructures and Archives of the B-Circuit," *Bioscope* 7, no. 2 (2016), vii–xi; Tanvir, "Pirate Histories: Rethinking the Film Archive," *Bioscope* 4, no. 2 (2013), 115–36; Hughes, "The Production of the Past"; Ramesh Kumar, "Alas, Nitrate Didn't Wait, but Does It Really Matter? Fiery Losses, Bureaucratic Cover-ups, and the Writing of Indian Film Histories from the Relics of Cinema at the National Film Archive of India," *Bioscope* 7, no. 1 (2016), 96–115.

9   See the following articles in *Journal of the Moving Image* 9 (2010): Ashish Rajadhyaksha "Reconstructing the Indian Filmography, 13–21; Gayatri Chatterjee "Writing History for Cinema: Archives, Archeological Sites and Homes," 47–60; S. Theodore Baskaran, "Problems Faced by Film Historians in India," 61–72; Stephan Putnam Hughes, "The Lost Decade of Film History in India," 72–93.

10 As a consequence of the lack of material on early Indian cinema, Majumdar argues that "early cinema" cannot be a fixed periodisation across cultures, but varies from country to country. Neepa Majumdar, "What Is 'Early' Cinema?," *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 54, no. 2, article 3 (2013), https://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/framework/vol54/iss2/3.

11 Vasudevan et al., "Editorial," 1.

12 Kumar, "Alas, Nitrate Didn't Wait."

13 See Debashree Mukherjee, "Notes on a Scandal: Writing Women's Film History against an Absent Archive." *Bioscope* 4, no. 1 (2013), 9–30; Rashmi Sawhney, "An Evening on Mars, Love on the Moon," *Studies in South Asian Film and Media* 6, no. 2 (2015), 121–46; Ranjani Mazumdar, "The Bombay Film Poster," *Seminar* 525 (2003).

14 One would add to this the very interesting work of Sudhir Mahadevan, where he traces film historiography as created by the cinema itself through a number of visual accounts. See Sudhir Mahadevan, "The Abundant Ephemeral," in *A Very Old Machine: The Many Origins of Cinema in India* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 434–85.

15 Hughes, "The Production of the Past," 71.

16 Stuart Hall, "Constituting an Archive," *Third Text* (Spring 2001), 89.

17 Ibid., 92 (emphasis added).

18 Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, translated by Eric Prenowitz (University of Chicago Press, 1996).

19 André Malraux, *Museum without Walls* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1967).

20 Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006).

21 "Begum," which literally means "queen," is a generic address used for Muslim women as a mark of respect.

22 Monica Dall'Asta and Jane M. Gaines, "Prologue: Constellations: Past Meets Present in Film History," in *Doing Women's Film History: Reframing Cinemas, Past and Future*, edited by Christine Gledhill and Julia Knight (Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2015), 13–26.

23 There are no English titles available for these films. Where possible approximate translations have been provided. Many of the titles are proper nouns. "Heer Ranjha" is the mythical story of two iconic lovers, like Romeo and Juliet. "Shakuntala" is a character from the Indian epic *Mahabharata*, also a tale of romance and betrayal.

24 For a fuller account of this narrative, see Rashmi Sawhney, "Fatma Begum, South Asia's First Female Director: Resurrections from Media and Legal Archives," in *Industrial Networks and Cinemas of India: Shooting Stars, Shifting Geographies and Multiplying Media*, edited by Monika Mehta and Madhuja Mukherjee (New Delhi: Routledge, 2020), 18–32.

25 The account presented here is pieced together from various articles published in *The Times of India* between 1929 and 1934. These include, among several others: "Alleged Forgery by Film Stars: Not Guilty Verdict" (June 13, 1932), "False Assurance in Mortgage: Cheating Allegations against a Film Proprietress" (June 9, 1934), "Fatma Begum Case at Bandra" (July 17, 1931), "Bombay Film Star in Cheating Charge: Alleged Purchase of Jewellery" (October 25, 1932), "Charge of Fabricating Mortgage Deed: Story of Unfinished Film" (April 25, 1932), etc.

26 Some, like the Madan Theatre Company, managed not only to safely tide over the transition to sound technology but to build a very successful film business making talkie films. See Madhuja Mukherjee, "Early Indian Cinema: Voice, Performance an Aura," *Journal of the Moving Image* 6 (2007), 39–61, https://jmionline.org/article/early_indian_talkies_voice_performance_and_aura; Virchand Dharamsey, "The

Advent of Sound in Indian Cinema: Theatre, Orientalism, Action, Magic," *Journal of the Moving Image* 10 (2010), 22–50, https://jmionline.org/article/the_advent_of_sound_in_indian_cinema_theatre_orientalism_action_magic_1.

27 Rashmi Sawhney, "Writing History in the Dark: Fatma Begum in Conversation with Ms. Kitty," *ArtConnect* 7, no. 1 (2013), 20–40.

28 Even while I discuss Kamal Swaroop's work in this chapter, I wish to state that he has often been accused of casteist and misogynistic speech and behaviour. At the same time, he commands great admiration from hundreds of aspiring filmmakers. Also, one of his closest collaborators in the films that I discuss in this essay, Hansa Thapliyal, is an independent woman filmmaker who has worked with him over many years. Complex as these issues are, I have taken the stand here of allowing his work to speak for itself.

29 Colonial policies by and large forced the predominantly oral cultures of the region to give way to written records. The idea of "literacy" introduced into India in the nineteenth century by the British was mainly focused on the ability to read and write. The 1901 Census of India (the first complete census was conducted in 1872) lists the female literacy rate as 0.6%.

30 VHS tape is a standard analogue home video medium for recording and playback widely used until the 2000s.

31 Regarding the English titles for these films, approximate translations have been provided where possible. "Gandhi" and "Siddheswari" are proper nouns. Om is the name of the protagonist of the film *Om Dar-Ba-Dar*; the second part of the title is an Urdu word meaning "from door to door." "Kaliya Mardan" refers to a popular episode from the Indian epic *Mahabharata* in which Lord Krishna as a child battles the evil serpent Kaliya, emerging victorious.

32 *Gangavataram* (D. G. Phalke, 1937), a mythological tale about the descent of the river Ganga to earth, was Phalke's first and only "talkie" film.

33 Personal communication with the author, September 2017.

34 V. Shantaram (1901–1983) was a director who made films in the Marathi and Hindi languages. He is known for his reformist and socially progressive films, and for the establishment in 1929 of the Prabhat Film Company, initially in the city of Kolhapur, and subsequently moving to Pune. The Film and Television Institute of India, Pune, is now located where Prabhat formerly used to be.

35 IFA, *Pune Workshop: Report on Kamal Swaroop's Grant* (Bangalore: India Foundation for the Arts, 2007).

36 Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema Image 2: The Time-Image*, translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Roberta Galeta (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1985); Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, translated by Paul Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

37 G. N. Devy, *After Amnesia: Tradition and Change in Indian Literary Criticism* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi Press, 1992).

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